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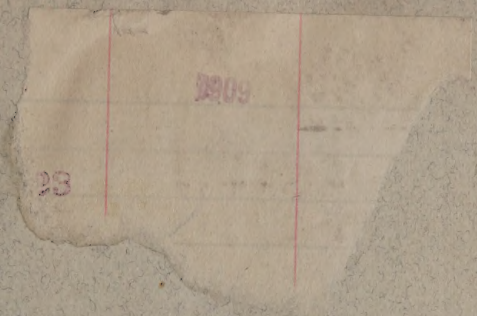
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NO. 224 JULY, 1908 25 CENTS

# THE ARENA

## A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR

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Vol. 40
1908

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THE NOTABLE PLAYS OF A SEASON
(Illustrated), BY WILLIAM MAILLY.

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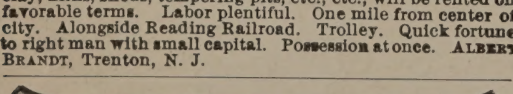

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Mr. Bryan has been an advocate of a law guaranteeing deposits in state and national banks since 1893. The legislature of Ohio has adopted a joint resolution inviting Mr. Bryan to address its members in joint session February 18, 1908, on the subject of "Guaranteed Bank Deposits."

Mr. Bryan, in discussing the tariff question, insists that residents of the United States should be permitted to buy home-made goods at home at as low a price as the foreigner can buy American-made goods abroad. He also insists that our government should be by and for the people as a whole, rather than by and for the trusts, and administered in the interest of a few beneficiaries of the trust system. He believes that national legislation for the purpose of better regulation and control of interstate commerce and common carriers should supplement state legislation, and not be a substitute for state legislation.

Mr. Bryan's paper, *The Commoner*, reflects his opinions each week on questions of public importance and in its columns may also be found his magazine articles, public speeches, addresses and lectures, which are referred to in the daily press from day to day.

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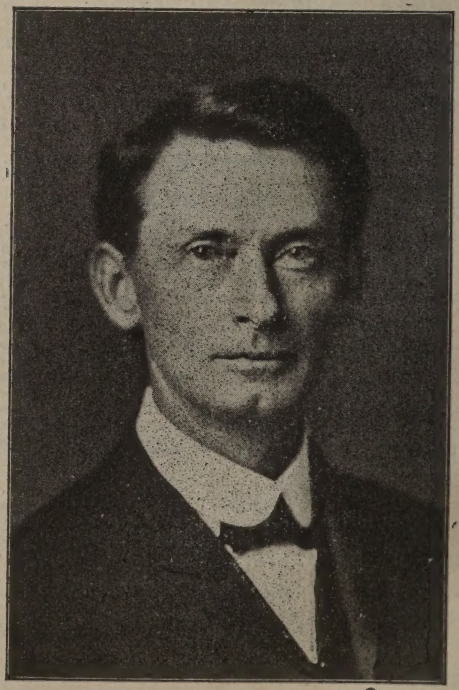

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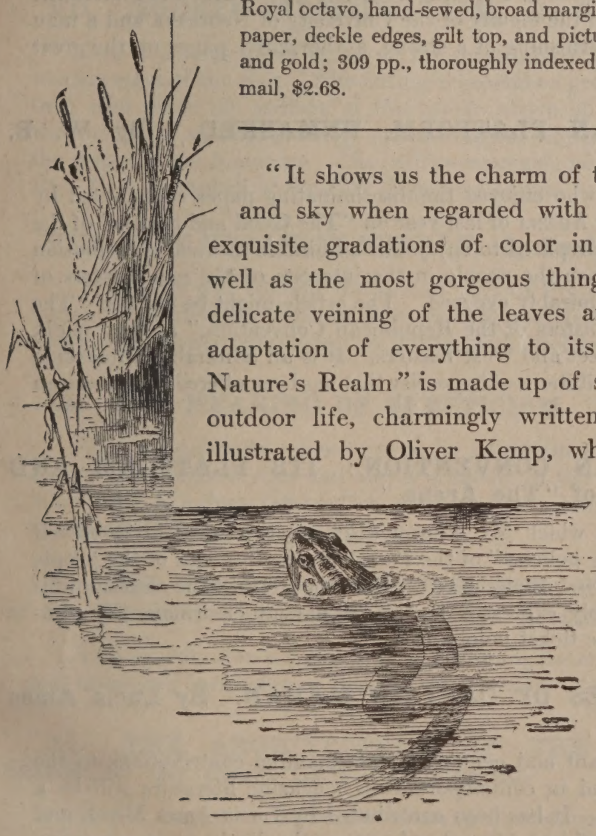

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Will contain a strong and varied table of contents of special interest to friends of fundamental democracy and social progress. Among leading timely articles which we expect to be features of this issue we mention the following:

**I. THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION: ITS TICKET AND PLATFORM. By Professor Edwin Maxey, LL.D., M. Dip., Special Staff Correspondent for "The Arena" to the Denver Convention.**

Professor Maxey is recognized as a leading authority on political and diplomatic questions. He is a member of the faculty of the University of Nebraska and a man admirably equipped for the furnishing of a strong, authoritative paper on the great Democratic convention.

**II. THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, UNMASKED. By W. B. Fleming.**

Readers of THE ARENA who enjoyed the discriminating paper contributed by Mr. Fleming to the December ARENA of last year on "The Good and the Bad of the President's Policies," will be prepared to enjoy this admirable satirical contribution in which the attempt to deceive the people in the interests of the real masters of the Republican machine is admirably exposed. The article might be entitled "The Honest Confessions of the Masters of the Republican Convention," as they might report them to their Wall-Street and trust masters. It is an admirable unmasking of one of the most offensive exhibitions of hypocrisy that has been offered the American public.

**III. THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION: ITS PLATFORM AND TICKET. By the Editor of "The Arena."**

An extended editorial in which Mr. Flower discusses the so-called Roosevelt Convention, in which the "my policies" of the President, the interests of the people and general reform were ruthlessly slaughtered. Here the spirit of the convention is shown to have been admirably expressed in the permanent chairman, the committee on platform, and in the ticket nominated.

**IV. SOME FALLACIES OF CAPTAIN MAHAN. By Lucia Ames Mead.**

One of the most important and genuinely statesmanlike contributions to the peace propaganda to be found in contemporaneous magazine literature will be a feature of the August ARENA. It has been contributed by Lucia Ames Mead, and in it this brilliant and distinguished advocate of peace, who justly enjoys an international reputation, has completely answered the vicious and pernicious militarism advanced by Captain Mahan. This is a paper that every thoughtful American should carefully consider.

**V. THE ALL-CANADIAN FALLS QUESTION. By Frank Vrooman.**

A handsomely-illustrated paper dealing with the imminent peril that confronts the great and magnificent feature of American scenery, Niagara Falls, through the unbridled avarice of certain great corporations. Mr. Vrooman sounds a note of warning which should appeal to every patriotic American in both the United States and Canada.

**VI. A MAN AND A BOOK. By Helen Campbell. A Vivid Pen-Picture of Horace Traubel and His Literary Work.**

Mrs. Campbell is one of the ablest essayists and magazine writers of our day, and Mr. Traubel is one of the most unique and interesting of our conscience-guided workers. This essay is a fascinating description of the friend and biographer of Walt. Whitman and a man who is a strong and unique figure in the New World; not unlike, in many respects, Edward Carpenter in England and Count Tolstoi in Russia.

**VII. MODERN INDIVIDUALISM. By Rev. Lewis J. Duncan.**

This luminous paper is one of the most interesting and inspiring politico-economic essays of the year. The author represents a growing band of brilliant clergymen who place the welfare of the people above all personal considerations and who insist on voicing the lofty moral idealism which gave meaning and worth to the gospel of the Nazarene. His politico-economic position is not unlike that of the Rev. R. J. Campbell of the City Temple, London.

**VIII. THE VOCATION BUREAU. By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D.**

This issue will contain the second part of Professor Parsons' notable contribution to the literature of social reconstruction and dealing with the Vocation Bureau which was recently established in Boston with Professor Parsons at the head.

**IX. THE MEANING OF SKEPTICISM. By Rev. William Mitchell.**

This is a scholarly religious essay by a brilliant Episcopalian clergyman. The author is a Harvard man and also a graduate of the Cambridge Theological Seminary. He is a deep thinker, whose scholastic training has broadened rather than narrowed his thought.

**X. THE MARCH OF TEMPERANCE. By Pere G. Wallmo, Clerk of the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic of the Last Congress.**

This contribution is a graphic and informing paper on the temperance legislation and attempted legislation of the past winter at the National Capital.

**XI. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH. By Elmer Grey. Illustrated.**

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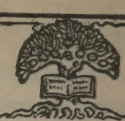

# THE ARENA

## A Magazine Dealing With The Vital Problems of the Hour

THE ARENA is an open forum for the dignified discussion of great political, social, economic, educational, religious, and philosophical problems, when presented in a thoughtful manner, free from personalities.

In addition to this, it stands for certain definite and important practical movements that we believe under existing conditions are imperatively demanded in order to preserve and make effective the foundation principles of democratic republican government and that measure of civic righteousness and efficiency that is essential to safeguard the interests and foster the happiness and development of all the people.

We believe that if the Republic is to become and remain the true leader of civilization, moral idealism rather than materialistic aggression, the ideal of peace and righteousness rather than the theory of force and commercial aggrandizement, must be the key-note of national life.

We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without environing childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recreant nation must decline; and thus where child slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of arbitration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, THE ARENA stands for *a peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence;* a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under the ægis of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of a nobler, freer manhood, and the outflowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

And, with DeTocqueville, holding that "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy," THE ARENA demands:

I. Direct-Legislation, through the Initiative and Referendum, supplemented by the Right of Recall.

II. Public-Ownership and operation of all public utilities or natural monopolies.

III. Proportional Representation, as a practical provision for giving all classes a proportional voice in government, relative to thier strength.

IV. Voluntary Coöperation.

V. The abolition of child slavery in factory, shop, mill and mine.

VI. Arbitration at home and abroad.

(a) Compulsory arbitration, to the end that the people shall not be made the victims of warring interests, and by which justice may obtain rather than cunning or force.

(b) An aggressive campaign for international arbitration and the reduction of armaments.

VII. Coincident with a persistent insistence on a practical progressive program along the lines of fundamental democracy and looking toward securing justice for all the people, a vigorous educational propaganda, with the master purpose of arousing the spiritual energies of the people, to the end that moral idealism shall supplant materialistic greed, and altruism blossom where egoism blights.

## Albert Brandt: Publisher

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Trenton, New Jersey

# THE ARENA

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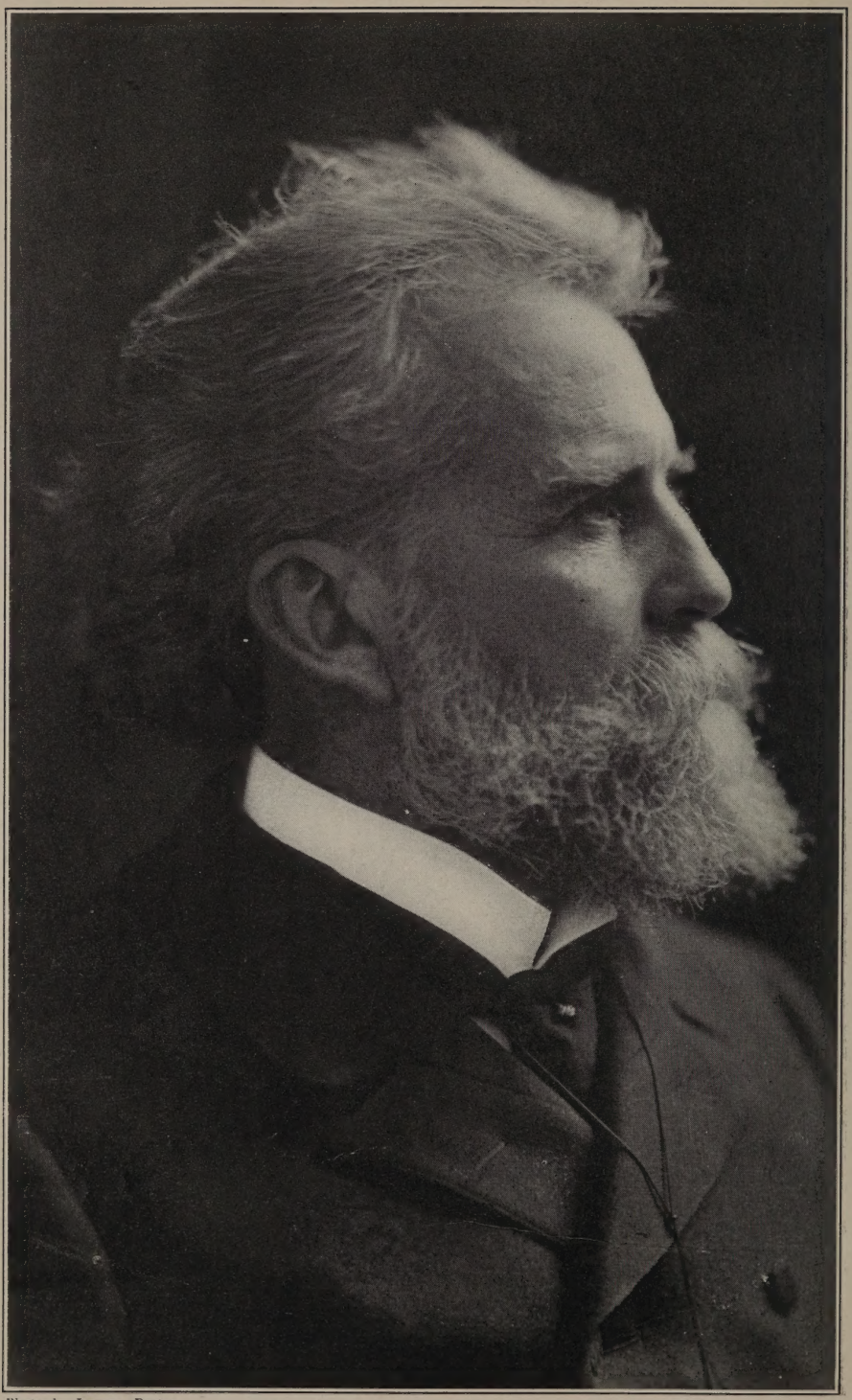


Photo. by Lorenz, Boston.

PROFESSOR S. S. CURRY.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.*—HEINE.

# The Arena

VOL. 40 JULY, 1908 No. 224

## THE VOCATION BUREAU.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS,
Director of the Bureau.

PART I.

THE Vocation Bureau is intended to aid young people in choosing an occupation, preparing themselves for it, finding an opening in it, and building up a career of efficiency and success. And to help any, young or old, who seek counsel as to opportunities and resources for the betterment of their condition and the means of increasing their economic efficiency.

The high percentage of inefficiency and change in the working force experienced by employers in many lines of industry, and the resulting cost in employment expense, waste of training and low-grade service, are largely due to the haphazard way by which young men and women drift into this or that employment with little or no regard to adaptability and without adequate preparation or any definite aim or well-considered plan to ensure efficiency, devotion and development.

The guidance given in school days generally ceases when the student leaves the grammar school or high school or college to begin work. Yet there really is no time of life when wise counsel and expert assistance is more needful than in the transition from school to the new life of labor.

No one would think of building a dwelling or a business block without carefully selecting an appropriate and advantageous site and drawing a well-considered plan with the help of an architect or expert builder. And in building a career it is quite as important to select the location carefully, lay the foundations properly and work up by a well-considered, scientific plan. It is better to sail with compass and chart than to drift into an occupation haphazard or by chance, proximity or uninformed selection; and drift on through it without reaching any port worthy of the voyage.

The Bureau does not attempt to decide for any boy what occupation he should choose, but aims to help him investigate the subject and come to a conclusion on his own account that is much more likely to be valid and useful than if no effort were made to apply scientific methods to the problem. Our mottoes are, Light, Information, Inspiration, Coöperation,

The following paragraphs from the "Instructions to those Desiring to Avail Themselves of the Services of the Bureau" will indicate our attitude toward the young people who ask our counsel:

"In the wise choice of a vocation there are three broad factors: (1) A clear understanding of yourself—your aptitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resources, limitations and their causes. (2) A knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensation, opportunities and prospects, indifferent lines of work. (3) True reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts.

"The Bureau will help you on all three counts. All the information and assistance it can give are freely at your service. But the more light you can bring to bear on the problem from your own observation, reading and experience, the better it will be for the clearness and strength of the conclusions arrived at, and the permanent value of the results attained.

"The first step is *self-study.* To know thyself is the fundamental requisite. Efficiency, success and happiness depend very largely on *adaptation* to your work. To win the best success of which you are capable, your best abilities and enthusiasms must be united with your daily work. You have, therefore, to investigate yourself with the aid of the Bureau and your friends, in order to determine your capacities, interests, resources and limitations and their causes, so that you may compare your aptitudes, abilities, ambitions, etc., with the conditions of success in different industries.

"Have a talk with one of the Counselors first, if possible. Then take the accompanying question list on *Personal Data,* and make a picture of yourself, your education, experience, interests, ambitions, etc. Answer as many of the questions as you can, marking each answer with the number opposite the question to which the answer relates.

"Some of the questions can be answered very definitely. In respect to others, the character questions, for example, you can only make estimates more or less imperfect and subject to revision. Some questions you may not be able to answer at all without assistance and careful testing.

"But do the best you can. Consider every question carefully, try to form a good judgment on it and state the tests or evidence you rely on in making your judgment. A thorough study of yourself is the foundation of a true plan of life. Deal with the matter as though correct conclusions would mean ten thousand dollars to you. A true judgment of yourself may mean more than that. *Stand off and look at yourself as if you were another individual. Look yourself in the eye. Compare yourself with others.* See if you can remember as much as the best of your companions about a lecture or a play you have heard together, or a passage, or book you have both read. Watch the people you admire, note their conduct, conversation and appearance, and how they differ from people you don't admire. Then see which you resemble most. See if you are as careful, thorough, prompt, reliable, persistent, good-natured, and sympathetic as the best people you know. Get your friends to help you form true judgments about yourself, and, above all things, be on your guard against self-conceit and flattery. Test every element of your character, knowledge, mental power, appearance, manners, etc., as well as you can. And then bring the study to the Counselor. He will help you revise it, make further tests, suggest the means of judging questions not yet satisfactorily answered, and consider with you the relations between your aptitudes, abilities, etc., and the requirements, conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, opportunities and prospects in the various callings you might engage in, and also consider the best means of preparation and advancement to secure the fullest efficiency and success in the field of work you may decide upon."

The study made by the applicant reveals much more to the Counselor than is contained in the answers made to schedule points. He can read between the lines important messages as to care, accuracy, memory, clearness and definiteness of thought, directness or irrelevancy, conceit or modesty, common sense, etc., which help to indicate the suggestions that ought to be made in the individual case.

Besides this study by the applicant on his own account, the Counselor usually questions him at some length in a private interview. Ancestry, family, education, reading, experience, interests, aptitudes, abilities, limitations, resources, etc., are inquired into with a vigor and directness that are not possible in a written research. The memory is tested and the general intelligence so far as possible, the senses also and delicacy of touch, nerve, sight and hearing reactions, association—time, etc., where these facts appear to be important elements in the problem. For example, an artist needs, among other things, good visual memory and delicacy of touch; a dentist should have keen sight, delicate touch and correlation of hand and eye, and plenty of nerve; and if the verbal memory is defective or the auditory reactions are slow, it would probably be difficult to become a thoroughly expert stenographer. So again, slow sight and hearing reactions would be one indication against the probability of becoming highly expert as a telegrapher or a thoroughly competent chauffeur. The workers in some psychologic laboratories think the tests of reaction time are liable to too much variation from special causes, difference in the stimulus, attention, emotional conditions, etc., to be of much practical value. But the Yale experiments on sight and hearing reactions seem to afford a clear basis for taking such facts into account in forming a rational judgment, and that is the opinion of a number of investigators of high authority. When the normal reactions and the extreme reactions under intense stimulation and keen attention, are carefully tested and compared with the average results, the data certainly afford some light on the individual's probable aptitude and capacities. Other things equal, a girl with slow normal hearing reactions could not expect to become so readily and completely proficient in stenography as a girl whose normal reactions are unusually quick. Tests of association-time, memory-time, will-time, etc., may throw some light on the probability of developing power in cross-examination, executive ability, fitness to manage large affairs, etc. Rapidity and definiteness of memory and association, promptness and clearness of decision, etc., are certainly more favorable than their opposites to the development of the powers just mentioned. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that all such indications are only straws, hints to be taken into account with all the other facts of the case. The handicap of slow decision or imperfect memory, may be more than overcome by superiority in industry, earnestness, vitality, endurance, common sense, sound judgment, etc.

The Bureau was founded in January of this year by Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw, on plans drawn up by the writer. More than a dozen years ago I stated the essence of the matter in a lecture on "The Ideal City." That lecture was repeated in Boston before the Economic Club a few years ago, and soon after Mr. Meyer Bloomfield and Mr. Philip Davis on behalf of the Civic Service House, invited me to speak to the graduating class of one of the evening high schools on the choice of a vocation. After the talk a number of the young men asked for personal interviews, and the results proved to be so helpful that Mr. Bloomfield requested me to draw plans for the permanent organization of the work. Leisure came this fall to do it; the plans were submitted to Mrs. Shaw, who heartily approved the idea, and immediately established the new institution

with sufficient resources to enable the work to be begun with facility and success.

Although the work is very young and a good deal of its life has been consumed in the process of organization, more than 120 young men and women from 15 to 72 years of age have come to us for consultation, and, according to their own spontaneous statements, all but two have received much light and help, some even declaring that the interview with the Counselor was the most important hour of their lives. Among the applicants have been Harvard seniors, students from Dartmouth and other neighboring colleges, a number of college graduates, young men in commercial and business life and some older ones, including an ex-bank president of splendid ability and a traveling salesman who at one time made sales amounting to $200,000 in a year.

The majority of applicants, however, have been boys and girls from the high schools or working boys and girls of about the same age.

It is a never-ceasing source of delight to witness the inspiration that comes to many of these boys and girls when they see clearly before them the path to efficiency and success in lines of effort that will unite their best abilities and interests with their daily work.

Besides the eighty odd applicants who have come for personal consultation, many letters have been received from persons at a distance, and circulars have been sent where they would be helpful, but it is difficult to deal with the more important vocational problems satisfactorily by correspondence. For this and other reasons we confine ourselves so far as possible at present to direct consultation.

The applicants are of two classes: First, those having well-developed aptitudes and interests and a practical basis for a reasonable conclusion in respect to the choice of a vocation. Second, boys and girls with so little experience or manifestation of special aptitudes or interests that there is no basis yet for a wise decision. They are set to investigating different industries and practical testing of themselves to broaden their knowledge and bring to light and develop any special capacities, aptitudes, interests and abilities that may lie dormant in them or be readily acquired by them.

The Bureau renders its service free of charge. It is part of the social work of the Civic Service House, in coöperation with the Y. M. C. A., the Women's Educational and Industrial Union and the Economic Club. The Bureau has offices at all these places, the executive office being at the Civic Service House.

Many of the leading men and women of the city are interested in the movement as trustees or members of the executive committee, including presidents of colleges and universities, civic organizations, etc., heads of the state departments of education and labor, presidents and managers of public-service companies and other large business enterprises, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, lawyers, editors, authors, etc., etc.

Circulars to young people, to workers and to employers have been prepared and printed to explain the purpose and methods of the Bureau. To accompany the "Instructions" above quoted we have a four-page leaflet full of questions calculated to aid the applicant in making a study of himself, his aptitudes, capacities and limitations, education and experience, interests and ambitions, physical, mental and moral characteristics and their causes.

A much more extensive schedule is in process of construction for the use of the Counselors: This covers all the personal points in the general list prepared for the use of applicants, together with the additional tests and questions the Counselor has found useful in dealing with specific cases. This schedule already includes several hundred points and will ultimately constitute a manual or guidebook for our Counselors in the questioning and testing of young men and women

that is incident to the process of thorough self-revelation.

We have a classified list of more than 200 ways in which women are earning money, and a similar but of course much longer list of industries open to men is in preparation. Another investigation has filled 29 large sheets with data in regard to the conditions of success in different industries, first the fundamentals, applicable in large measure to all industries, and second, the special conditions applicable to particular industries or groups of industries. For example, health, energy, care, enthusiasm, reliability, love of the work, etc., are essential to the best success in any industry; while power of expression with the voice is peculiarly related to success in the ministry, law and public life, organizing and executive ability, knowledge of human nature and ability to deal with it, power to manage men harmoniously and effectively, are important factors in business affairs of the larger sort, and delicacy of touch, coördination of hand and brain, fine sense of color, form and proportion, strong memory for combinations of sound, etc., are special elements in artistic and musical success.

Opportunities, specific and general, in different lines of work are being classified with reference to each of the leading industries and also with regard to the location of industrial centers of various sorts and the geographical distribution of demand. We have a table showing all the leading industries in Massachusetts with their relative development and geographical centers. Similar tables will be made for other states and for the United States. Attention is also given to the relative growth of industries and the movement of demand. For instance, census figures show that the per cent. of progress in the printing trade in Massachusetts is 4 times the per cent. of progress for the whole group of manufacturing and mechanical industries. Again, industrial education is growing very rapidly, and the demand for competent teachers of commercial branches and the mechanic arts, woodwork, machinist's work, etc., is much greater than the supply. As our data develop on these lines and the coöperation of various employment agencies is secured, we shall have for the use of our young men and women more and more complete and perfect information relating to immediate and specific openings and opportunities for employment and to the general and permanent demand in different occupations. Data in regard to pay, conditions of labor, chances of advancement, etc., are also being collected and systematized.

Classification of and coöperation with employment agencies of various sorts form important elements in our work. In some cases the Bureau has helped to place young people by direct communication with employers. It is hoped that this may ultimately be done to a considerable extent in the case of applicants possessing marked abilities and aptitudes specially related to specific opportunities and requirements in different lines of work. But it is constantly necessary to emphasize the fact that the Bureau is not an employment agency; that the aid it gives in finding an opening is merely incidental to the main purpose of helping the applicant use true methods of self-investigation and industrial study, make a wise vocational choice and adopt the best means for developing full efficiency in the chosen field; and that the finding of employment for the most part must be left to the regular agencies and the ordinary methods appropriate to that object, with such special light and information as the Bureau can give to the problem. In other words the Bureau will, so far as possible, make use of existing agencies and methods, and devote its energies to the work that is peculiar to it and constitutes the fundamental reason for its establishment.

We have in tabular form the courses given in the leading vocational schools

of this and other states, and are making bird's-eye tables of all the day and evening courses in or near Boston that have a vocational bearing, noting the length of each course, its beginning, time per day and week, age and conditions of admission, cost, opportunities of earning money while studying, etc., so that young men and women can see at a glance all the institutions that give such courses as they may desire and the relative advantage as to time, cost and conditions. If the boy is living at home the Bureau will give him copies of its tabulated courses so that he may go over the matter in detail with his parents. We have also considerable material relating to apprenticeship methods of training, and to the success and failure of college men in business. It is very important for young men who are taking, or are going to take, a college course, to understand the industrial and other benefits that may be derived from advanced study and also to be on their guard against the dangers to efficiency and business success that may result from habits of mere absorption and book-study without due balance in active expression and constructive work, or proper development of the faculties through which the knowledge accumulated can be made of use to the world.

The Bureau is coördinated with the Breadwinners' Institute of the Civic Service House, which aims to give working men and women the elements of a liberal culture in the evening hours at their disposal and supplement so far as possible the vocational training offered in evening courses at the Y. M. C. A. and other schools by offering instruction in vocational lines not elsewhere covered by evening classes.

If the Counselor finds the memory of the applicant below the standard he gives the youth a printed analysis of the means of developing the memory and securing the best results from it. A leaflet called "Suggestions for a Plan of Life" is also given in many cases with oral instructions sufficient to make it vital to the recipient. It is intended to direct attention to the elements essential to an all-round symmetrical development, and the value of making a good plan and living up to it instead of drifting through life like a rudderless boat. Special effort is made to develop analytic power and civic interest whenever the need appears. The power to see the essential facts and principles in a book, or a man or a mass of business data, economic facts, or political and social affairs, reduce these essentials to their lowest terms and group them in their true relations in brief diagrams or pictures, is invaluable in any department of life where clear thinking and intellectual grasp are important elements. This analytic power is one of the cornerstones of mastery and achievement. To develop it we give the student samples of good analytic work, and ask him to read a good book and analyze it or make an investigation and reduce the facts to analytic form. We have already about $300 worth of the best books in the world, some of which are almost sure to interest the applicant, and any one of which he is welcome to take home with him on condition of signing an agreement to read it carefully, make at least a page of analytic notes relating to the points he deems of most importance, and be ready to answer the Counselor's questions about the book. After the student has had some practice in analysis we use the following more extensive contract which calls for a dozen items or such portions of them as the Counselor may deem best to ask for.

SCHEDULE B.

VOCATION BUREAU AND BREADWINNERS' INSTITUTE,

Civic Service House, 112 Salem Street, Boston.

In reading.....under agreement with the Vocation Bureau dated....., make a page or more of key-notes on the following points, and talk them over with the Counselor for the mutual benefit of all concerned.

Put page reference after each point you note.

FACTS.—1. The half-dozen facts that seem to you most important.

EVENTS.—2. The leading events or landmarks of the book,

PRINCIPLES.—3. The half-dozen principles you think most vital.

CHARACTERS.—4. The chief characters (if the book deals with characters) and their most striking characteristics.

IDEAS.—5. The most interesting and inspiring ideas.

SUGGESTIONS.—6. The most helpful suggestions and their application to your life.

BEAUTY, USE, HUMOR.—7. Passages that are specially beautiful, novel, useful, or humorous.

INTERESTS AND REASONS.—8. The things that interest you most of all, and the reasons they interest you.

ETHICS, MORALS.—9. The ethical aspects, or right and wrong of the book and its characters, events, ideas and principles.

COMMON SENSE.—10. Criticisms as to purpose, method, make-up, style, etc. What you would say to the author if he asked you (a) how you liked the book, (b) what you liked best, (c) what you didn't like, and (d) how you think it could be improved.

COMPARISON, RANK.—11. Comparison of the book with others you have read, and the rank you would give it.

APPLICATIONS.—12. General utility of the book—application of its facts, teachings, etc., to individuals, society, government, industry, civilization, etc.

Not less important is the work done in the direction of developing civic interest. The boy is impressed with the fact that he is or soon will be one of the directors and rulers of the United States; that his part in civic affairs is quite as important as his occupation, vital as that undoubtedly is; that all-round manhood should be the aim, and making a living is only one arc of the circle; and that he must study to be a good citizen as well as a good worker.

The Bureau's leaflets entitled "Civic Suggestions," "Lincoln's Message to Young Men," and "Analysis of Parliamentary Law," are very useful in this connection. The latter enables the young man to fit himself with very little effort to join in the discussions of a town meeting, young men's Congress or debating society, or preside over a meeting with credit to himself if called to the chair. Very often the youth can be led to read and analyze a series of good books on government and public questions, beginning, perhaps, with Dole and Fiske on Citizenship and Civil Government, or with Forman's *Advanced Civics*, or Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, and continuing with the works of Albert Shaw, Zueblin, Howe and Steffens, the famous speeches of Wendell Phillips and the messages of Lincoln, Washington and Roosevelt, the great problem books, such as Moody's *Truth About the Trusts*, *Wealth Against the Commonwealth*, *Labor Copartnership*, *The Story of New Zealand*, etc., and some of the principal books on history, economics and sociology. It is astonishing what a boy will do if you give him the stimulus of your sympathy and appreciation.

I like to begin with a general talk to a class or a club or some other organization or group of students or young people, presenting the matter in some such form as this:

"If you had a million dollars to invest you would be very careful about it; you would study methods of investment, and get expert counsel and advice from those familiar with such things and try to invest your money so it would be safe and would pay you good dividends. Your life is worth more than a million dollars to you. You would not sell it for that. And you are investing it day by day and week by week. Are you studying the different methods of investment open to you, and taking counsel to help you decide just what investment you had better make in order to get the best returns upon your capital?

"The Vocation Bureau has been established to help you in this. One of the most important steps in life is the choice of an occupation. If you take up a line of work to which you are adapted or can adapt yourself, you are likely to be happy and successful. If a man loves his work and can do it well, he has laid the foundation for a useful and happy life. But if his best abilities and enthusiasms do not find scope in his daily work—if his occupation is merely a means of making a living and the work he loves to do is side-tracked into the evening hours or pushed out of his life altogether he will be only a fraction of the man he ought to be. Efficiency and success are largely dependent on adaptation. A man would not get good results by using his cow to draw his carriage and his horse for dairy purposes. Yet the difference of adaptability in that case is no more emphatic than the differences in the aptitudes, capacities, powers, and adaptabilities

of human beings. For instance, one of my uncles on my mother's side was cut out for a machinist or a musician. From boyhood he loved to handle tools and to play the organ, and he showed excellent abilities in both directions. But his parents wanted him to be a doctor. Nobody thought much about the question. It did not occur to any one that this boy's love of tool work might be an indication of the business he should follow. He studied medicine and became a fairly good doctor, making an average of four or five thousand a year in a small city. But he was never happy. He was forever going back to his tools and his music, and he hated his medical practice because it took him away from them. He was neither a first-class physician nor a first-class machinist, because his time, attention and interest were divided—his heart was in the machine-shop while he felt pulses and prescribed pills for a living.

"You may not be able to get into the right line of work at first. You may have to earn your living for awhile in any way that is open to you. But if you study yourself and get sufficient knowledge of various industries to determine what sort of work you are best adapted to, and then carefully prepare yourself for efficient service in that line, the opportunity will come for you to make use of the best that is in you in your daily work.

"Lincoln tried farming, lumbering, rail-splitting and running a flat-boat. He was a teacher, postmaster, captain in the Black Hawk War, storekeeper and surveyor. But whatever he did to earn a living he was always spending his spare time in reading good books and in telling stories and discussing public questions. He kept studying himself also, and he concluded that his special abilities were his great physical strength and his power to express himself in a forceful and attractive way which made people like to hear him talk. His bodily strength fitted him for such heavy work as blacksmithing, and he debated with himself whether he should learn that trade or the law. It would be comparatively easy to get a start in blacksmithing for little capital would be required and he could earn his living probably at once; whereas it would cost much time and money to make himself a good lawyer and get practice enough to support him. While physical power and an easy, open way invited him to blacksmithing, he knew that his higher powers—his distinguishing traits of mind and character adapted him to public life and the law, and he obeyed the call in spite of the difficulties in the way. He found friends to help him in his studies and his entrance to civic life and legal practice. He was elected to the legislature of Illinois when he was twenty-five years old, and began the practice of law in Springfield when he was twenty-eight.

"You know the rest; how he gradually built up a good practice, went to Congress, became a power in his state and was chosen chief executive of the nation in 1860 at the age of fifty-one. If he had remained a storekeeper or a surveyor, or a boatman, we probably never would have heard of him. He would have done his work well and made an honest living, and put his spare time into telling stories and discussing public questions with his neighbors. His best power and enthusiasm would have been separated from his work. They would have sought an outlet in his leisure hours while his work would have been simply a means of earning a livelihood. The fact that he studied himself to find out and develop his best abilities, and persevered in preparing for and entering upon a field of usefulness in which his highest aptitudes, abilities and enthusiasms could find full scope and expression and be united with his daily work, was one of the fundamental reasons for his great success.

"Have *you* found out in what direction *your* chief abilities lie, in what line you are best adapted to achieve success, and the methods and principles to be

followed in your upward progress? If not, is it not time you began to study yourself and your possibilities with a view to making a clear decision and building up a successful career in the calling to which your aptitudes, capacities, interests and ambitions best adapt you."

Some of the cases that have come before the Bureau are then described (as they will be here in a moment or two) in order to show how the system works, and an invitation is given to any who desire a consultation to make an appointment with the Counselor. Sometimes a considerable part of the audience responds to this invitation. After a recent talk to a class of 30 or 40 boys, for example, the teacher and all the larger boys made appointments which kept the Counselor busy for over two weeks.

I find it best to have at least fifteen minutes' private talk with the applicant before he begins his personal study (and half an hour or an hour is better still, if it can be had) in order to question the boy about his education, reading and experience, how he spends his spare time and his money, the nature of his interests and ambitions, resources and limitations, and the general outlines of his problem. Sometimes the case is pretty clear at the first interview; sometimes a good deal of study is needed to get the light. If the boy is undeveloped and inexperienced and shows no special aptitudes, abilities or interests or none that seem well founded, he is advised to read about various industries in Fowler's *Starting in Life* and other vocational books, and visit farms, factories, carpenter-shops, machine-shops, laboratories, electric works, railroad depots, buildings in course of construction, newspaper offices, photograph studios, courts, banks, stores, etc., talk with the workers and superintendents, too, if he can, try his hand at different sorts of work on the farm, in the care of animals, in the factory, office and store, so as to get an experience sufficient to bring out his aptitudes and abilities, if he has any, and to form a basis for an intelligent judgment as to what he shall try to do in the world.

Breadth is important as well as specialization. A man cannot be fully successful, nor secure against the changes constantly occurring in industry, unless he knows a good deal besides the special knowledge immediately applicable to his business. There is no way in many cases, to bring true interests and aptitudes into clear relief, except through variety of experience. An interest in a certain line of work or the lack of interest, may be the result of knowledge or of ignorance, an indication of power or of weakness. A boy often takes a dislike to his father's occupation because he sees the inside of it and knows all its outs while he does not know the disadvantages of other occupations in respect to which he is familiar only with the outside. It may be that a wider experience will develop some new interest and aptitude, stronger than any that is now in evidence. Many boys might be successful either in business, or farming or some mechanical line, or one of the professions. Any honorable work in which there was a fair chance for advancement would interest them after they had passed the initial stages and got sufficient skill and understanding of the calling to work with reasonable facility and certainty. In such cases the choice of an occupation is largely the question of opportunity and industrial demand. If the father, or uncle, or any relative or friend has a good business into which the boy can grow with a prospect of adaptation and efficiency, the burden of proof is on the proposition that this foundation should be abandoned and another building started on a new site. If there are excellent openings in forestry, scientific agriculture, business and office management, skilful artcraft, teaching the mechanic arts, etc., such facts must have full weight in cases where outside opportunity, east or west or south, is a determining factor. The

question of resources, ability to take expensive courses of instruction and wait long years for remunerative practice or position, is also very important. But the fundamental question that outranks all the others, is the question of adaptation—the question of uniting so far as may be possible, the best abilities and enthusiasms of the developed man with the daily work he has to do.

The following extracts from our records will give some concrete notion of the work that the Bureau is doing. It is in its infancy yet and is learning every day how to improve its plans and processes. But the summaries below, it is believed, will be of interest to all who approve the idea of trying to help young people use some system and scientific method in the choice of a vocation. If the applicant asks that the record shall be confidential it remains inviolable. Most of the applicants do not make that request or limit in any way the use of the material, but there is often reason on the face of the record for regarding it as confidential. So that many very interesting interviews are not available for publication. No names, of course, or identification will be given in any case.

ARCHITECT OR PHYSICAL DIRECTOR.

Young man of 23, medium size, good looking, clear complexion, athletic; extremely fond of physical exercise, very sociable nature, the human and social elements very strong; idealism and constructiveness much weaker, memory fair, manual ability medium; assistant physical director in a Y. M. C. A., and vibrating between the plan of perfecting himself for a full-fledged physical directorship and the completion of his studies in architecture, a business he began to study and worked at for some time in an architect's office with fair results.

The Counselor suggested that each should make a comparison of the two vocations in parallel columns and then compare notes at a second interview. The following diagram gives the results:

| PHYSICAL DIRECTOR. | ARCHITECT. |
|---|---|
| Active life. | More sedentary. |
| Healthful work. | Less healthful. |
| Close contact with men. | The human element much weaker and less constant. |
| Fine, helpful, sympathetic relationships. | Work more with things than with men, fair relationships, but not so close, constant or personally helpful. |
| The human element constant and strong. | More attention to drawings and buildings than to human beings as such. |
| Easy access, already have a good start in the profession. | Idealism and constructiveness very important elements. Manual skill and mathematics and executive ability also. |
| Fair pay. | Large compensation if successful. |
| Little or no capital required. | No capital necessary if one works as an employé in an architect's office, but: Considerable capital is needed to establish one's self in an independent business, for an architect must often make expensive drawings and estimates and wait a long time for his pay. |

On the basis of this comparative statement the Counselor made the following suggestions:

"Do you not think that on the whole your abilities and inclinations, especially your strong tendency to and marked ability for an active life full of the human element, adapt you much better to the life of a physical director than to that of an architect?*

"Do you believe that you would be permanently satisfied with the comparatively sedentary life of an architect, dealing with paper, pencil and ink, brick and mortar, wood and iron, and all the details of designing and constructing buildings, with comparatively little of the human element?*

"Could building houses of wood and stone ever be so attractive to you as building up fine human bodies of flesh and blood?*

"The direction in which our main enthusiasm and abilities lie is the direction in which we are most likely to win marked success. If you had a specially fine opening in architecture and a much poorer one in the other calling, that would make a change in the basis for decision which possibly might appeal to you, but at present your opportunities

appear to be better in the line of the physical directorship.

"If you decide on the basis of fullest adaptability, most congenial life and best opportunity in favor of the physical directorship, I hope you will proceed with all your energy and enthusiasm to perfect yourself for that work. A medical course and a course in the Y. M. C. A. Training School at Springfield, Massachusetts, would be specially valuable.

"If you decide in favor of architecture as your life work, you might first take the evening course at the Boston Y. M. C. A., saving your money meanwhile so as to be able to complete your studies at the School of Technology.

"In any case I hope you will not confine your studies to your vocation. There are other things in life besides earning a living. A man should study to be a good citizen and a well-rounded human being as well as to be an efficient worker. And, in fact, a man cannot be a first-class worker unless he knows more than his work. A good architect must know more than architecture. An A1 physical director must know more than athletics and medicine."

The young man said these suggestions made his case perfectly clear, the tabular contrast of the two professions and the paragraphs marked (*) being especially illuminating to him. He would not be satisfied to devote himself to things rather than to men.

FROM BOOT-BLACKING TO SIGN-PAINTING.

Boy of 19. Small, thin, weak. Grammar-school education. Very little reading. Memory poor. His father drives an express wagon. Went to work at 14. Successively, office boy, florist's helper, driving delivery wagon for provision store, blacking boots at a stand in a billiard hall. Loves music and drawing. Spends spare time with pencil and cornet. Saved $63 to buy a silver cornet, and $38 for lessons, while he was making $4.50 and $5 a week. Gave his mother half and saved the rest for cornet and lessons. Thought of studying to take civil-service examinations for clerkship in post-office.

Counselor asked him to bring some of his sketches. He did so. They showed considerable ability in outline work and lettering. Best points evidently in drawing and music.

SUGGESTIONS.

"If all the boys in Boston were to be divided into classes according to their special aptitudes and abilities, in what class would you belong? Is there anything you can do that most of the boys could not do so well?"

"Most of them cannot play the cornet, nor draw as well as I can, I think."

"How would you like to use your ability for drawing and lettering by getting to be a sign-painter?"

"I would like it very much."

"Well, practice a little every day or several times a day if possible. Watch the signs on the streets and copy the best ones. Study the advertisements in good magazines. Copy the lettering. Reproduce it from memory over and over again till you have mastered several good alphabets, plain and ornamental, and can use them at will in making signs and designs of your own. Borrow an engraver's book to get all the letters of each style in a complete group. When you have mastered a few kinds of letters so you can do plain and fancy lettering easily and rapidly, try to get a place in one of these sign-making shops and work up. If you do well and save your money as you did for the cornet you may be able in a few years to start a shop of your own. Don't drop your music; you may get into a band some day, though it is doubtful if you are strong enough to rely on that as a business."

Some weeks later the Counselor met the young man in the subway. He had followed the suggestions made to him,

had developed considerable skill and facility in lettering, got a place in an excellent shop and was making signs to his heart's content, had one of them with him on the way to delivery, a very creditable piece of work, and he was brimming over with enthusiasm and happiness—did not seem like the same boy who had come a few weeks before to see how he could get a start.

A MECHANIC OFF THE TRACK.

A young man of 30; tall, fine looking, well built, clear, keen, fine expression; pleasant voice and manners; excellent conversational power; evidently a man of considerable culture and ability; book-keeper for an advertising concern, fairly successful, making $25 a week; liked the work, but not quite satisfied that he was in the right line since hearing the Counselor's talk about the value of a union of the best abilities and enthusiasms with the daily work. He had a high-school education and course in a business college, and had done some good reading on his own initiative.

In answering such questions as: "How do you spend your spare time?" "What sort of books do you like best?" "If you were in a big library with plenty of time on your hands, what department would attract you most?" "If you were to visit the great expositions like the World's Fair at Chicago and St. Louis, where there were magnificent buildings and beautiful grounds, a great collection of manufacturing products from all over the world, educational exhibits, military and naval exhibits, Machinery Hall, full of all kinds of machinery, Transportation Building, full of locomotives, cars, carriages, automobiles, etc., Forestry, Agricultural and Mining buildings, crowded with splendid exhibits in those lines, people from many different nations, wild animals, theatrical exhibits, curiosities without number, what would you go to see first, what would interest you most?" In answering all such questions, his love of machinery came strongly into view. He spent his spare time with tools, making things or tinkering about the house. His favorite reading consisted in books about machinery. At the World's Fair he would first go to Machinery Hall. That would interest him the most of all. He had a passiort for machinery. He loved to take it apald and put it together again. He coununderstand a new machine without instructions. He delighted to solve the mechanical problems.

In addition to his love of machinery and ability to understand and handle it, he had strong analytic power, which was clearly shown by a number of fine specimens of his work exhibited to the Counselor. His record and work also gave evidence of considerable inventiveness and organizing ability.

When we had gone over his record together and came to the questions: "If all the young men in Boston were gathered together, in what respects, if any, would you excel most of them? In what respects would you be on a level with most and in what respects, if any, inferior to most of them?" he replied to the first question, "My special abilities lie in the direction of machinery, analysis and organizing."

"How does a man achieve the best success of which he is capable, the greatest efficiency, fame, worth and social consideration within his reach? By exercise of those faculties wherein he excels the majority of his fellow-men, or by the exercise of faculties in respect to which he is on a level with them or inferior to them?"

"By the exercise of the faculties in respect to which he excels."

"Is there full scope in book-keeping for the exercise of your best abilities—your ability to deal with machinery, your analytic power and organizing ability?"

"No, there is n't."

"What lines of industry, then, would give full scope for your best powers?"

"Some mechanical work."

"Is not the question, then, what line of mechanical work offers you the best opportunites and fullest advantages?"

The young man thought this was so. We went over various mechanical industries together, and he decided to take a course in the Y. M. C. A. automobile school and also a course in electricity with a view to completing his studies in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It might also be possible very soon to transfer his work in book-keeping to some manufacturing company, where he would come into contact with machinery and so help the change to mechanical activities.

At the end of the interview he shook the Counselor's hand most heartily and said he thought this had been the most important hour of his life; the most illuminating talk he had ever had. The conference, he believed, would change the whole course of his life.

If this young man had continued to be a book-keeper for the rest of his life his best powers and ambitions and enthusiasms would have been divorced from his daily work. He would have spent his working hours with the ledgers and account books and his spare time with machinery. By changing to a mechanical occupation he can unite his highest abilities and enthusiasms with his daily work and so attain a development, success and happiness that would otherwise have been impossible.

The transfer to employ of a company where he would come into contact with machinery was effected a few weeks after the interview.

BUSINESS OR LAW—A HOUSE HALF-BUILT.

Assistant buyer in a department store; thinks he would like to be a lawyer; 22 years old; small, healthy, low forehead, narrow head, not very well balanced, high cheek bones, coarse features but bright and expressive, pleasant smile, rapid utterance, not very clear, moderate and non-aggressive intellectually, but energetic and enthusiastic in performance. Has a high-school education. Was first rate in mathematics, but very poor in history—just managed to pass. Memory not very good. Read some of Dickens, Kipling and Shakespeare. No study of oratory. Done a very little speaking. Not fond of argument. Mild disposition, not combative at all. Now taking evening course in law. Questions on his law work brought answers so confused as to show that he has no clear idea of the matters he has been over—no grip on the law or the proper methods of studying it. He says he is fond of store work, pretty successful in it and would like to develop into a full-fledged buyer; but one of his friends was going to be a lawyer and proposed that he should become a lawyer, too.

When the record was finished the Counselor said:

"When a man has a house half-built in a good location—foundation laid and walls well up nearly ready to put on the roof—is it wise to abandon the building, choose a new location and begin another building from the foundation up, when there is no necessity for the change nor any good reason to believe the new building will be better or perhaps as good as the first one that is nearly finished? Is that a wise proceeding?"

"It don't look so."

"Well, isn't that about what you are thinking of doing? It would probably take you ten years to get as near to success in the law as you are now in business. Moreover, you have tried business and you know you can be reasonably successful there, while it is not clear at all that you would be successful in the law. Your memory is not very good. Your ideas as to the law of torts, which you have studied, are very confused and inadequate. You are 22 years old and have shown no aptitude in the line of public speaking, nor any appetite for the discussion of public questions, or argument of any kind. The law is a

fighting profession on one side and opens on political life on the other. You do not seem to be cut out for intellectual conflict, nor to have any special interest in public affairs—no symptoms of a legal or civic mind. Study comes hard to you. A lawyer ought to master a library full of books. That would be very difficult for you. Moreover, the law is a crowded profession. It is hard to get a foothold even when you are well adapted to the work. You appear to be far better adapted to commercial life than the law. It would certainly take you many years to get as near to success in the law as you are now in commerce."

"It seems very clear to me now that you state the facts," said the young man. "It is strange I did n't see it before. It would take a long time in the law to get where I am now in business. I like the store, and might as well stick to it and work up."

"I think you are right," replied the Counselor. "It will not hurt you to finish your evening course in law. It is an excellent culture study. You are a citizen as well as a worker, and you ought to know something about law and government and economics. Read Fiske, Ely, Dole, Bryce, Shaw and other books our civic suggestions indicate, as you can get the time, and read systematically to understand and remember what you read. This analysis of memory method will help you develop your memory and get better results from it." (Giving the young man the leaflet on memory with a few moments' explanation and emphasis of the leading points.)

"Study your stock. Get familiar with values. Practice several times a day, whenever you can get a few minutes, concealing labels and mixing the goods, and then naming quality and price by sight and touch. Carry samples in your pockets and educate your fingers while traveling in the street cars. Keep on till you can tell the qualities and prices with quickness and certainty—tell them in the dark. Master your trade. Get acquainted with buyers and learn the secrets of the business. We'll give you letters to one or two of the best. Join one or more business organizations where you can come into association with the best men in your line, and cultivate them. Take a good trade journal and get the best books relating to your business and study them till you know their substance by heart. Practice drawing your stock from memory till you can locate every bit of it with the pencil as fast as your fingers can move. Study style and novelties. Watch the market and try to anticipate it. Watch what other buyers are doing and go them one better, if you can. Above all, remember that the fundamental secret of success in your business is genuine service to the public.

(*To be continued.*)

FRANK PARSONS,

*Boston, June* 8, 1908.

# THE NOTABLE PLAYS OF A SEASON.

By William Mailly.

THE DRAMATIC season just ended was early nipped in the bud by the financial crisis and never survived the sudden frost. Toward the close there was a slight spurt of prosperity, but not enough to recompense for the blight which prevailed throughout what are normally the most flourishing months of the dramatic year. This condition reflected itself in the decline in the number of new productions of serious plays as compared with the previous season.

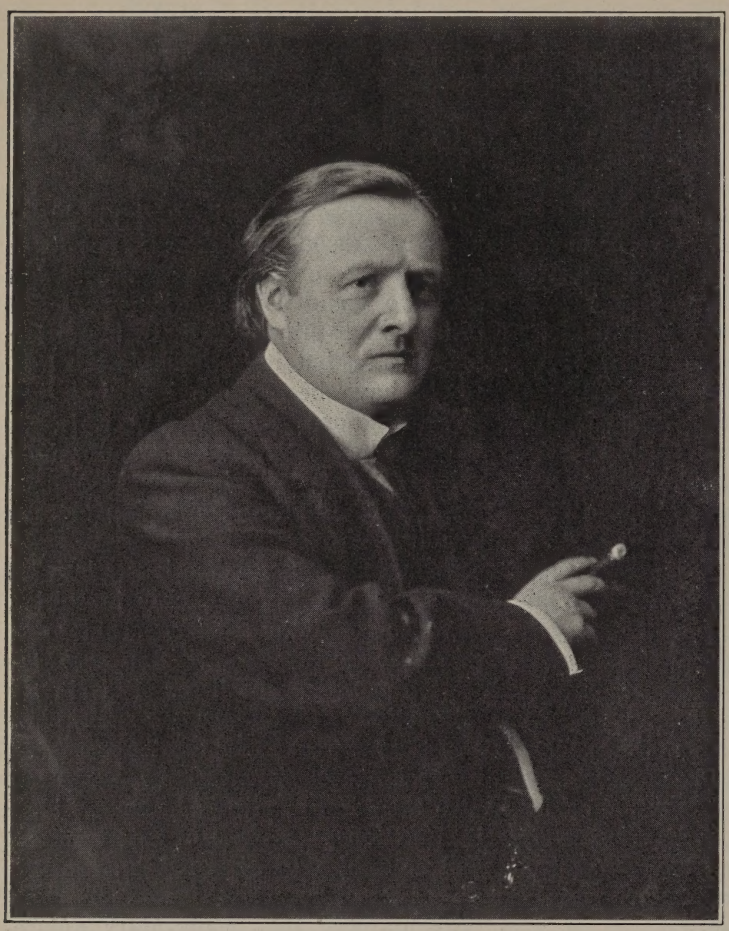
Since the fate of art under the existing social system is determined mainly by commercial considerations, it was consistent that the producing managers, those who by virtue of their position control the theatrical business of this country, should more carefully husband their resources and place their trust in "sure things" in view of the critical financial conditions. As a result many proposed productions were either shelved entirely or postponed until more favorable conditions should obtain.

It has been long recognized that in times of industrial depression not only does the patronage of theaters fall off greatly but the attention of theater-goers is turned more directly to "shows" of a light and frivolous character, and the pocketbooks of managers are peculiarly sensitive to the public taste. Since the primary object of their being in the business is to make money, managers cannot be expected to risk their substance upon uncertainties. They will give the public what it wants—providing the public itself knows what it wants. A definite idea of what the public does want is hard to get, though there are multiplying signs of the development of such an idea with the advance of general culture and artistic discrimination.

The output of serious plays during the past season is, therefore, not to be gauged by ordinary standards. Just what we would have had if normal conditions had prevailed it is impossible to estimate, but it is probable the total would have been more imposing than any heretofore recorded. As it is, we have to be grateful for several things, chief among them being certain productions which transcend anything in their line hitherto recorded.

When I speak of "serious plays" I mean plays serious not only in subject but also in purpose, plays meant to be taken as serious contributions to the vital thought of the time. It is in the production and success of such plays that the progress of the theater as a factor in social evolution can be measured. The theater will always be many-sided; its function as a place of entertainment will be undisputed, but it has a work to do as an intellectual factor. It must provide more than momentary amusement; it must give out something more enduring and invigorating; it must reflect life and deal with the problems that concern humanity. It is not a question of "elevating the stage." The stage is no worse morally and ethically than any other institution at present existing. The question is one of strengthening the stage as a useful, fruitful instrument of tremendous social influence and possibilities.

It is not within the scope of this review to relate in detail all the different excursions into serious drama during the recent season. Some of these hardly deserved the appellation of serious, but there were many brave attempts. The majority failed for some reason or other, which would be difficult for almost any



CHARLES RANN KENNEDY,
Author of "The Servant in the House."

one to explain. They are the deadwood which every dramatic season produces.

Nor is it necessary for me to comment upon such plays as "A Grand Army Man," "Polly of the Circus," "The Warrens of Virginia," "Her Sister," and similar plays designed principally for entertainment or to exploit some particular star. These receive more than their fair share of attention from the current press and magazines.

Looking back over the season there are but four plays which stand out from all others in their bold departure from old methods and in their emphatic appeal to the new social consciousness. These exceptional plays are "The Servant in the House," by Charles Rann Kennedy, "The Witching Hour," by Augustus Thomas, and "The Master Builder" and "Rosmersholm," by Henrik Ibsen. Two other plays considered notable were "The Thief," by Henri Bernstein, and "Paid in Full," by Eugene Walter, a new American dramatist. Both these plays have received unanimous critical approval and substantial popularity.

I am compelled to take issue with the current opinion that these much-lauded plays will attain permanent distinction. In the case of "Paid in Full" especially, I venture the assertion that the characterization is false and delusive, the motive machine-made and artificial, and the excusing and exalting of sordid standards of moral conduct demoralizing and debasing. The success of both plays was mainly due to their dramatic qualities, to certain situations in them which aroused curiosity and suspense. But they offered nothing concrete or constructive and they were neither mentally-illuminating, thought-compelling nor soul-stirring.

It is worth noting right here how those who are so rigidly insistent upon strict adherence to the orthodox moral and ethical code approve the presentation of characters upon the stage who violate the principles of honor, truth, purity and mercy in the final working out of themes

congenial to the orthodox mind. In both "The Thief" and "Paid in Full," the leading characters who are expected to excite sympathy are shown to be devoid of ordinary decency and circumspection, but because they contribute toward pointing a conventional moral their palpable shortcomings are blinked at and their superficial virtues are applauded.

In "The Thief," the action revolves around a woman who steals the money of her host in order to purchase clothes fashionable enough to hold the "love" and admiration of her fickle husband. She lies brazenly, browbeats dressmakers and milliners, and when exposure is imminent she inveigles a young boy with whom she has been flirting into assuming her guilt. Then when her husband discovers her deceit she continues to lie until, driven into a corner, she clears the boy by confessing her guilt—not to save the boy so much as to retain her husband, who is himself far from being as impeccable as he might be.

E. H. SOTHERN AS "RODION THE STUDENT."

This is a sordid revelation and it serves no good purpose other than to expose a character developed in the environment of the selfish, idle *bourgeoisie*. But the play was not regarded in that light. The woman, who was totally undeserving of sympathy, was sobbed and sighed over all winter as though she were worth it. Instead she was a pretty poor sort of creature in the eyes of those who understand how such as she cold-bloodedly condone and assist in the exploitation of the working-class women whose underpaid labor provides luxuries for the wasteful, useless leisure class. The play had the advantage of being presented by a capable company headed by Margaret Illington and Kyrle Bellew, but this only tended to emphasize the disagreeable theme and heighten the unwholesome effect.

"Paid in Full" is more insidious and

EDITH WYNNE MATTHISON.

for that reason all the more dangerous in its effects. I viewed this play in a light wholly different from what the critics did or the author evidently intended, and as my view-point cannot be very well explained in an article like the present one, I shall present an analysis of "Paid in Full" in an early issue of THE ARENA. The play warrants special treatment, for it is being skilfully advertised for a long career.

It is when we turn from the contemplation of plays like the foregoing ones to "The Servant in the House" and "The Witching Hour" that we are made to realize the vast difference between the positive and negative influence of the drama. "The Servant in the House" is the most extraordinary play that the new century has seen. It is different in theme, in character delineation, in structure, in dialogue, from anything now exhibited on the stage, not only in this country but probably in any other.

So much has been said about this play already that it would be superfluous to dwell at length upon it here. Its truthful presentation of types of character developed under modern social conditions, its recognition of the effect of environment upon human character, its exaltation of the spirit of human brotherhood, its symbolical promulgation of the necessity for a cleaner, healthier society, its pitiless yet just criticism of churchly hypocrisy, its exposition of labor as the leading factor in social regeneration (a point entirely missed by the great body of reviewers)—all of these combine to make this a play so beautiful, so profoundly moving and soul-thrilling that it cannot be witnessed without astonishment nor written about without apparent extravagance.

To Mr. Henry Miller, through his newly-formed company of Associate Players, belongs the credit and honor of presenting Mr. Kennedy's play before an American audience and of giving it its first presentation anywhere. It is tremendously encouraging that it has met with a whole-souled response and there are indications that it is destined to become a piece of dramatic literature of permanent value. The Associate Players at present consist of Tyrone Power, Walter Hampden, Charles Dalton, Arthur Lewis, Galwey Herbert, Mabel Moore and Edith Wynne Matthison. Miss Matthison in private life is Mrs. Kennedy and first became known to the American public through her fine performance in "Everyman" a few years ago. It is interesting to note that both she and Mr. Kennedy are Fabian Socialists.

In another way "The Witching Hour" is also a great achievement. It is the latest and best work of Augustus Thomas, who is bringing anew to the American stage the impulse of a vigorous and progressive mind and the vitality of a rich and commanding personality. "The Witching Hour" is a play of American middle-class life, well constructed, brilliantly dialogued and clearly characterized, but its impressiveness lies in its

exposition of the influence of thought upon life and character. Mr. Thomas delivers a message through the medium of the drama to the effect that thoughts are living things, that they cannot be misused with impunity and that they are capable of conveying good or evil and of reacting, either for good or ill, upon those who give them birth. The elucidation of this idea was a risky undertaking, but it has been so convincingly accomplished that it is not exaggerating to say that Mr. Thomas probably accelerated the cause of telepathy more in one short season than scores of pamphlets and agitators had done in a dozen years. Messrs. Shubert accepted this play after it had been rejected by many managers and Mr. Thomas had been dubbed crazy for his pains, and it was staged in first-class fashion both in New York and elsewhere. John Mason made his advent as a star in the leading part in New York and achieved a distinct success.

ACT I.—"DON QUIXOTE."
(E. H. Sothern as "Don Quixote" and Rowland Buckstone as "Sancho Panza."

That admirable actress, Mrs. Fiske, has done so many big and memorable things for the American stage that it has become almost trite to accord her due as the first of American actresses. This season she added to her collection of remarkable character studies that of Rebecca West in "Rosmersholm," surrounding herself, as usual, with a company of artists in full sympathy with her ideals and efforts, including Bruce McRae, George Arliss, Albert Bruning and Fuller Mellish.

"Rosmersholm" is one of Ibsen's studies of a human soul struggling under conditions which alternately tend to stultify and ennoble it. The unhappy Rebecca West is a subtle character creation and it required Mrs. Fiske's supreme touch to illumine it and compel sympathy and understanding from the auditor. It is in just such parts that Mrs. Fiske manifests her genius to the highest degree and endears herself to all lovers of sincere, thoughtful and realistic acting. It is the modern spirit shedding light upon what might otherwise be dark and

mystifying, revealing the master mind among modern dramatists.

Say what they please about Ibsen, his plays, though apparently local in setting and limited in activity, have a meaning far beyond the mere limitations of locality and action. His types are universal ones, existent everywhere in civilized society. Any one with a mind not too hopelessly provincial and unobservant can recognize at once in Ulric Brendel, Mortensgard and Rector Kroll people commonly met with in active political and social life. And we do not come away from Ibsen with a "bad taste in the mouth" (notwithstanding what the sensitive critics may say to the contrary), but with minds refreshed and consciences quickened to the useless sacrifices and harsh injustices wrought by codes which bind mankind to ancient forms and outworn beliefs. It is quite different in the cases of "The Thief" and "Paid in Full," for example, where the spectacle of human frailty and ineptitude induces to pessimism and leaves nothing substantial for the mind to digest and refresh itself upon.

Of Madame Nazimova's production of "The Master Builder" I wrote at length in THE ARENA of February last and further comment here is unnecessary. I consider Hilda Wangel the most impressive of all the *rôles* this actress has so far appeared in on the English-speaking stage. Later she produced "The Comet," by Owen Johnson, a young American dramatist, but this was a jumble of Ibsen, Hauptmann, Sudermann and others, and it failed to distinctly project a single, concrete, tangible idea. For this reason the interest centered almost wholly in Madame Nazimova's personality.

Afterwards "A Doll's House" was revived and again claimed much attention.

So long as the star system exists there will be conjecture as to which actor is entitled to be known as the leading star in America. It is being asserted in these later days that the one actor whose claim to this position—should his modesty permit him to make it—is justified by conscientious endeavor, wide range of versatility, devotion to art and ambitious enterprise, is Edward H. Sothern. And if Mr. Sothern continues to advance as he has done in recent years—and there is every reason to believe that he will—his claim to that title will be indisputable and unchallenged.

Mr. Sothern added this season to his repertoire three entirely different characters and in each of them he won distinction. He successfully reincarnated his father's famous characterization of two generations ago, "Lord Dundreary." Then as Rodion, the student in Lawrence Irving's dramatization of Dostoieffski's Russian novel, *Crime and Punishment*, under the elongated title of "The Fool Hath Said, 'There is No God,'" he conceived a study of peculiar psychological interest and intensity. The play itself was a strange, incoherent mixture of realism and melodrama and, except in instances where Rodion dominated the scene, it was lacking in Russian atmosphere. The ending especially, when Rodion is depicted as becoming converted to religion through the repeating of the Lord's Prayer by a pretty young girl was so crude and contrary to Russian revolutionary character and so plainly a concession to the conventionalties, that it came dangerously near swamping Mr. Sothern's work with ridicule. Nothing so irritatingly inane and untrue as this could have been devised to recklessly invite disaster for any play. The wonder is that Mr. Sothern did not himself perceive this.

He followed this with a production "Don Quixote," a dramatization of Cervantes' novel by Paul Kester. Mr. Sothern's art never reached a higher point than in his delineation of the old knight-errant, who, like many doughty heroes of to-day who fight to maintain theories germane only to a past age, went forth to perpetuate chivalry when the age

ACT III.—"THE WITCHING HOUR."

(Russ Whytal as "Judge Prentice," John Mason as "Jack Brookfield" and George Nash as "Frank Hardmuth."

of chivalry was dead. All the sublime courage, the misplaced idealism, the sincere faith, the indomitable spirit of justice, the reckless espousal of the weak against the strong, the single-hearted devotion to his fair lady, Dulcinea—all these elements which were so crystalized in the person of Cervantes' creation were indicated by the actor with a rare sympathy, a charming quaintness and instinctive sensitiveness that touched the heart. For while you laughed at the mishaps into which Quixote's enthusiasm led him, you did not laugh at him. We all have our ideals—they are all we have worth living for—and they, too, suffer when brought into direct contact with the rude, practical world as Quixote's ideals suffered. And when the dreams born of our ideals are dissipated we may well wish to pass as did he, broken-hearted and alone, among his dusty tomes.

It is not clear why Bertha Kalich has not gained full success in New York. She has certainly earned it, for she has shown herself to be an actress of great natural power, fine sensibilities and unlimited possibilities. And yet New York has treated her lukewarmly, while elsewhere she has been greeted with appreciation and enthusiasm. This would seem to justify the oft-repeated charge of New York's provincialism and immaturity in affairs dramatic. And New York *is* provincial—even though it be the metropolis. The fact is, New York has been so long sitting in judgment upon new plays and aspiring players that its horizon has become limited and its viewpoint distorted. Then also, too many of its critics have to live up to a reputation for erudition which they do not possess, while others have to write "smart," when to be sincere

would be more difficult. Others, too, have minds which dwell in the past and cannot, or refuse to, recognize that change is the mainspring of progress in the theater as in all other things.

I am inclined to believe that Madame Kalich's failure to win recognition in proportion to her ability lies in the fact that she applies the modern method of acting, that of repression and suggestion, to characters which are primitive and elemental, and the New York critics cannot adjust themselves to the phenomenon. They are accustomed to noise and bluster when the elemental emotions are depicted. It is asking much of these judges to believe that the expression of passion, revenge, jealousy, hate and love does not necessarily consist in tearing the planking out of the stage or in thundering the roof off of the theater.

Madame Kalich does none of these things. She refuses to flop over the furniture or to demolish the stage settings, or in the stage vernacular, "chew the scenery" in order to convey an impression of aroused emotion. What she does she does simply, directly and sincerely. She works surely toward a climax, and when it is reached she propels it with a force which is all the more effective because it is neither loud nor explosive. This was the case in "Marta of the Lowlands," where she thrilled with an exhibition of concentrated anger that was realistic without being bombastic; while in another scene the effect was as poignant though the method was the same. The play dealt with the power held by the feudal masters of Spain over the ignorant and enslaved peasant class, of which Marta was one. She found love and freedom with a shepherd lad whose unsophisticated nature was set in strong contrast to the brutal feudal ruler who had controlled and overcome the helpless girl.

BERTHA KALICH AS "MARTA."

What promised to be a notable event of the season was the coming of the Russian actress, Madame Vera Komisarzevsky and her own company direct from St. Petersburg. This turned out an unfortunate venture. A book could be written about the strange adventures encountered in America by this company. Madame Komisarzevsky holds high rank in the Russian dramatic world; she owns a theater at the capital and her enterprise and independence have made her a great popular favorite. She rented the famous Daly's Theater on Broadway at her own expense and presented her repertoire of modern plays by Ostrovsky, Ibsen, Sudermann, Gorki and others. Not only did she show herself to be an artist of unusual ability but her impersonation of widely differentiated characters was a revelation in this land of one-part actors and underdone stars. Her company was a thoroughly trained one, Mr. Bravich, her leading man, being an exceptionally gifted and sincere actor.

And yet the reception accorded Madame Komisarzevsky—a stranger in a strange land, seeking recognition as an artist—was astounding. With the excep-

ACT II.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."
(Walter Hampden as "Manson," Arthur Lewis as "The Bishop of Lancashire" and Tyrone Power as "Robert Smith.")

tion of a small minority, who tried to make amends for the boorishness of their follows, the critics of the Western Metropolis assaulted her with a storm of ridicule, contempt, coarse wit and petty insult that was an outrage and a scandal. The enterprise could not survive such treatment, especially since the performances were given in Russian. Denied a respectful audience by the press, pursued by play brokers and adventurers, harassed by all sorts of petty annoyances, Madame Komisarzevsky cut short her stay at Daly's and during the few weeks longer that she remained here confined her productions to the East Side and other places where her countrymen congregated. They rallied to her support and at her closing performance she was presented with a testimonial containing 10,000 names, along with numerous gifts and many flowers. The company carried with them to Russia the remembrance of a most extraordinary experience in the great Western republic.

Another unsuccessful venture was Arnold Daly's Theater of Ideas, which ran a short but brilliant career at the little Berkeley. Mr. Daly started out on new lines, eschewing newspaper advertising and the free list to critics. He was forced to change this policy, but the change could not save his enterprise. He produced one-act plays, all of them good and well presented. Finally he revived "Candida," and then he had to succumb for lack of public support. In a more prosperous period he might have pulled through and there is hope that he will try again some day.

One thing was missing from the season: A social comedy like "Widowers' Houses" or "Man and Superman." There is a great dearth of such plays in America. "The Servant in the House" combines comedy with drama to a certain extent, but satire is needed. The material is here in plenty for it, but there appears to be none bold enough to use it. Instead we have George Ade wasting his ability

on things like "Father and the Boys" and Clyde Fitch dishing up tepid humor in farces like "Girls." There is a great opportunity waiting for a dramatist with genius and daring enough to do for the American stage what Bernard Shaw has done for England and Arthur Schnitzler for Austria.

Moreover, the time is ripe for some one to crystallize the facts of our industrial struggle into a sublime drama that will shock the great mass of the people into a realization of social conditions and an understanding of their causes just as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," crude as it was, stirred the Northern people before the Civil War.

One thing, however, may be set down as definitely decided: The social play, the play grappling with social questions and setting forth ideas of social significance—this kind of play has come to stay. It can no longer be ridiculed or sneered out of existence. It is a vital, compelling fact in the dramatic life of our day. Its progress may be obstructed or hindered by antagonistic and ignorant forces, but this will be but temporary, for its ultimate dominance, both as drama and comedy, is only a matter of time and is as sure as social progress itself.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

*New York City.*

# THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION.

BY CHARLOTTE TELLER.

Socialism, the Socialist party and a Socialist convention are not one and the same thing, for while the first includes the second and third, and the second includes the third—the order cannot be reversed.

Socialism is the reiterated demand of democracy for the control of all material things which will make democracy an abiding reality and make the development of the individual possible. There are to-day between nine and ten million men and women in its active organizations. In the various parliaments of Europe there are over four hundred Socialist representatives or deputies whose concerted thought and action give the movement its universal character.

The Socialist party of the United States is a mechanism consciously used to hasten the Socialist movement. It differs from both of the old and established parties of this country not only in its open protest against the present industrial system, but in its form. It has a dues-paying membership of forty-two thousand; it has probably a million and a half adherents. If you join the Socialist party you make application to the local organization, and the first step is your signature to this paragraph on the application card:

"I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all other parties; that I endorse the platform and constitution of the *Socialist Party* and hereby apply for admission in said party."

One might say that there was an educational qualification for membership in the Socialist party, and though the so-called "intellectual" is a skeleton in the closet of almost every Socialist local, the intellectual element is strong because it is demanded for entrance. To join the party you have to understand (or believe you understand) the (1) theory of the class struggle and (2) the materialistic conception of history, which in two words means (1) that the basis of Socialist philosophy is that belief in a struggle between the working and the privileged classes through all history; and means (2) that a man, groups of men and nations are influenced by the way in which they get their livelihood; that art, literature, religion even, spring from primarily or are fundamentally affected by the industrial processes in vogue.

The body of Socialist doctrine, the great number of scientific analogies, the learned exegeses of historical material—all have to do with one or the other of these two theories. But on the whole, there was very little reference to either one at the convention.

DURING the week of the National Socialist Convention in Chicago, a group of delegates and party-members were discussing the words most used by Socialist "soap-boxers" and "street-corner professors"—the men who are out on the highways and byways trying to get a hearing for Socialism.

"When I get on a soap-box down in my state," said a tall, broad-shouldered Southerner, "there are mighty few of the words of the platform of the Socialist party that I can make use of, for if I do, I have to explain them." He paused, in some embarrassment. "And, gentlemen, I can 't always explain them."

His confession called forth a hubbub of response, and as they sat there around the table a list was made of the propaganda phrases which, as one of them said, might well "Be put out of the party as 'intellectuals.'" At this there was the general laugh called forth very often during the week by the reference to the "Intellectual." The word is used among Socialists as an epithet and means that the one against whom it is used is not one of the "proletariat" (that privileged class of the workers). However, "intellectual" is gasping its last malicious breath, for it was the butt of too many jokes in Chicago. The list of words they wished to be rid of was made out much as those lists of French nobles for beheading, in 1791.

"Proletariat!" shouted one of the delegates.

"Write it down!" they all cried.

And a young novelist who has just joined the party wrote it on the back of an envelope.

"Revolution!" shouted another.

"Write it down!" they cried.

"Exploitation!" groaned a third.

"Put that on the list."

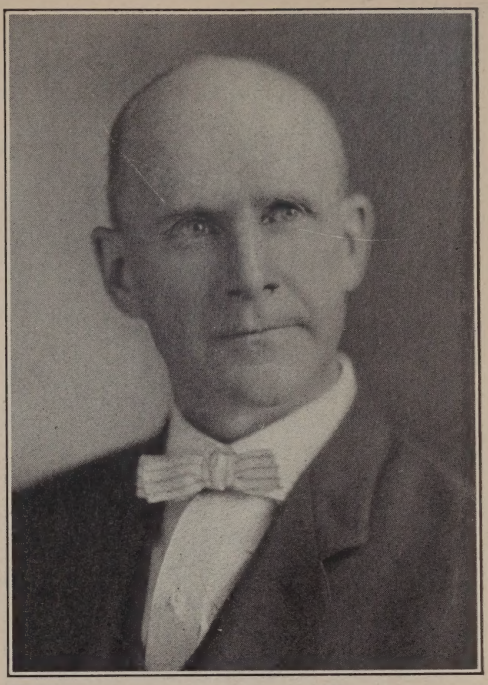
"Wage-slave!" hammered one.

Then the first dispute arose and lasted until one of them said:

"Either we are or we are n't. If we are, we want to forget it and get to the business of the ballot; if we are n't, then we 're liars to boast of being."

"Write it down!" they cried. All except a lawyer who is making thirty thousand a year in his practice. He was for calling himself a wage-slave to the end.

"Uncompromising" was written without protest.



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EUGENE V. DEBS.

"Say, can 't we get along without 'comrade'?" asked one of the men, sheepishly. "It makes me feel as though I were in a Methodist prayer-meeting where it's all Brother This and Sister That."

There was a pause portentous. The man who had made the break went on:

"It 's so smug and self-satisfied, and it shuts out all the fellows we 're trying to get in. Say, I hate it; it 's *bourgeoisie!*"

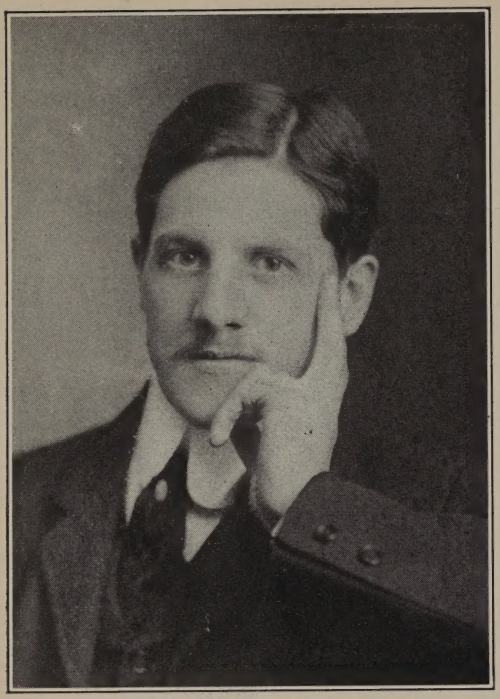
"Write it down," they whispered, and all looked at the floor.

"Bourgeois must go, too." They nodded assent.

"How about the red flag? Can we pass that up?" There was a hush in the room. "I do n't mean the words. I mean the flag itself. What 's in a flag, anyway?"

"Let 's get to work. We 're going too far, com—I mean fellows."

But they all took a deep breath, and one of the newer members, interpreting this as relief, said:



ELLIS O. JONES.

"Well, there 's not much of the party left now. You 've taken its flag and its phrases."

"My young friend," said the ex-professor, "this happens to be the one party that does not need flags or phrases. It 's got the goods."

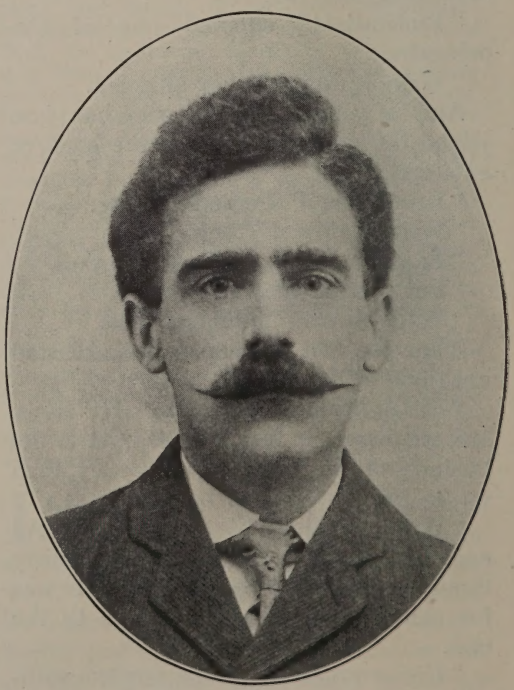
"Yes," said the "young friend," "but I do n't see that any of you want to deliver the goods."

The ex-professor patted him on the shoulder. "Have you met Berger, of Wisconsin?"

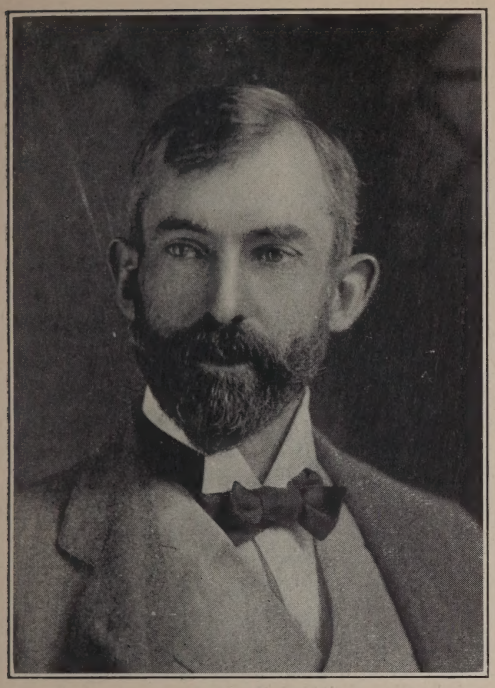
I was listening to all of this as an outsider. I was of those who went to the convention out of curiosity, and I *had* met Victor Berger, of Milwaukee, last year and knew that he represented the practical Socialists—those who are willing to work wherever they find an opportunity and do not consider that since they have decided upon their goal—Coöperative Commonwealth—they make any compromise in setting out to reach it. I knew the Convention was going to be interesting because Berger and the "Constructives" would be there, and so would the "Impossibilists."

"We ought not to deal too harshly with our Impossibilist comrades," says Berger himself. "Almost all old Socialists were Impossibilists once upon a time."

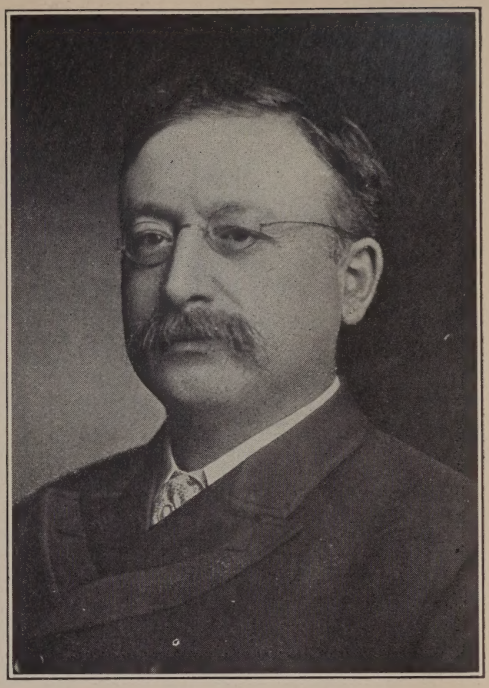
Just what an Impossibilist is, it is hard to tell. He is the man who uses the "holy words" of any movement; in Socialism such words, for instance, as were put on the list, and he always opposes practical measures. He represents an important phase of the Socialist movement, the historical, almost fanatic insistence upon the "philosophical basis." In 1854 he would have belonged—by reason of his temperament—to that group of Abolitionists who gave no definite plan of procedure to the country when they presented the vital issue of slavery. He exists in every movement, is sincere, usually right in theory and always in evidence. He both retards and hastens—retards the practice of principles while calling attention in his



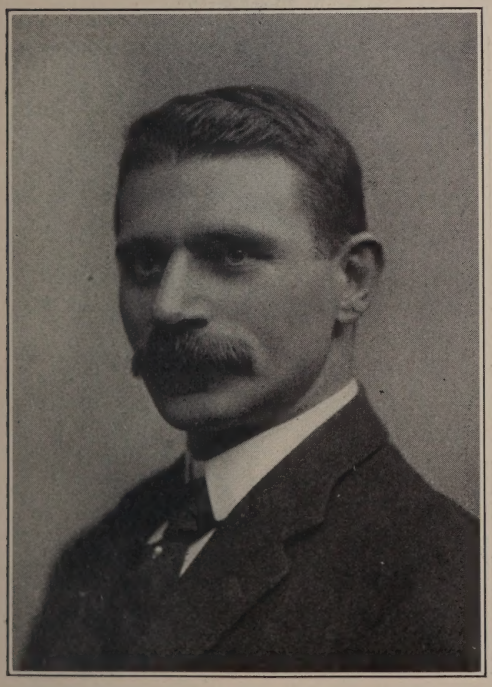
JOHN SPARGO.



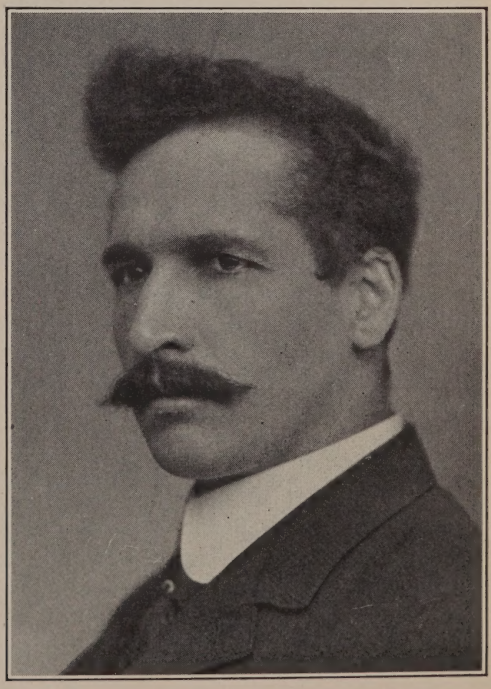
GAYLORD WILSHIRE.



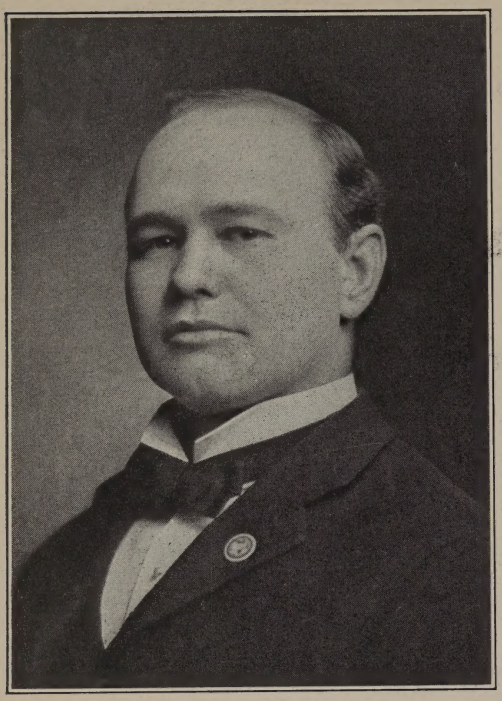
VICTOR L. BERGER.



MORRIS HILLQUIT.



JOSEPH WANHOPE.



CARL D. THOMPSON.

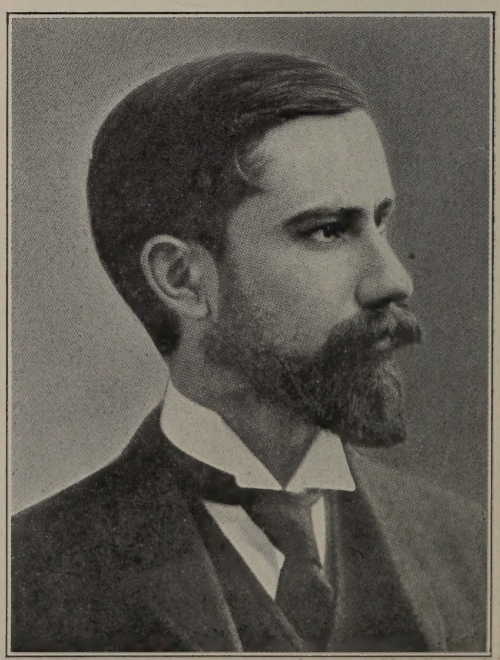
intensity to the principles themselves.

He would be in evidence, perhaps in control, at the opening of this National Socialist Convention. Where would he be at the end? His place then would determine whether or not the party was to be counted a third political party, dangerous to the interests of the two old parties, or simply as heretofore a party of propaganda not yet significant in the approaching campaign. The pendulum of the movement in this country would during convention week swing violently towards him or as violently away.

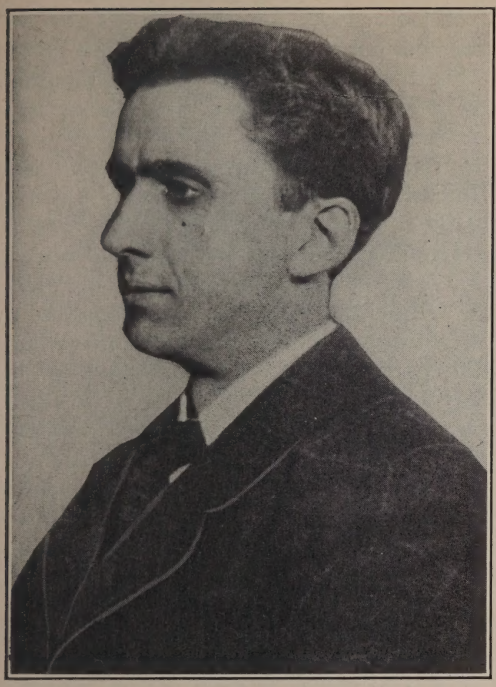
On Sunday, when those of us arrived who were to sit on the stage of the Garrick Theater at the opening reception, we found the only person with any idea of activity as an arrangement committee to be a little white-haired woman. The making of arrangements for a convention is a business in itself which the Socialists have not yet learned. But in the gayety of this informal arrangement we dubbed her "Mother," and watched her, busily engaged in pushing camp-chairs back and forth, hither and yon, as though at a game of solitaire. Men of the mountains, men of the prairies, men of the City of New York, pushed their way through the narrow corridor to the stage and were about to sit down upon the geometric design of camp chairs, but "Mother" would n't have it so, for a singing society, with its hair done in pompadour and its fluff under its chin, had arrived and needed them.

A few minutes later, when the curtain rose, these young ladies stood up and sang the "Marseillaise"! It was distinctly American. We let our women do everything—even let them sing that song first sung by masses of maddened and inspired people—the war-song of the working classes.

But whether or not it was in keeping with the spirit of the "Marseillaise" as originally written, it was a very gentle and rather charming beginning to the day. That opening reception was an



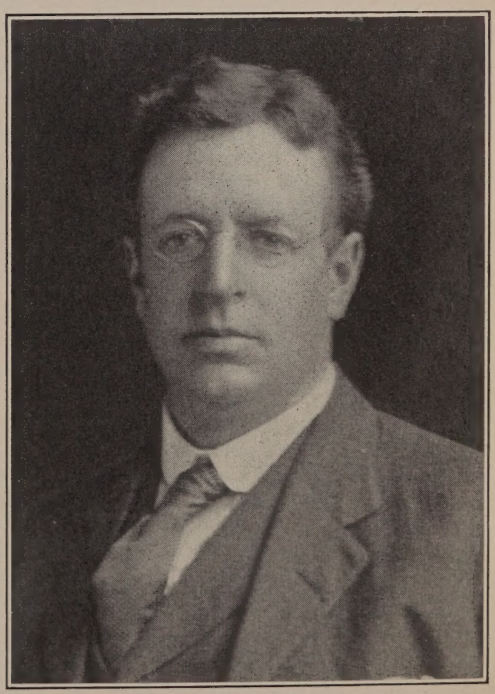
A. M. SIMONS.



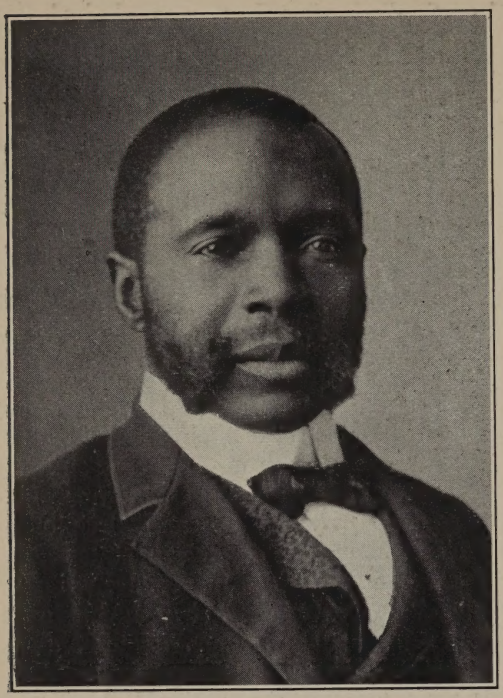
J. GRAHAM PHELPS STOKES.

epitome of the convention week. The speeches indicated the change that had gone on during the last four years in the party itself, for the American, the Irish, the English, the Russian and the German speakers all emphasized the need of studying American conditions and meeting the situation in an American manner. There was no exaggeration of phrase, there was no demagoguery, no prophecy of blood; but an insistence upon action and energy. Some things that were said roused laughter, which showed that a sense of humor prevailed. It would be impossible now to caricature the convention, for you cannot laugh at any person or body of persons who have a sense of humor. At the end of the hour there was a sudden intensity when a Yiddish chorus sang songs of South Russia, the strange, weird, minor plaints of the oppressed, and then burst into the "Marseillaise." *They* knew what it meant! The day, beginning in the commonplaceness of Chicago, and the confusion incident upon lack of arrangements, had become international in spirit.

The National Socialist Convention opened May tenth in Chicago with 219 delegates and several hundred visitors vitally interested in its proceedings. Brand's Hall on North Clark street was crowded at the first session. Face to face with the delegates sitting at tables under their respective state placards, I remarked at once that there was much more tan and wholesome color than anæmic pallor or symptoms of sweat-shop and factory. These were men and women of more than usual vitality. Here were American farmers, sturdy, thoughtful, eager; here were lawyers with something of that keen and disciplined look of the early American statesman; there were ex-college professors, writers, preachers, coal-miners, cigar-makers and other industrial workers, doctors, dentists and small business men. And I was told by the national secretary, Mahlon Barnes, that the small towns



SEYMOUR STEDMAN.



G. W. WOODBY.

and the farming communities had a greater increase in the number of delegates and therefore in membership than the large industrial communities, the cities! That Socialism was spreading fastest where people had time to read and think.

Later in the day I heard some one say:

"It 's a dust-colored assembly." The gray day added to the effect.

The speaker's companion admitted that it was: "City dust and prairie dust mingled," he said. "But, comrade, it is the dust to which you had better return, for it is the dust out of which God is making man."

There might be rich men and poor men, but as far as outward appearances went, neither beggar-men nor thieves, neither the collarless individual who might claim to be one of the proletariat under its dictionary definition, nor, on the other hand, any tailors' models or gentlemen of avoirdupois such as frequent and thrive upon the customary political conventions. It looked to be an ordinary middle-class assembly with about the same proportions of foreign-born and native-born as is usual in any American gathering. It was not a crowd to rouse much interest at first glance. But when it rose here and there individually it became absorbing, for it was a convention of men with ideals whose intensity showed in voice and manner.

"Principles and not personalities" might almost be the slogan. For within the party itself leadership, except as it has been thrust upon those who must run for office, is not encouraged. Democracy is jealous, at its beginning, of the individual whose qualities make him a leader. And Socialists who have faced the dangerous possibility of leadership in the old parties, are on guard against any unusual influence in any member of the organization. The leader is so often a demagogue that the Socialists protect themselves from the ambitious politician likely to become one. But by so doing they also deny themselves the fruits of an enthusiasm which mounts more quickly when expressed by a trusted leader willing to take the initiative, assume responsibility and act courageously.

Here were gathered, to be sure, the leaders of the Socialist movement in this country. But there was no renowned orator, no man who stood head and shoulders above the rest in reputation, no man beloved as a people's idol, venerated or looked to as a savior. And the visitors, several hundred of whom were present at every session—came not to see men, but to follow the proceedings. It did not occur to them to call for any one speaker in debate or to show partiality.

Nor do the men most prominent in the movement hanker for leadership. I talked with Joseph Wanhope, of New York, a vigorous Scotch-Irishman, with the Irish love of the fight in him and the persistence of the Scotch.

"Socialism is inevitable," he said.

"I'm only a fly on the wheel. *I* don't have to bring it about. A Socialist is like a tug with a load of barges in the Ohio river which keeps the barges in the current so that the current can carry them along."

"But if it is inevitable," I asked, "why should you do anything at all?"

"Because," he answered, "when I sit down on a tack—and Capitalism is the tack—I can 't sit quiet and be comfortable. But I know I am a fly on the wheel. Victor Berger does n't. He thinks he can push Wisconsin twenty years ahead of the rest of the United States."

We were sitting on some very dusty stairs over at the headquarters. Above us, in the Socialist League rooms, some one was playing the "Marseillaise" on the piano, with one finger; and not far from us at one end of the room off the hall two or three tired reporters on the Chicago *Daily Socialist* were clicking their typewriters under electric lights, while at the other end the Executive Committee was sitting at a long table in the gloom, hearing informally both sides of the contest about credentials in the state of Washington. There could hardly be a better picture to show the personnel of the convention than this group.

Here was Victor Berger, an Austrian by birth, educated at the Universities of Buda-Pesth and Vienna, a member to-day of the American Social Science Association and the American Academy of Political and Social Science; a big, bluff egotist of fifty, ruddy-skinned and spectacled, who is trying his best, whether or not he thinks himself a fly on the wheel, to push the wheel. And there you have it. What inner joys, what emotion of effort, the fly may have in his attempt, no matter what the results! And take it that it is a fly who knows how fast the wheel ought to go, whose brain has compassed the mechanical laws of motion, and perhaps those larger laws still of the human will and control of natural forces. Who knows but that fly does push?

Across the table from him was Carl Thompson, his co-worker in Wisconsin, a round-headed stocky man who looks like the ideal humorist. He is pre-eminently the man who has given to the country an insight into constructive Socialism. His pamphlet with that title is selling like hot cakes. He used to write sermons, now he writes to the same end, he says—Salvation of Love—on Socialism. Moreover, he has something very definite to write because in Wisconsin there are actual facts to deal with. Many of the "Impossibilists" bought his pamphlet; every copy was a straw showing the way the wind was blowing.

At the end of the table sat A. M. Simons, whose head is that of the early Daguerreotype—very black hair and very white skin and clear-cut features. He has the look of a man under severe nervous strain, that strain inherited from our American ancestry who took themselves too seriously, but for that reason achieved the impossible in pioneering. He had probably done three days' work in one before he came into this committee meeting, for he is the editorial writer on the Chicago *Daily Socialist*, and he was one of the Illinois delegates.

Facing him sat J. G. Phelps Stokes, or Graham Stokes as he is called by his comrades. The high-bred face, the long, lean figure is of the aristocracy which is his chief inheritance. There was some jealousy shown of him, fear on the part of some delegates; but it was because they did not know him and know that in simplicity, straightforwardness and sincerity, he was one who would never be moved by self-interest.

Rose Pastor Stokes, his wife, was here, too, sitting just outside the circle of the committee, and after a while she got tired (for the discussion was not exciting), and she put her head down on another table where Mrs. O'Hare's small boy, a young citizen of Oklahoma, was lying stretched out the full length of his six-year-old dignity; the two of them went sound asleep.

And here was Morris Hillquit, of New York, whose subtlety, wit and logic dominates any group that he is in. He is a Russian Jew, who has written the one and only *History of Socialism in the United States*—a man who ran for Congress in the city of New York and polled a big vote, who has time to lecture and debate and write books, while as a practicing lawyer he works hard enough to earn an income which would put him in the leisure class if he cared for it.

Outside this group at the table stood perhaps twenty-five or thirty men, most of whom were more or less interested in the Washington question. They looked like farmers watching a chess contest. Just what did the convention mean to them? They had been sent by their locals to Chicago. The locals had paid the car-fare, nothing else; and it was likely that the additional expenses of the week might in many instances mean serious sacrifice. Yet in most of the faces you could read an indifference to sacrifice, an interest that was real and a pluck that would count.

Others came into the room for a few moments at a time—Algernon Lee, former editor of *The Worker*, in New York, and W. J. Ghent, whose "Benevolent Feudaism" brought him into international prominence, a man full to the brim of American history, particularly the history of American politics.

It was in such informal discussions as on this occasion and in these accidental groupings that you got the spirit of the convention. One night in Mr. Stokes' room they had a sort of caucus for the Presidential candidate, and you would have thought that that was the least important matter in the Convention —as in a way it was. For while they discussed personalities, in the bottom of their hearts they all knew that there was but one man whose figure was commanding enough to represent the whole party and not any one phase of its personnel—Eugene V. Debs.

They all sat about the room—Berger and Hillquit and Ghent and Seymour Stedman—a Chicago man likely to hold responsible positions whenever the Socialists recognize the American lawyer as a political institution, without which they cannot get along—and John M. Work (whose book, *What's So and What Is n't*, is in its eightieth thousand), who writes the sort of English that has made the Brisbane editorials in the Hearst papers the great force in forming opinion in this country.

And there was John Spargo, author of *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, the alert Englishman who was called by his friends less active during this week— "the first Socialist boss." And Carl Thompson and half a dozen others. And then here and there sat the wives— Mrs. Stokes, Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Berger and Mrs. Stedman. And I thought of that popular concept among the ignorant ones, of Socialism as a menace to American institutions and particularly to the American family. Never in any gathering, neither under the auspices of the church or the state, have I seen so many husbands and wives of one purpose and effort, whose feeling for each other shone so constantly in their eyes; who were together in committee work as well as in the home.

And the pride in the children! For many of them had to bring the children. The children were on the floor of the convention hall and at all the social gatherings held during the week. One day when I was passing the Revere House a man touched my elbow and asked me and my companion to come up to "Parlor A." We thought from his manner that at last a conspiracy must be on foot, that some of those hidden and dangerously revolutionary principles must be coming into activity. With curiosity we followed him. His air of mystery never diminished. "Parlor A" was full of books and pamphlets and "Appeals to Reason." We waited while he went to the chest of drawers and took out a parcel. Dynamite at

last! I thought, remembering how Joe Buchanan had told me one time of a stick of dynamite which he had found wrapped in a newspaper on the shelf of a workingmen's reading-room. (It had been put there by a Pinkerton detective.) But no! It was Bruce Rogers' Baby Book—one of those records wherein the first tooth is registered and the first outing. He wanted our autographs in it, together with those of other Socialists and Socialist sympathizers. We added our signatures and looked at the photograph of the comfortable American home under stately trees on whose porch the baby had had its picture taken. Of such are the revolutionists!

The number of young men just out of college or just of the age to be out of college who came from the cities, was greater than in former years. They spoke well; they knew Roberts' rules, and they are ambitious for the party in a way that bodes well for its activity. Among these there was Lucian Ruhl from Cincinnati, and Ellis O. Jones, who writes for all the magazines, has been, since he left Yale, editor and owner of a newspaper in Columbus, Ohio, and secretary of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society. There was Mrs. Mila Tupper Maynard among the women, whose editorial position with the Denver *News* has given her a wide influence in Colorado and throughout the West. The women delegates were on an equal footing with the men—no distinction is made in the Socialist party except by a few women themselves who insist that their sex is yet in the kindergarten and must have special organizations to prepare it for Socialist activity. There was Thomas J. Morgan, one of the pioneers of the movement, and Barney Berlyn, one of the oldest "soap-boxers" in Chicago. There were men who admitted that they could not write good and grammatical English, but insisted that they knew what they believed; and there were men who had left the church when it had denied them freedom of speech, who knew, too, what they believed. Many of these ex-clergymen make the most active workers in the Christian Socialist Fellowship, which carries on its propaganda in the church and makes the claim that the teachings of Jesus would result, if put into practice, in a Socialist state.

I could go through the list of 219 and find something unusual and interesting in the life of each person, for the Socialist movement at this time is not a movement into which you drift. You are awakened to it. It seizes you. Then you make the decision consciously, whether or not you shall join the party. It is impossible to say that the men and women I have mentioned personally are any more significant than the rest. I had to make my choice, and I have taken as many types as possible. The variety is not unlike that in our American life. We have all nationalities, all types of mind, body and soul in this country. The amazing thing is that they should come together upon a platform so clearly defined.

Naturally, the platform read in the Friday session was received with the greatest interest, for it crystalized all the ideas that have sprung into life since the last convention; it does this somewhat prolixly, although much shorter than the platform of 1904; it takes cognizance, too, of present conditions in its program of demands. The declaration of principles, summed up briefly, may be stated as follows:

The Socialist party is the party of the working class, and asks the support of all who believe in democracy, industrial as well as political. It recognizes that we are now in one of the periodic panics brought about by the few rich through their ownership and control of the sources of wealth; that the few rich through their trusts, control prices and through their ownership of the nation's resources, the judiciary, the legislature and the executive offices,

and use them against organized labor, and the best interest of the people.

The Socialist party calls attention to the fact that the Republican and Democratic parties stand for the system which permits increasing power of the few rich; and it calls attention to the fact that the reform measures and movements being supported by them and others whose economic interests are bound up in the maintenance of the present system—cannot but fail even though they express the widespread popular discontent. The Socialist party counts upon this discontent to awaken as widespread an interest in its principles as in its demands.

One of the delegates was for even a shorter summary than I have made. He counted the words of the original document: "Two thousand words to state a 'declaration of principles' and a list of demands!" he said. "I could do it for you in nine words."

"Let's hear you," said the delegate who had been insisting for an hour that "the platform must be in dignified and poetic English."

"The workingmen of the world want the earth—now!"

"By gum!" said a Southerner who was strong for simplicity. "That's my speech after this. Every soap-boxer ought to learn that by heart."

"But what of our demands?" asked one of the committee.

"If we'd all get together and shout that one sentence," said the critic, "there 'd be results."

"What sort of results?" asked a young Socialist just from college, who stood for "the uncompromising, class-conscious, revolutionary proletariat protest against capitalist exploitation of the wage-slave!"

The critic patted him on the back. "If we content ourselves with a demand of the earth as our platform, the Republican and Democratic delegates will scuttle to their national conventions and write all the rest of your platform for you—and live up to some of it, which is more than you can ever hope to do. And somewhere in the country"—he became emphatic—"somebody might pass a decent city ordinance to bait our vote. You do n't know the game, my young friend!"

The keynote of the convention, however, was in the statement on the floor: "*We have not only got to tell the people what we want, but we have got to tell them how they can get it. If we want the coöperative commonwealth, if we want to own the means of production, the sources of wealth, we have got to point out in definite terms the first steps to be taken.*"

So the convention went on record, after much debate, as demanding: (1) National ownership of the means of transportation and communication; (2) of all industries organized on a national scale (in which even now competition has virtually ceased to exist); (3) the extension of public domains, mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power; (4) reforestation and the reclamation of swamp lands.

The convention took its stand for the improvement of industrial conditions, (1) by shortening the workday, (2) by securing a rest period and a better inspection of workshops and factories, (3) by forbidding the employment of women in industries harmful to morals or health, (4) the employment of children under sixteen years of age, (5) by forbidding interstate transportation of the products of child labor, convict labor and uninspected factories, and (6) by abolishing public charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

The political demands, too, were definite; they touched upon (1) the income tax, (2) franchise for women, (3) the initiative and referendum and right of recall, (4 and 5) abolition both of the Senate and the veto power of the President. There was a demand that (6) the Constitution be amendable by majority

vote, (7) that government be by majority and that there be (8) enactment of measures for general education and the conservation of health; that the (9) present bureau of education become a department; (10) that there be a department of public health and (11) a separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor, and its elevation to the ranks of the Department; (12) that all judges be elected by the people for short terms; (13) that the power to use injunctions should be curbed by immediate legislation, and that there should be (14) free administration of justice.

It seems hardly possible that any list of general demands could be more practical, more immediate in the possibilities of securing them, or more far-reaching in the effects.

The debate upon the farmer brought out most clearly, perhaps, the change taking place in the party methods. A desire was expressed in a resolution to spread Socialism in the rural districts, but how talk to the farmer? Is he a "workingman" or a "capitalist"?

"He works like a dog," said one of the delegates, "and he does n't get all he produces. But at the same time he owns land and hires men to work for him, and he does n't give *them* all *they* produce; and besides that he is getting certain advantages from the private ownership of land. *I* do n't know what to say to the farmer. If I tell him he 's a 'producer' and that he belongs in our movement, the next fellow who comes down the pike to make a Socialist speech may call him a 'little capitalist' and get his blood up. I 'd like to know, for one, where we 're at." That seemed to be the feeling generally.

"If the farmer," said one ardent upholder of the theory that the party must be very "class-conscious"—"if the farmer wo n't take a downright proletarian position, then let him stay where he is until Capitalism comes along and swallows him, boots and breeches."

But in the end, after several hours of discussion, a committee was appointed to consider the farmer's problems and the vote indicated that a majority was in favor of capturing the American farmer for Socialism, making him feel that his interests are with the producers in the large cities rather than with the railroads and the trusts.

There was a vote, too, in favor of propaganda work among the common soldiers and sailors. They must be made to see what Socialism is.

"The talk is for theory," said a delegate, "but the vote for practice."

But the most interesting debate in a general way was upon the question of immigration, for therein appeared obvious, undeniable, the question of position. Does the old Marxist call: "Workingmen of the world, unite!" mean that all workingmen should unite with each other without restriction as to country, race or ideals? What position must the class-conscious Socialist take in regard to the "yellow peril"? The Chinaman comes here as a laborer and is employed by a capitalist. Is he, then, common brother of the white man in the fight against capitalism, or is he with his lower standard of living, an enemy?

"We are not living in the age of brotherhood," said one delegate. "We have got to save ourselves first if we are to save the world later. If we stand for unrestricted immigration we stand in opposition to the trades-unionists of this country and we play into the hands of capital who wants cheap labor."

The speaker was applauded, but not so enthusiastically as was G. W. Woodby of California, the colored delegate, whose voice had in it, it seemed to me, the note of enfranchised humanity. He spoke in behalf of unrestricted immigration.

"It would be," he said, "a curious state of affairs for the descendants of immigrants or the immigrants from Europe themselves to get control of the affairs of this country and then say

to the Oriental immigrants that they should not come here. So far as making this a mere matter of race, I disagree decidedly with the idea of the committee. And so far as reducing the standard of living is concerned, the standard of living will be reduced anyhow. You know as well as I do that either the laborer will be brought to the job or the job will be brought to the laborer. We will either have to produce things on American soil as cheap as they can be produced on foreign soil or the production wll be carried to the Orient. It seems to me that if we take any stand opposed to any sort of immigration, that we are simply playing the old pettifogging trick of the Democrats and Republicans and will gain nothing by it. To me, Socialism is based, if anything, upon the brotherhood of man, and to take the stand that we take in opposition to any sort of immigration is opposed to the very spirit of the brotherhood of man."

There was tremendous applause after this speech. The galleries had to be called to order. It was the ethical stand, the stand on which Socialism is strongest—that of comradeship and brotherhood of all the workers of the world. Yet a vote was taken, which allowed a committee to investigate the situation, and determine whether the economic necessity recognized by trades-unionism or the all-including ethical principle was to dictate the position of the party.

Another resolution which was of world-wide interest was that which put the Socialist party of this country in line with the European parties in their stand against the liquor traffic. It reads:

"We recognize the evils arising from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, especially those which are adulterated, and we declare that any excessive use of such liquors by the working class postpones the day of the final triumph of our cause. But we do not believe that alcoholism can be cured by an extension of police powers under the capitalistic system. Alcoholism is a disease and it can be cured best by the stopping of underfeeding, overwork and underwages which result from the present wage system."

I went to the convention in a critical attitude of mind, for while the Socialist principles have always seemed to me the only ones based on fundamental economic truth, which would make possible an ethical society, I have been dismayed at the lack of method in the attempt to put them into practice. The dream, it had always seemed to me, had obscured the path to its realization.

But during the last three days of the convention it was as though the Will to Do was being born in the party. There was contention, bitter at times, debate wherein the same word was used with different meanings to the confusion of the debaters and the listeners; there was strife and animosity. But there was something so much bigger, so much more evident, that you forgot the details. There was a dream common to all and a common effort to realize it! I was caught and held by this unwordable, intangible influence, which rose and spread and lifted itself throughout the hall.

Yet my enthusiasm does not blind me to the inadequacy of the party in dealing with the great problems. It needs master-minds, and courageous, to make it the power that it should be; it needs the very best that has been given to this country by immigration and the best that has been born here. Let it be, if you please, a self-conscious, class-conscious, proletariat body. We belong to it, for there are not many of us whose interests are the interests of that circle of rich men in control. We are, through our self-interest, opposed to them, and we must line up sooner or later. Why waste time?

But even if you and I do not join the party, nor understand and accept the philosophical basis of Socialism, Socialism is present and carries us with it.

We are deriving benefits from the great common struggles going on inside and outside the mechanism of the Party, and inside and outside the walls of the Socialist convention, whose voice, though immature and trembling at times with resistant passion, had in it the sound of youth and the summons of the future.

Here were two hundred and nineteen men and women trying to act intelligently—dealing—for all they might be only flies on the wheel—with the problems of the wheel. Roosevelt in the White House, the Senate actively engaged in preventing all measures of any value to the country, Lawson preparing a billion-dollar gas trust, Harriman seizing part of the Pacific short-line, university seniors writing valedictories, theatrical stars closing their seasons; and, in Chicago during a windy, rain-swept week these two hundred and nineteen men and women trying to get at the best manner and method by which the Socialist propaganda might be scattered among farmers, trades-unions, soldiers and sailors to the end that the class-rule of a few rich be done away with and a more orderly, just and democratic system be worked out and put into effect. They want to do that; they represented a new international conscience in national convention. And with this new energy of purpose to practice, wherever possible, what they preach, the party is now a political opponent of both the Democratic and Republican. It is preëminently a workingman's party, but in Wisconsin, in Milwaukee, the Socialists summon support from all.

"The Social-Democracy," reads the Milwaukee platform, "combats not alone the conditions which exploit and oppress the wage-working classes, but every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against a class, a party, a sex, or a race. All its measures benefit not only the wage-working class, but the whole people, and while the working people are the banner-bearers in this fight in the last analysis everybody—the merchant, the professional man and the small shopkeeper—will profit thereby. Therefore, we invite every honest and well-meaning voter, without regard to occupation, race or creed, to join in our undertaking for the emancipation of mankind."

CHARLOTTE TELLER.

*New York City.*

# PROFESSOR S. S. CURRY AND HIS FUNDAMENTAL WORK FOR LIFE AND ART.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

## I. THE BUILDER AND THE WORLD.

HOW OFTEN have the builders of civilization emerged from obscurity. They have come forth from remote quarters and from humble homes, haunted by a vision and lured by a dream. They have possessed the seeing eye, the hearing ear, the feeling heart. To them nature has been a loving teacher, taking them into her holiest of holies, revealing some of the mysteries of her wonder-world, showing them that beauty and grandeur are companioned by order and purpose; that here, indeed, "all 's love, yet all 's law."

On the other hand, these way-showers of progress usually have to battle step by step from youth to silver age. At first it is frequently poverty that seems to bar the way, but later, when privations and hardships have been sur-

mounted, comes the lack of appreciation for the prophet and his message. Usually the builder of civilization is indifferent to personal recognition, and if a shadow sometimes rests on a soul that never grows old, it is because the prophet of a higher order realizing the need of the world and the value of his message, also sees his great work lagging because insufficient means prevent its proper presentation, while millions of wealth are lavished on things that are relatively trivial and of no permanent value. He who goes to the root of things, who brings order out of chaos and formulates fundamental truths, is rarely appreciated in his day. Too often the splendid services are only recognized after the prophet has passed into the larger life. Then men, beholding his work, marvel at the blindness and indifference responsible for the failure to aid the great master in the noble work he essayed and at which he so faithfully wrought.

### II. THE BOY AND HIS DREAM.

In the little hamlet of Chatata, in southeastern Tennessee, in 1847, a boy was born whose noble ambition, serious purpose and idealism were destined to make him typical of that American manhood that more than aught else has contributed to whatever is truly great, noble and worthy in the achievements of our Republic.

Like Franklin and Benjamin West, like Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln, like William Lloyd Garrison and Thomas Alva Edison, like John G. Whittier and Edwin Markham, Samuel Silas Curry was born into a home of poverty. The circumstances and environment of his childhood were hard, and to the superficial observer must have seemed unpropitious. Like that of Lincoln, his early life seemed to hold little promise of future victories. Indeed, few who might have seen the lad fifty years ago would have imagined that he was destined to become one of America's foremost philosophical educators, a man whose fundamental work in one of the most important yet neglected fields of human development should prove of inestimable value to civilization.

But the lad had early caught a glimpse of the vision. A great dream haunted his mind. The august meaning of life had dawned on his consciousness. A noble ambition to be of use in the world, companioned by that sturdy resolution which knows no such thing as failure, had taken possession of his being.

He had a poet's soul, this mountain lad of Tennessee. The passion of the artist and the insight of the philosopher were his dower. The mystery of nature and the wonder of creation enthralled his imagination. He had felt and understood in a manner impossible to the child of the artificial hot-house life of the city, the emotions of the sacred poet when he cried:

> "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork.
> Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge."

He came from a family of nature lovers, sturdy pioneer spirits who revered justice more than they cared for gold, who loved freedom more than life. Some of his ancestors fought under Washington for the liberation of the American colonies, and in early days the family fared forth to the frontiers. David Crockett was a cousin of young Curry's mother.

In the mountain home the boy early learned to love the children of earth, air and stream. The robin, the bobolink and the mocking-bird; the swift-flowing brook, the pools and lakes that glassed tree and sky; the blush of dawn, the gold of sunset, the lightning's flash, the jeweled mantle of night; the flower-spangled earth and all the myriad wonders and glories of nature's perpetual transformation scene, appealed to his vivid imagination, though it is not probable that the full significance of the facts and their suggested truths was at first real-

FELLOWES ATHENAE

ized; for the child mind is plastic and takes small note of the impressions flashed upon the mental retina, and it is often unconscious of the images which the mind receives.

Yet in that hamlet, companioned by boys and girls who took small note of God's robes of splendor woven on the loom of nature before their very eyes, this child of external poverty and internal wealth, as the years passed and thought matured, came more and more under the compulsion of truth. He saw the beauty, splendor and bounty of nature proclaimed infinite intelligence and measureless love working with serious purpose through law and order, and from this basic fact he came to feel that man, the crown of creation, the child of the All-Father, must, if he would be true to the solemn demand of life, reflect in his work these dominant notes. He must strive to make the world better; to add to the uplift, the happiness and beauty of life, striving to learn and then apply the underlying laws that govern expression, the orderly out-blossoming of the best in men. And this life must be marked by serious purpose.

These master-thoughts which were to become the dominant ideal of life, were early glimpsed on the child's mind—glimpsed vaguely at first and in outline only. As the years advanced, as thought matured and brain developed, they steadily gained in compelling power; and it is interesting just here to note how clearly defined they were and how completely they had taken possession of the young man's thought-world by the time his college days were ended.

At the last meeting of the classes of the Boston University School of Oratory in 1879, Miss Guernsey read a poem. The author's name was not given. This poem, which was composed by Mr. Curry, has never been published. For purposes of illustration we have taken the liberty of quoting some lines, because they show that at this stage the truths that haunted the boy's mind had taken complete form in the brain of the young man, becoming life-guiding convictions; and in the wealth of suggested pictures here given we are reminded how the Great Mother in early days impressed her beauty and truth on the plastic brain of the lad.

The poem opens with the declaration that in nature everything shadows forth serious purpose. Here are nowhere found empty form or sound.

"The robins singing near and far
While sets its watch the evening star;
The bobolink whose sweetest song
Is heard 'mid morning's shadows long;
The myriad voices from the brake,
The ripples of the smiling lake;
The rolling sea, the lowing heard,
The murmuring brook, the joyous bird—
All voices join, from sounding shore
To zephyrs in the lonely pine;
The rustling leaf, the thunder's roar,
In One great symphony combine.

"On conscious sky of sunny noon,
On silvered lake or watchful moon,
No random line is ever drawn,
From lightning's flash to softest dawn.
Bud, leaf and flower, each line and hue,
From burning sky to restless dew,
Are all Expression, each a part,
A smile from one great loving Heart.

"Oh, deaf and blind! Earth is not show,
Nor random noise, nor empty glow.
Behind the face, a living soul
Thinks, moves and animates the whole.
The feeling heart by humblest stream
Can catch a smile amid its gleam;
In daisy's cup can find a part
Of that which thrills his own glad heart;
Can feel in roll of ocean billow
The gentlest sigh of bending willow;
From cloudland glow to budding vine
That earth incarnates the divine.

"Oh, art of art! as 'neath the hills
A spirit all the grasses fills,
So thou, to all our hearts hast shown
That not the painter's art alone
Demands the artist on his knee
To work like old Fiesole.
Thine art is even more divine,
For not on canvas is thy line,
But on the body, life and soul,
Never to fade as ages roll."

Returning to the lad in his Tennessee home, we find him while listening to nature's symphonies and delighting in her ever-shifting scenes of beauty, hearing also her solemn message as clearly as in olden times another little Samuel

heard the voice of God. And this child also resolved to heed the word. He determined to be something in the world, to play worthily the part assigned him by the Poet in the play.

But here before him rose poverty, grim and hard of feature, barring his way. He found that to succeed he must fight a hard battle, be ready to undergo great hardships and privations. But beyond rose the Delectable Mountains and before him floated the vision, beckoning him with its luring smile. He resolved to win; he fought his battle; he conquered where one less conscious of the serious purpose of life, the high demand that God makes upon those who would be worthy of their lofty heritage, one less the servant of the ideal, would have fallen by the way. Space renders it impossible to dwell upon the difficulties, often seemingly insurmountable, that rose in the boy's pathway as he fought his way through the Grant University and later through Boston University, though the story is pregnant with inspiration and helpful suggestions for the young, and its experiences were of priceless value to the resolute boy. Sufficient to say that he prepared himself for college in his home and worked his way, step by step, through the institutions of learning, receiving from Boston University the degrees of A.M., B.D. and Ph.D.

### III. IDEALS AND A CHOSEN CAREER.

At the Boston University Mr. Curry had come under the influence of one of the very few really great fundamental teachers of speech science of the period. Professor Lewis B. Monroe was one of those rare instructors who possess the power of inspiring enthusiasm in his pupils. He made them fall in love with their studies and awakened in those who possessed imagination and were not afraid of work a desire to get at the root of things, to find out the underlying laws that are the secret of expression. Naturally enough the teacher quickly recognized in young Mr. Curry a kindred nature. The Tennessee youth became a favorite pupil, and we may be sure it was with unfeigned pleasure that the professor learned that this student cherished the desire to become a teacher of the art of expression; that he wished to carry forward the line of work of which Professor Monroe had been a pioneer.

At this time, it should be observed, there was a veritable craze for elocution among the young. Many schools flourished that were being carried on primarily for commercial purposes. They advertised in the most seductive manner, giving short terms; taught pupils to parrot a few pieces, to imitate and declaim, and turned them forth as graduates on a long-suffering and unoffending public who listened to their tearing passions to tatters until the very name elocution become obnoxious to the public ear. The representatives of these schools were too frequently exponents of the artificial and the trivial, mere shallow imitators of others, instead of being serious workers holding the mirror up to nature and seeking to express the highest and best that lay within their power.

It is needless to say that against this degradation of one of the noblest sciences Mr. Curry's whole nature revolted. His investigation soon convinced him that not only was the science of speech or expression a practically neglected department of research, but that everything pertaining to it was chaotic. There was no well-defined, intelligent attempt being made to coördinate mental processes, vocal utterances and physical action, essential to full-orbed expression of thought and feeling. He saw that the first and most needful thing was to find out the great laws underlying these things and to give them proper emphasis in relation to each other, and he determined to acquire from various great teachers of Europe and America whatever of vital worth each could give that

would aid in the great task he had undertaken of bringing order out of chaos and establishing the governing laws that would give a scientific basis for the work in hand. Of him it has well been said:

"He investigated every phase in the historical development of elocutionary and vocal training, and searched every nook and corner of science and art for those fundamental and illustrative points which would be most helpful to the advancement of all phases of reading, speaking and dramatic art."

In pursuance of his plan, he went to Europe where for some time he studied under many of the greatest masters of the Old World, among whom were the illustrious François Lamperti, the Italian master, then living on Lake Como; Behnke, Goodsone, Recquier, Regnier and James.

In America, Professor Alexander Melville Bell, the discoverer of Visible Speech, became a favorite master. Professor Monroe and Steele MacKaye were other teachers whose instructions were of incalculable value. His quest for fundamental laws and vital truths relating to the science of speech was carried on unremittingly. He studied under over fifty illustrious teachers in Europe and America.

With keen philosophical insight, with vivid imagination and not a little of the modern scientific spirit, Mr. Curry was able to sift the vital truths from the instruction of the various masters and so bring together facts hitherto disassociated and truths from widely divergent minds as to formulate an orderly system of instruction resting on basic truth or fundamental law, by which his students were taught not to imitate or simulate, but to express the true emotions naturally as the unfettered and rationally trained and developed mind and body should interpret thought.

His investigations of stammering led to the discovery of a fundamental method for meeting its need. Discoveries also led to a new method of training the body as the agent of expression, while through study of the new psychology he was led to a system for placing the expressive modulation of the voice on a scientific basis.

### IV. THE TEACHER.

To learn and to impart, to receive that which is true, noble and beautiful and to give it forth for the good of others—this is life in its best expression. And from the scientific student, the artist overmastered by the vision, in quest of the beautiful and the true, we now turn to the teacher who is also the builder of civilization.

His *alma mater*, appreciating his high worth, gave him a chair in the university, where for years he taught expression. The work grew in importance, and Professor Curry resolutely refused to yield to temptations to commercialize his great art. Nothing shallow, ephemeral or superficial was to be substituted for the fundamental scientific system of instruction that aimed to place his chosen branch of learning among the great vital arts of civilization. And, finally, in 1884, with the consent of the university, Professor Curry's department was organized into a separate institution, being incorporated as The School of Expression. Among those actively interested in the founding of this institution were a number of illustrious citizens of Massachusetts and elsewhere, among whom may be mentioned Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., Professor Alexander Melville Bell, William Dean Howells, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Hon. Eustace C. Fitz, J. T. Trowbridge, Professor J. W. Churchill, and Ex-Governors William Gaston, Alexander H. Rice and Oliver Ames.

The great aim of the school was to foster the scientific development of speech, which seemed to be everywhere neglected in educational institutions. According to Professor Butcher, "Education in modern times centers in the written word, while among the Greeks it centered in the spoken word." The aim of the School of Expression has been at all

times to reach the right method of training the voice and body in relation to the mind for all departments of the spoken word.

In order to carry forward the school on the high lines conceived by Professor Curry, instead of commercializing it, the founder accepted positions as instructor of oratory and elocution in Harvard and Yale, and also in the Newton Theological Institution. The remuneration for this instruction enabled Professor Curry to conduct his school without sacrificing his ideal of excellence or lowering its high standard. He has received no salary whatever for his work in the school since 1891, making his living entirely outside of the school.

For years the work of this school has attracted the interested attention of earnest scholars and leaders of thought who appreciate the importance to the civilization of our age of an institution where the great fundamental laws of expression are so elucidated as to lift the curse of ignorance and charlatanism from the noble art of public speaking, so that elocution shall hold its rightful place as an instrument for advancing civilization—a place far more potential for good than it occupied even in the Golden Age of Greece, when intellectual philosophy rather than spiritual illumination was the master-note of civilization.

In 1888 Sir Henry Irving evinced his deep interest in the school by giving a public reading for its benefit, after which the great actor expressed his appreciation for the work being carried on in the following well-chosen words:

"I cannot allow the opportunity to pass without assuring you of the pleasure it has given Miss Terry and myself to be associated with so excellent an institution as the School of Expression.

"It seems to me the danger in teaching elocution, although I do not claim to be an authority, is that some formal and artificial method should supersede nature. But in this school you seek to avoid that danger by the recognition of the principle that all good speaking comes from the training of the faculties of the mind. For the same reason, good acting is not declamation, but the expression of character; and the actor's aim is not to imitate this style or that, but to cultivate his own resources of impersonation."

Of the value of the work accomplished, Professor Shailer Matthews, Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago, and editor of *The World To-day*, voiced views that have frequently been expressed by leading thinkers, when he wrote the following:

"More than any man of recent years, Dr. Curry has represented sane and scientific methods in the training of the speaking voice. He has never been a teacher of young men and women who wished to declaim funny pieces or who wished to be coached as to tears and gestures; but in Harvard, Yale, Boston University and Newton Theological Institution, and in his own School of Expression in Boston, he has educated preachers, public readers, and, above all, teachers. There are few American teachers of what used to be called 'elocution,' and now is better known as 'expression' or simply 'public speaking,' who have not been in his classes and who will not testify to the soundness of his methods and to his almost fanatical devotion to ideals in his art."

For years we have followed the earnest, unostentatious, sincere and faithful labors of this philosophical educator whom future generations will rank among the master-builders in the domain of elocution, oratory and the science of speech, with the ever-deepening conviction that his work and his school are among the most vital influences in present-day education in America. No institution of learning in the New World better deserves a liberal endowment than the School of Expression. It fills and nobly fills a function in the educational world not performed by any other institution. It meets a crying demand for fundamental instruction in a realm of art that has

been generally neglected. Our educational institutions that are merely concerned with technical, scientific and intellectual training have in many instances been liberally endowed; but in the broad and vital domain of art, America lags behind the world. And yet few things contribute in so positive a degree to the elevation and enjoyment of the individual and the enduring greatness of a people as the development of art; and while music, sculpture, painting and architecture each bear a vital relation to enduring progress and the permanent greatness of civilization, the domain of oratory, eloquence and vocal expression has, perhaps, an even more intimate bearing on spiritual unfoldment—a relation that is so real and fundamental that its proper development would exalt, dignify and ennoble national life. In one of his distinctly great volumes Professor Curry well observes:

"The Muse of Eloquence and the Muse of Liberty, it has been said, are twin sisters. A free people must be a race of speakers. The perversion or neglect of oratory has always been accompanied by the degradation of freedom.

"The importance of speaking to a true national life, and to the forwarding of all reforms, can hardly be over-estimated; but it is no less necessary to the development of the individual. Expression is the manifestation of life, and speaking in some form is vitally necessary for the assimilation of truth and the awakening to a consciousness of personal power."

"In the all-embracing art-work to which he has devoted his magnificent enthusiasm of love," writes J. M. Leveque, editor of the *Morning World* of New Orleans, "he is a giant American. Italy neglected Michael Angelo when alive, but honored him after he was dead. It is not within the opportunity of the living fully to appreciate this man. Fortunately he will have left behind, for the digestion of time, books, outcroppings of himself and his toil, shadows of his ideas and ideals, of his towering enthusiasms. More complete than the echoes of echoes from Delsarte, they will be ineffable treasure to those who come after. Let us hope, too, that, as 'an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man,' so the School of Expression may wax into a stature gigantic enough to express this man. This let us hope—for the benefit of the greatest art and the generations to come."

And these words fittingly give the views as expressed by scores of philosophical and fundamental thinkers among the men and women who are thoroughly acquainted with the work of the School of Expression under the direction of Dr. Curry—a work which, but for inadequate financial support, would prove one of the greatest positive upward-impelling factors in our moral as well as intellectual advance; because no student of history can fail to recognize the significant fact that when and where we find great, sincere and moving oratory, we find the awakening of the moral enthusiasm of a people. The Muse of Eloquence companions Freedom and Justice. She belongs to the fraternity of noble arts that move the deeper and holier well-springs of man's being.

### V. THE AUTHOR.

Of more than forty volumes planned by Dr. Curry, a large proportion have been blocked out and several which have not yet been published are practically ready for the printer when circumstances favor their appearance. Six important works have already appeared, which, it is safe to say, are by far the most vital contributions to the science of the spoken word that have come from a single pen. They are as unique as they are valuable, being at once fundamental and systematic in character, instinct with the modern critical spirit and at the same time glowing with moral enthusiasm and the fire of a rich imagination. They lure the reader along the highway of knowledge as spring lures

the flower-loving child over the meadow and by the banks of the wooded stream. They are the work of a philosopher who is also an artist, a scientist who is also a poet. These published volumes are entitled *The Foundations of Expression, The Province of Expression, Lessons in Vocal Expression, Imagination and Dramatic Instinct, Vocal and Literary Interpretation of the Bible,* and *Browning and the Dramatic Monologue.* In addition to these volumes he has recently written a small personal memoir of the great master of speech language and discoverer of Visible Speech, Professor Alexander Melville Bell.

In his *The Province of Expression* Dr. Curry has given what has been well characterized as "a search for principles underlying adequate methods of developing dramatic and oratoric delivery." It is a distinctly great book, basic in character and highly suggestive. Of it Professor Alexander Melville Bell wrote the author: "Your volume is to me a very wonderful book, it is so deeply philosophic and so exhaustive in all aspects of the subject. You have laid a deep and strong foundation for a scientific system."

A companion volume is entitled *Foundations of Expression,* and in it Dr. Curry has dealt with the fundamentals of a psychological system for training voice, body and mind in a manner that proves the author to be well versed in the new psychology, as well as a master of speech language.

*Lessons in Vocal Expression* is a third volume devoted to making plain in a practical and easily understandable manner the foundation principles underlying the fullest expression of thought through voice and bodily action.

In *Imagination and Dramatic Instinct* we have a volume that is invaluable to all interested in oratory, dramatic art or the effective presentation of original or written thought. The volume appears in two divisions, the first devoted to "Imagination, or the Creative Instinct," and the second dealing with "Assimilation, or the Dramatic Instinct." It is a study, as Dr. Curry well observes in his preface, "of vocal expression, as the direct revelation of the processes of the mind in thinking and feeling; and as the manifestation of the elliptic relations of thought which words cannot symbolize, such as the convictions, the beliefs, the interest and the purpose of the speaker. According to this view, vocal expression is a significant, not a symbolic language, and is more subjective, complex and nearer to nature than words, and hence cannot be developed in the same way as a symbolic or representative language, nor be made subject to the same mechanical rules."

*Vocal and Literary Interpretation of the Bible* is, without question, the noblest volume of the character to be found in our language. It embodies the fruits of Professor Curry's long years of instruction in oratory and speech science in the Boston University Theological School, the divinity schools of Harvard University, Yale College and the Newton Theological Institution; while its great value to clergymen renders it indispensable to any thoughtful minister or religious leader who would worthily fill his high office. It is also a work that holds compelling interest for all serious-minded men and women who take delight in that great library of sacred literature we call the Bible. It is a really great work that bristles with profoundly suggestive truths.

*Browning and the Dramatic Monologue* is the latest of Dr. Curry's works devoted to the science of expression. It is a luminous study of Browning's peculiar or favorite mode of expressing his poetic thought. The public has heretofore failed to take notice of this peculiarity of the work of the greatest of the Victorian poets, and this failure, Dr. Curry holds, is largely responsible for the lack of genuine appreciation of the writings of Browning. Certain it is that with this key to the poet's work and under the

sympathetic and clear presentation by Dr. Curry, many of the greatest poems of the master glow with new meaning. The work is divided into two parts, the first dealing with "The Monologue as a Dramatic Form," the second with "Dramatic Rendering of the Monologue."

All Professor Curry's works possess a double value: they are scientific and fundamental in character, and they are presented in so fascinating a manner and with such sincerity and enthusiasm that the work instantly grips the reader's interest and holds him under its spell.

### VI. SNOW ON THE BROW, YOUTH IN THE HEART.

In an admirable sketch of Dr. Curry and his work, written by Professor Shailer Matthews and published in a recent issue of *The World To-day*, the writer says: "Dr. Curry is essentially a man of temperament. It is a mystery how he has managed to survive thirty years of instruction."

To us there is no mystery in this. The secret lies in the idealism that dominates his life. He drinks from the spiritual fountains and enjoys perennial youth. True, the silver flecks beard and brow, but the child-heart sings the song of youth even clearer, stronger and sweeter than in early days, before the dream had actualized or the hope ripened into partial fruition. Here we find the joy, hope and enthusiasm of the boy companioned by that living faith that makes faithful. Advancing years sit lightly on his brow, for he possesses the poet's heart, the artist's rich imagination. With Victor Hugo he can say, "Winter is on my head, and eternal spring is in my heart." But, indeed, no one could better express the faith and mental attitude that explain his youth of spirit than has Professor Curry in these lines, written some time ago:

"Youth is a state of mind and not of years;
Hope heeds nor Spring nor Fall.
Youth still, and May, can bloom, though head be gray;
Though sun be low, the heart see dawning day,
Hear morning's bugle call.
Not ours to know who will the battle win;
'T is ours amid the smoke and fiercest din,
To stand whoe'er may fall.
What matter whom we miss upon the field?
The sword some other arm will newly wield,
For God is over all."

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## BROWNING'S "CALIBAN" AND "SAUL."

BY PROFESSOR S. S. CURRY, A.M., PH.D.

PERHAPS the highest struggle of the human mind is the instinctive effort to form a conception of Deity. The conception of the nature and character of the Supreme Being differs in all men. This conception perhaps more than any other forms a perfect mirror of man's degree of elevation, on the one hand, or of his degradation on the other. Even in the growth of the individual the conception of Deity changes with the development of his faculties.

Two poems by Browning, "Caliban" and "Saul," afford a decided contrast between the conceptions of Deity on the part of the speakers. Is this contrast unconscious with Browning? Or did he intentionally place the two poems side by side in the first volume of selections which he himself arranged from his poems? Did he not try to suggest here a definite antithesis between the characters in these monologues? To me, at any rate, a special lesson results from contrasting these two poems, one with the views of the very lowest of char-

acters and the other the inspirations of one of the highest.

Many think that in "Caliban" Browning merely gratified his love of the grotesque and horrible, that he portrays here a kind of missing link which was suggested by Caliban in Shakespeare's "Tempest," but which has no kinship to the character invented by Shakespeare.

To me Browning had a deep meaning in everything he wrote. In all his poems he reveals his conception of the deeper meaning of life. He had what Matthew Arnold regards as necessary to every great poet, a "philosophy of life." He interprets some of the deepest characteristics of human beings, and among his profound suggestions to me he throws light upon the actions of the human mind in conceiving and realizing a Supreme Being.

"Caliban Upon Setebos" has a subtitle, "Or Natural Theology in the Island," and a text from the fiftieth Psalm, "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such a one as thyself." These indicate that Browning, though creating a most grotesque situation and character, with an almost horrible humor, had yet a more serious aim than many realize.

Caliban is represented, while "Prospero and Miranda" are asleep, as crawling into a cool puddle and lying "in the pit's mire," while he "kicks both feet in the cool slush" and the "small eft things" run over his back and "make him laugh." In this most enjoyable situation Caliban "talks to his own self" as he pleases about "that other, whom his dam called God."

Caliban's degraded nature is indicated by the fact that he does not rise to the dignity of the pronoun "I." The use of this personal pronoun indicates self-consciousness, self-assertion, and a certain degree of self-affirmation and realization to which Caliban has not yet reached. His verbs are impersonal—"Thinketh, He dwelleth i' the cold o' the moon." Here we find one of the deep insights of Browning and his knowledge of the human heart and the daring of his poetic phrasing in which he even shakes the conventions of grammar.

Caliban in his beloved resting-place and environment proceeds to have a good "think." He locates Setebos, conceives his character, and achievements. Setebos has made the moon "with the sun to match," but the "stars came otherwise." He made clouds, the "snaky sea," from "being ill at ease," created them "in spite," in fact, "did in envy, listlessness or sport," "Make what Himself would fain, in a manner, be." Caliban regards Him as being like to himself watching yonder crabs that go from the mountain to the sea. He lets twenty of them pass and stones the twenty-first, "loving not, hating not, just choosing so." Thus like all of us Caliban reasons by analogy and arranges to his own satisfaction his system of theology: "so He."

This reasoning from analogy does not indicate that Browning is throwing any slur upon this method of reasoning. The island may be the world and the theology may be "natural" to us all in a certain stage of our development. But Browning does not mean to disparage logic and scientific endeavors or the universal instinct of the human mind to find and to realize the truth regarding the nature of Deity.

Notice that Browning chooses to indicate the degraded character of Caliban by revealing the actions of his mind in thinking about God. Thinking on a subject shows degradation or exaltation. Caliban has fallen low; he feels but little regarding the possibilities of a human being. He has little or no aspiration upward, and hence his notion of Deity must lie in the direction of his desires or aspirations or wishes. "Man must walk in the direction he is looking," and in that direction he must necessarily locate Deity. Only at the heart of his desires, his longings, his aspirations, can man find his conception of the character of Deity. Deity can never be found by the telescope or the microscope, be seen

by eye or heard by ear. He can only be found through that private door through which only Deity can find an entrance into every soul.

Even the degraded Caliban seems dissatisfied with his own conceptions and feels that over Setebos is something that made him—the "Quiet." This "Quiet" Caliban hopes will some time conquer Setebos.

In the midst of Caliban's communings a storm comes up and he whines and pretends great submission.

> "Fool to gibe at Him!
> Lo! Lieth flat and loveth Setebos!
> Maketh his teeth meet thro' his upper lip,
> Will let those quails fly, will not eat this month
> One little mess of whelks, so he may 'scape!"

Such horrible reasoning marks a degraded character with his face looking downward, thinking necessarily downward, creating a Deity that seems to us monstrous. But Caliban's mind acts naturally. As with all of us he can conceive Deity only in the direction of his own ideals and aims. Losing the upward aspirations he must necessarily place God low. He himself, full of hate and envy, ill-tempered, antagonistic toward everything, swallowed up in the negative, must necessarily conceive such a negative Being back of all he sees.

Side by side, immediately following "Caliban," place "Saul" as Browning in his selections has placed the poems.

"Saul" is founded upon the Scripture statement that David played before Saul to drive away from him "the evil spirit." The poem portrays David as thinking, recalling to himself, alone with his sheep, the experiences that had come to him the night before as he played before the king. The poem consists mainly in David's experiences, in his endeavors to aid Saul.

Is not Saul humanity, the great dark tent the world, and the little David a type of every artist or every worker who tries to help his fellow-man?

David began as all must begin—with his first child-like demonstrations and experiences, the "song all our sheep know." Then David goes through the whole of his life's experiences, singing and playing song after song till he catches his first response—a groan. Later, he conceives a great love in his desire to help the king, finds himself between his great knees, drops harp and song and with his own direct words and tones and actions, with expression in its primitive fulness, in those first modes which lie at the basis of all expression, the truth came upon David, and we have the sublimest conceptions of the meaning of life to be found in any poem in the nineteenth century.

David was troubled and gradually rose on the wings of his own endeavor and love, his own ideals and efforts, to aid and out of the depths there came to him a realization of the highest truth.

Do we not find here a direct contrast to "Caliban"? Out of Caliban's sluggish and sensual inactivity, out of his degraded envies and hates, he creates God. David, out of the heart of his aspirations and ideals, the dreams that he had had "alone with his sheep," at last, out of his own love and desire to help this man, rises to the sublime heights, and dares to conceive a Deity that transcends, in his own highest conception, his own love and goodness.

James Martineau somewhere has stated that if we accept as our conception of Deity anything lower than the highest possible reach of our imagination and spiritual nature, we violate the First Commandment. Deity is not Deity unless supreme. We are placing some other god before Him if we can ourselves conceive of something better than we believe possible to Him.

Most people regard mere external facts, mere things, as the real; but every hour through all the world the inner life is transforming and changing things. The tree puts forth its leaf and bud. The whole face of nature is changing. The man who regards his body as himself is on a low plane. For every particle of

his body has changed many times during the course of his life. A bruise on the finger-nail will grow out and be gone in a few weeks. Parts of the body, such as the bones, may change slowly, but other parts change every few days. There is something deeper than body which is the real man, which preserves his identity, builds and unbuilds every instant the physical structure.

Only an aspiration, only in man's ideal, does man find the highest heights of life. "It is not what man does but what man would do that exalts him." He who is not actualizing his ideals in his work, who does not, like little David in his endeavors, find his joy and his strength and feel the light of truth coming to him from above is not really living. He who does not send out his nature to conceive of the highest reaches of possibility in his own being will never find God. It is in the depths of man's own nature, in the midst of the problem of demonstrating, of realizing and revealing that we find the Source of the best. Thus, only can we find the "central peace that exists at the heart of this agitation."

On the lower plane man's higher faculties will sleep; only on the higher plane of aspiration and endeavor do they become awake. God cannot be conceived by the senses. Eye has not seen nor ear heard His voice.

Have you ever pondered the meaning of this peculiar poem by the poet Russell, who signs his name "A. E."?

"Oh, at the eagle's height,
To lie in the sweet of the sun,
While veil after veil takes flight,
And God and the world are one.

"Oh, the night on the steep!
All that his eyes saw dim
Grows light in the dusky deep,
And God is alone with him."

This poem means something different to me nearly every time I read it. At this moment it comes to me as an illustration of a deep contrast. The first four lines refer to day, the second four to night. But this is comparatively nothing. When we are using our mere senses we are taken up with things; the imagination sees

"A deep below the deep
And a height above the height;
Our hearing is not hearing,
And our seeing is not sight."

When we use our senses God and the world are outside of us. When we use our higher natures, transcend our senses, we find God in the depths of our own beings. All our senses "saw dim grow light"; we are no longer at the surface but at the center and catch a glimpse of the unity of life. On the height the glow of noon-day becomes transfigured, glorified. When night comes and sets free the imagination all grows more beautiful and sublime. Russell uses this experience to illustrate a still higher phase of spiritual vision.

The little David in going the "whole round of creation" in rising from his simplest and earliest song to the expression of his most exalted vision grows by his endeavor and aspiration until he becomes awake to the truth.

Men sneer at dreams and ideals. Ours calls itself a practical age, a scientific age. It is true that an idle dreamer is useless; but, on the other hand, a dreamless worker is a drudge. The true artist, the true worker, the man who fulfills the intentions of his nature, both dreams and works. He not only has an ideal of the highest good possible, but he labors to express it.

Art is necessary to the higher spiritual development of man. Caliban can never be lifted from his puddle and made to stand with shining face and throbbing heart before the great Saul, without the harp and the song. Caliban's low conceptions of Deity can never be corrected without the awakening of his ideals and his imagination and his feelings. Even the books which are given to study as a task have less influence over the development of character than a mere book, even though not of a high classic type, which is enjoyed. Every

phase of art must express the spontaneous energies of a human being (must express the spontaneous energies), must express the fact that a "man's reach must exceed his grasp."

Even the right conception of Deity, even a right belief, is dependent upon the artistic nature as well as the spiritual nature. For example, a man's belief must lie in the direction of his needs, or he will never advance out of any low condition. In every case it is our belief in something higher and better that lifts us upward; a belief in more beautiful and ideal conditions, a belief in the transforming powers of our own nature, a belief in an ideal, centers so much in scientific knowledge but in the possibility of transforming conditions, transforming crude materials into objects of art. This is a necessary stage, a necessary helper to the higher spiritual conceptions of ideals regarding character.

The little David before Saul as portrayed by Browning suggests to us the seriousness of art. The one who recognizes the little David as the typical artist, the fact that he had to adopt art to face the gloomy Saul and to awaken the least response, to one who recognizes that art is ever a twin-sister but not a servant of science, even of religion, we can at once recognize the entire lack of art in the education of our country.

S. S. Curry.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## THE FIGHT AGAINST BAILEYISM IN TEXAS.

By Victor E. Martin.

FOLLOWING the wave of moral indignation which attended the recent exposures of wholesale corruption in high places, the fervent hope has been entertained by thousands that a Democratic administration, headed by Hon. W. J. Bryan, might succeed the present one, and inaugurate an era of better things. But it has been recognized that if the Democratic orators would point effectively to the Platts, Aldriches, Depews and Penroses of the opposition, their own party must not be open to the same condemnation. In view of this fact, the battle between Senator Joseph W. Bailey, on the one hand, and the friends in Texas of honest public service, on the other—which culminated in a special primary election May second—has been watched with interest.

The occasion for a trial of strength was afforded in the election of delegates-at-large to the Denver convention, Senator Bailey heading one of the tickets. The consequences to the state of Texas, aside from the effect on the national campaign, and from Bailey's stealthy influence at Washington, are far-reaching. The regular primary election occurs July twenty-fifth, and certain of the stakes in the present contest will not have been won until that date. The Attorney-General, by reason of his successful prosecution of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company and incidental exposure of Bailey, has incurred the active hostility of the Senator and of his patron. Senator Bailey has put forward in opposition to Attorney-General Davidson's reëlection the same candidate with whom he succeeded in defeating for the governorship the Attorney-General, M. M. Crane, who ousted the oil corporation from Texas in 1900. So that the people of the Lone Star State are having to choose between law-enforcement and an untrammeled public service, on the one side, and, on the other, an endorsement

of bossism and the debasing of public ideals. The first heat has been a nominal victory for Baileyism, though attended with reassuring omens.

Senator Bailey has himself to blame for his political tribulations.

In 1895 suits for penalties were filed in the district court at Waco against the Waters-Pierce Oil Company for violations of the Texas anti-trust laws. In 1897 a suit was filed at Austin to drive the corporation from the state. The ouster case was prosecuted to a successful termination by Attorney-General Crane, and the judgment of the lower court was successively affirmed by all the higher courts, including the United States Supreme Court. When, in 1900, the final decision was handed down, the corporation was at its row's end, so far as legal recourse was concerned. H. C. Pierce, its president, began to cast about for a lawyer "with personal and political influence."

Senator Bailey (then Congressman) was recommended to him by ex-Governor D. R. Francis, of Missouri, with whom Bailey had had dealings. The Senator was summoned to St. Louis, where Pierce presented a letter of introduction from Francis. According to his own admission, Bailey, moved by his "friendship for Dave Francis," said to Pierce: "If you can convince me that your company is not a trust, and will agree to come to Texas and take the oath to obey the laws, I will undertake to say that you will have no trouble with the officers of the state." (Incidentally, Pierce is to-day a fugitive from justice in Texas, by reason of alleged false swearing in this very connection). Pierce convinced Bailey, advanced him a "loan" of $3,300, and Bailey returned to Texas—as did Pierce and J. D. Johnson, his general attorney. At the state capital conferences were held with the Attorney-General (Crane's successor, a college friend of Bailey's), and large sums were offered if by any legerdemain the judgment of ouster might be avoided. The state's law officer very properly maintained that he enjoyed no prerogative to compromise the state's dear-bought victory; but finally he yielded his acquiescence in a new dodge suggested and urged by Bailey—in accordance with which the offending corporation was "dissolved," reorganized overnight with identically the same name, stockholders and officers, and came back into the state with "clean hands." Not an oil wagon was halted, not an agent changed, or a new set of books opened. This was May 31, 1900. Conferences were held also at Waco, with a view to compromising the suits there pending, and getting dismissed a criminal indictment against Pierce.

During five years preceding these transactions, this corporation, with a capitalization of $400,000, had plundered the people of over $5,000,000 in dividends; and in the five years following the profits were $11,292,000.

A wave of protest passed over the state—indignation that the fruits of a righteous and expensive victory should thus in an hour, by the state's own paid servant, be brought to naught. At the Democratic state convention in August, ex-Governor Hogg denounced the whole reëntry proceeding. It was on this occasion that Bailey gave utterance to the following sentiment: "My fellow-countrymen, do we as Democrats of Texas believe that we have fallen so low as to elect a Senator who sells his services to the corporations? I do not believe the time will ever come when Texas will make that mistake."

Meanwhile no compromise having been effected at Waco, one of the state's private counsel had become restive concerning his fee, and had threatened the corporation with a receivership; whereupon its local counsel had written Johnson at St. Louis that he had better have Bailey communicate with Stribling, and "make some suggestion to him." Clark's letter, forwarded to Pierce, called forth the following telegram:

"LAKE NEBAGAMON, WIS., June 12.
"ANDREW M. FINLAY,
"*St. Louis, Missouri:*
"If Johnson approves authorize Bailey to loan Stribling on his note fifteen hundred. Bailey should quiet all Texas parties. Tell him I will see him soon.
"H. C. PIERCE."

Bailey forthwith drew on Pierce for $1,500, which was charged on the books of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company as "fees, Waco civil cases," and finally like the $3,300 item (which had appeared as "legal expense, account Texas cases"), to "profit and loss." It appears that the money did not reach Stribling, though no doubt he received the suggestion.

In January, 1901, before the legislature had finally elected Bailey to the Senate, that body instituted a farcical investigation, from which the Senator emerged "vindicated"—triumphantly, but not unanimously. Shortly thereafter Bailey went to Washington, and on March 4th took the oath as Senator. But some of the legislators persisted in brewing trouble. A bill was reported favorably in the state Senate making the property of a defunct corporation liable for penalties recovered against it. The McFall bill, to revoke the oil company's permit to do business in the state, was introduced in the House. One week after taking the senatorial oath Bailey hurried away to Texas. He lobbied at Austin against these two measures; they were reflections on his integrity. Through his efforts, both of the obnoxious bills died on the legislative calendar.

But before leaving Washington our matchless Senator executed a note for $8,000 in favor of H. C. Pierce, without interest and without security. And, during this period in Texas, he penned an urgent letter to "My dear Pierce," begging an immediate remittance in New York exchange of $1,750. "Have it made payable to my order," he wrote, "so that it will not be necessary for you to endorse it."

This amount was charged on the books of the Waters-Pierce Company as "legal expenses account Texas legislation." The $8,000 item was carried on the "bills receivable" account for sixteen months, and then, like the other, charged off to profit and loss. Senator Bailey and his apologists explain, in a highly humorous way, how all these were private transactions between him and Mr. Pierce, and how the amounts were all repaid. I cannot, for lack of space, go into these explanations. However, no receipts are exhibited, and the Waters-Pierce Oil Company's accounting department is not assailed for conspiracy.

Bailey admits having received during the year 1901, direct from the Standard Oil Company, at 26 Broadway, a fee of $2,500 for a legal opinion to the effect that the Standard could not do business in Texas. It was pointed out during the campaign that if this transaction was entered into in good faith by both parties, the trust must needs have disclosed to the Senator its innermost secrets—information which for years various agencies of the government have sought in vain to obtain; matters incident to interstate commerce, which might properly become the subject of the Senator's legislative action. Yet this paid servant of the people willingly tied his own hands and closed his own mouth, so far as action against the nation's greatest corporate enemy is concerned. Later he drew the charter and a mortgage, and superintended a meeting of the board of directors, for the Security Oil Company, of Beaumont, a subsidiary concern of the Standard Oil Company, for which service he received $5,000. Moreover, he has long kept in his possession the secret telegraph code of the oil trust, in which his own name was "Republish"—a circumstance, of itself, sufficient to damn him.

Bailey boasts, however, that "they can 't point to a single vote or a single

speech of mine in Congress that has been influenced by these considerations." Small men—like those opposing him—might be corrupted, but the Titan Bailey—no! I will mention only one of several known acts of positive recreancy. In February, 1903, Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, chairman of the Committee on Finance, of which Bailey was a member, introduced in the Senate a bill "to further provide for the safe keeping of public money, and for other purposes." The bill, having been referred to the Finance Committee, was reported favorably with amendments, two days later. This was a scheme to transfer about $400,000,000 from the United States Treasury to the vaults of certain pet banks, to be known as Government Depositories. The banks were to pay not less than one and one-half per cent. interest. Of course, the government was paying much more than this on its own bonds. The iniquitous measure was fully discussed and severely denounced; and Bailey alone of all the Democratic Senators, stood shoulder to shoulder with Aldrich, Quay, Platt and Depew.

The eloquent Senator from Texas was at that time fresh from a rich foray on Wall Street. From the middle of January to the last days of February he had not answered a roll-call, but had instead been living at the Waldorf-Astoria. As agent of John H. Kirby, president of the Kirby Lumber Company, of Texas, he had succeeded in negotiating a deal involving $1,650,000 of the preferred stock of the Kirby Lumber Company. The stock was taken by parties interested in the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad, including H. C. Pierce and B. F. Yoakum. Bailey's fee, or commission (including some related transactions), was about $225,000. Now, in putting through this bargain, using weeks of the people's time, Bailey violated a principle of public policy which it was his duty as a Senator and as a Texan to uphold. For Mr. Yoakum contemplated building, and later did build (a point which Bailey urged), a branch of his road through the vast region covered by the timber and the mills of the Kirby company, thus closely identifying in interest the railroad and the lumber company, and making discrimination inevitable, with all the oppression of a trust.

Besides those mentioned, a number of Senator Bailey's other financial transactions became known to the people in 1906. He admits having received, in the aggregate, more than $200,000 from the president of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company. He has to-day a commission of perhaps $500,000, contingent on an expected sale, tied up in the Tennessee railroad and mining properties, valued at $13,000,000, in charge of which he was placed, in 1904, by Pierce and associates. He was a bankrupt when he first met Pierce; to-day he is reputed to be a millionaire.

Yet the Senator from Texas insists that he has done no wrong. He is, by his own confession, "the tallest and the cleanest Democrat in the party"—one of the very greatest men of history. He refers to Jesus' teaching that "No man can serve two masters" as a "cheap motto."

Many will be surprised to know that when Senator Burton, of Kansas, was overtaken in his unlawful practices, Senator Bailey laid down the dictum—doubtless correct—that in cases of this kind the presumption of innocence ought not to hold; that, on the contrary, a public servant accused of wrong-doing ought to be presumed guilty until he establishes his innocence beyond reasonable doubt—and, failing in that, to be expelled.

While the opposition to Senator Bailey has been more or less active ever since 1900, the clearest evidence of his servility to predatory wealth remained covered up until the fall of 1906. The *Cosmopolitan* article, in its "Treason of the Senate" series, published that summer, had called attention afresh to the

Senator's suspicious alliances; still comparatively few scratched his name in the July primary. In August, at the state convention, the Senator was presented to the Democracy as their nominee, in a highly eulogistic speech by Hon. Cone Johnson, who, in the campaign just closed, opposed him so ably for delegate-at large. Bailey was the most popular man in Texas. In September the Pierce testimony, brought out by Mr. Hadley at St. Louis, revealed unmistakably the Standard's ownership of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, and also disclosed the Senator's connection with the Tennessee properties. It was then the storm began to rise in real earnest. Certain legislative nominees began to express themselves adversely to the Senator. He came scurrying home from Washington, and gave to the state press a rather audacious letter of explanation and defense. Then followed a speaking tour.

Meanwhile the Attorney-General's office had been collecting evidence on which to base a new suit for ouster and penalties, and had secured from J. P. Gruet, former secretary of the oil company, a number of papers which happened to involve Senator Bailey. When in Novemper the Attorney-General cited the defendant corporation to produce certain documents, the existence of which the secondary evidence in his hands proved, Senator Bailey, being apprised at Washington, departed again for Texas, and gave out interviews to the effect that no such documents were in existence, or, if they were, were forgeries; and that he would land the conspirators behind prison bars. After reaching Austin he gave out, at the conclusion of a long conference with his partisans, his answer to an open letter of General Davidson's, in which the Attorney-General had astonished the state with a detailed recital of Bailey's money transactions with H. C. Pierce. Bailey's reply was a pitiful evasion and a virtual confession on all material points. The next morning the Dallas-Galveston *News*, leading newspapers of Texas, neutral before, printed an editorial on "Why Senator Bailey Should be Defeated."

From this time until the convening of the legislature in January, a strenuous agitation was kept up in the hope of so arousing public sentiment as to move the members to disregard the instructions received when the people were in darkness. Four special primaries to get a new popular expression were held in as many counties or districts, two of which went against, two for, the Senator. A demand for a second legislative investigation soon developed. The Senator at first announced that there would be no investigation. It became apparent, however, soon after the legislature met, that an investigation of some sort could not be avoided. Representative Duncan introduced a resolution providing for a searching investigation of both Bailey and Davidson. The Senator's partisans introduced and carried a substitute which called for what Duncan characterized as a "mild" investigation of Bailey only. The Senate committee, which was given less authority, sat with the House committee.

Bailey was allowed three attorneys, but Representative Cocke, who preferred the charges, was compelled to conduct the arduous prosecution, in large part, single-handed. Senator Bailey refused (and a majority of the committee sustained him) to go on the stand until the other witnesses had been heard, and then refused to be cross-examined by Mr. Cocke. Under the limitations imposed, Mr. Cocke was unable to establish all of his charges (there were forty-two), and he wrote in the record a protest against the committee's refusal to lengthen the inquiry for the taking of the testimony of important out-of-state witnesses. As it was, a mass of damaging evidence was elicited. The House committee sent in a majority report exonerating the Senator—signed by his four partisans—and minority

reports signed by the other three. The Senate committee—a majority of which would have reported adversely—was discharged without an opportunity to report!

In the meantime the day for balloting for United States Senator had arrived. Mr. Duncan's proposed expedient for legally deferring an actual choice was rejected, and Bailey was elected in advance of a report from either committee. The ballot stood 108 to 39, fourteen not voting. Several, feeling themselves bound by the primary instructions, voted for him under protest.

In a speech memorable for its bitterness Senator Bailey declared a war of extermination on his enemies, proclaiming that thenceforward none of them should hold office under the state, or represent the state in the Democratic National convention. His opponents have had no choice but to oppose his selection as delegate. General Davidson, in view of the assault directed with peculiar viciousness at him, was induced to make the race for a third term. A special primary having been assured, conventions were held last March by both factions, and nominees for delegates-at-large chosen. A remarkable campaign was waged for more than a month. False issues, appeals to prejudice, double-dealing on the Prohibition question, puerile attacks on the opposing candidates—these characterized the Bailey warfare. The opposition propaganda, while spirited, was conducted on the plane of reason. Mr. Johnson's crusade was conspicuously clean and effective.

It is a constant source of wonder that legions of good men still flock to their recreant Senator's standard—but the whole lump has not yet been leavened. Besides, he is a magnificent orator, a man of great personal magnetism, with remarkable power of hypnotizing the unthinking. His superlative egotism, instead of repelling, seems to inspire confidence. The politicians, trust attorneys and controlled editors defend him for reasons peculiar to themselves. Very many, condemning his code of ethics, voted for him out of reluctance to discredit a Texas Senator before the nation.

The result, while literally a victory for the Senator, was close, and carries the moral force of a defeat. Half of the voters remained away from the polls, yet over 100,000 registered their disapproval of the doctrine that the people's servants have a right to serve the people's enemies. Johnson received forty-five per cent. of the votes polled. In sharp contrast with his speech in the legislature, the Senator gave to the press a statement in which he said: "I believe that the harmony of the Democratic party and the peace of this state ought not to be further disturbed, and if permitted to do so, I shall never again refer to those charges, or to the men who made them."

The fight will nevertheless go on, and it does not take a prophet to foresee the early downfall of Baileyism. The indications are that Attorney-General Davidson will easily defeat the Bailey candidate in July. The perfecting of the Bailey machine will, of course, go quietly but industriously forward, in anticipation of the final struggle.

It remains to be seen what effect this half-endorsement of Bailey will have on the national election. He is notoriously out of sympathy with Mr. Bryan and his policies. By reason of his transcendent gifts and demagogic professions, Bailey is in Congress a most dangerous ally of the criminal interests, but it is believed that the effectual stripping of the mask from him will greatly diminish his influence for harm.

VICTOR E. MARTIN.
*Weatherford, Texas.*

# CAN THE INCARNATION BE INTERPRETED TO MEET THE DEMANDS OF THE INTELLECTUAL MIND?

By Rev. C. Adolphe Livingston.

IT IS DEPLORABLE that this question should be asked. Yet it is a question universally current and the clergy can ill afford to ignore it.

The church is the perpetuation of the fact of the Incarnation. We are urged by scripture as well as by our own inclination to search to know as well as to love God. God being Spirit, and only spirit being able to reveal spirit, we are left to all kinds of fanciful concepts if God does not reveal Himself to us in perceptive intellect. Hence the Incarnation which is the full revelation of personal Spirit into our subjective world and its permanent residence in our intellectual natures. His Incarnation shows us that He wishes no empty-headed children. It may be true that we are poor in knowledge of Him in our natural objective state; but through His subjective revelation we are rich in His knowledge. Spirit has always occupied the regions of imagination and feeling in our natures; but the Incarnation entered the thinking faculties and has transformed us from thinking animals to thinking spirits—from individuals to personalities. Personality is the realization that one's destiny is eternal and wihin itself.

It will be necessary to analyze a little if we establish the validity of the foregoing assertions.

When we say "world" we include spirit and matter, and it is necessary for us to establish that spirit is the *reality* of the two and not an excrescenee or a side issue or a tack off the main line.

What is the essence of matter? Matter is composite, consisting of parts which seek to exclude each other. It is therefore self-destructive, for, being composite and ever seeking unity, if it should succeed in its own object it would destroy itself. The imposed law of gravity saves it. Now gravity is a law emanating from a substance, self-existant. Gravity is one of the means that Spirit uses to obtain its freedom in matter. The definition of matter places it within the region of spirit, a theory of atomic motion, and matter as we know it exists only by the law of obedience to something outside of itself. Gravity is the means of acquiring harmony; and harmony is but the method of freedom which is the essence of Spirit. Thus we see that matter is not reality in the true sense, but merely a workman for spirit.

The essence of Spirit is freedom. Spirit is that which has its center in itself. It is self-contained existence. Spirit itself is the sole aim of itself. All history is the progress of the outworking consciousness of the freedom of spirit. The natural elements which we loosely think give us life are seeking all the time to decay our bodies and succeed in doing it as soon as the spirit leaves the body to their operations. These natural elements do not assist in giving life. They assist merely in giving life a mode. There is no doubt that conscious life is reached by a process of antagonism. The senses deceive us. A board hanging over the water seems to the sense of sight to be broken or bent, and the sense of touch contradicts it. A looking-glass deceives us into thinking our image to be behind it. Our sight sense deceives us into thinking we see the sun just as it sinks below the horizon, when actually we continue to see it after it has passed. Verily it is the stable sanity of Spirit by which we maintain our equilibrium.

Here the question occurs, Is not all

insanity physical? In the most violent case of insanity, to wit, delirium tremens, the sanity of the mind proper is shown in that the patient always tries to get away from or kill the serpents he thinks he sees. Here the insanity is plainly physical. Wrong messages are received over the nerves which are deranged. The mental conclusions are sane, built upon false messages received over physically diseased nerves, as wires that are tangled. An engineer of a train would be considered sane who should logically bring his train to a standstill in response to an erroneous signal given by the mistake of a passenger.

The question now confronts us, Do we draw our mind from a source outside of matter, or is mind generated by matter?

The brain is conceded to be the organ of thought. If matter generates thought, the brain should secrete thought in like manner as the liver secretes bile. We know that a portion of the blood flowing into the liver does not flow out again, being differentiated into bile. We also know that the brain differs from other organs of the body in this respect. It does not secrete. If every particle of blood which flows into the brain does not flow out again, arrested life or paralysis occurs. The brain at best is but an instrument bringing harmony of movement to the diversified body in one of its departments, and in the other the means of bringing the subjective down into consciousness in the objective world. This process is a prototype of the Incarnation. The Christ after he was resurrected was the same stable personality that he was while carrying the flesh, and certainly the manifestation of God through the imagination or feeling cannot be so valid as through the full intellectual process of teaching a philosophy superior to all others and tallying with scientific facts as we ascertain them down through the past two thousand years.

The best definition of life is: "The constant adjustment of inner relations to outer relations." The God-man coming down out of heaven to dwell among us is a part of the evolution of the race. It is a part of the process in its highest form, the spiritual. "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." (John, 8:12.)

Spiritual consciousness in the race was the object of the Incarnation. Christ taught, in His intellectual statement of religion, that the spiritual life was a constant warfare—the spiritual in constant antagonism to the carnal was the pathway of the soul. The late John Fiske heads a chapter in one of his latest books with: "Without the element of antagonism there could be no consciousness, and therefore no world."

The Incarnation is a great universal truth, and truth is a like diamond having many facets of brilliancy. The emotional interpretation is most often followed, and the intellectual mind is apt to think this is done in order to table perplexing questions and find an easy way out of a dilemma. We must pardon this accusation, for the thinking field is more or less limited when compared to that of the fancy and feeling.

We have seen that the popular definition of reality means limitation and obstruction. Fate has so juggled matters with us that the prison walls of sense which for a short time modify and color mind have been substituted for the reality which they resist. We can all remember how in our childhood we suffered the modification of our newly-incarnated spirit by the limitation of the then cumbersome body. The intellectual school must revise its definition of reality. There is but one reality and that is self-existent Spirit—Absolute Reason, who uses matter for His manifestation of subjective mind into objective world.

Reason includes both the subjective and the objective, both tuition and intuition. Psychology is very late in making the distinction between reason

and the reasoning process. Suppose a gentleman sitting in a pew should have five hundred dollars which he wished to give for missions and should decide to distribute it equally to five separate departments of missions. Suppose he takes out pencil and paper, writes the figure 5 and four ciphers, pointing off two ciphers at the right to represent units and tens. At the left he writes the figure 5, representing the number of objects. He begins his division thus: "Five will go in five once," and he writes this down at the right, adds four ciphers and has the astonishing result that each department will have the sum of ten thousand dollars. But he is not deceived for an instant in this matter. His reason tells him immediately that his reasoning process is wrong, thus showing the distinction of reason from reasoning. On going over his process he discovers that he had failed to point off as many places in his quotient as were in the dividend.

Almost every day we hear of or have the experience of reason in the intuitive denying reports, no matter how reasonably correct they seem to be. In religion we have given a name to that portion of reason that is intuitive and above the reasoning process or understanding. We call it faith, but it needs a proper adjustment before it can be called by so ambitious a term. It is like the magnetic needle and must be poised before it can be relied on. This is the intellectual need of the Incarnation.

The essence of spirit is freedom, and the whole history of the race is the manifesting the freedom of spirit in man. Hence the necessity of the God-man to come down to manifest to us the portion of reason which is beyond our reasoning process or understanding, to wit, *faith.*

There are three faculties in which Spirit manifests itself to man: imagination, feeling and intellect. In the region of feeling we must always be uncertain of our ground because the emotional at best is unstable and often phantasmagoric.

In imagination we have the fetish worship and magic. In both of these schools the human individual worshiper remains master of the thing or the symbol worshiped, destroys it and makes another. Hence the object, worship, is thwarted. The intellectual school believing the thinking faculty superior to all others, must have the Historic Incarnation and the Incarnate One must answer the problem of the brain as well as bring peace to the troubled heart. Compare the philosophy of His gospel with the philosophies of the world and note the truth expressed by Rousseau—"Socrates spoke like a philosopher, but Jesus Christ like a God."

But the Incarnation and not the result of it is the question before us. The most prevalent objection to the Incarnation from the intellectual school is directed against Galatians, fourth chapter, as follows:

"But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth His son, made of a woman, made under the law,

"To redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.

"And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father."

It is asked, Why this great delay on the part of God to come to the direct assistance of struggling man groping his way through ages of doubt and darkness towards the knowledge of God and His truth? In reply we would say, The object of Christ's Incarnation was not to institute, but to reveal. That which he revealed was always true in the minds of God. The process of history is the only means which God could employ without violating His plan of making us thinking beings instead of machines and automatons.

We would lay down the principle that no man is in the frame of mind to receive assistance until he fully realizes his need

of assistance. It is after due trial and recognized failure to accomplish a thing that a man turns with docility and seeks help. It has been said by some scientist that all nature abhors a vacuum. The law of Spirit seems to be to fill all spiritual vacuity with itself. The glory of God is to conceal a matter that it may be the strength of man to search it out. God thus raises us out of mere instinctive machines, crowns us with reason, and takes us into His confidence. He abdicates realm after realm that we may go out and possess it, thus supplying man's incompetencies.

Let us hastily outline man's gropings along the pathway of spirit-consciousness and towards the Divine Personality. The culmination of the most ancient religions of the Orient was in the Temple of Neith in ancient Egypt. Read the heart yearnings inscribed upon the sarcophagi where were laid their sacred dead. And the mocking answer to all this is: "No man can lift my veil and live." Ignoramus! We cannot know. The Unknown aloof from the race, leaving the cry still in the hearts of the race—*Ignorabimus?*

The secular mind also sought to know, and its culmination was in the Sphinx of Thebes. This Sphinx was the great symbol of Egypt and appeared, we are told by Æschylus, in Thebes propounding the question, "What is that which goes on four legs in the morning, at midday on two, and in the evening on three?" And whoever essayed to answer and failed was struck dead. It was Œdipus, a personification of the new Greek thought, who answered, "Man," and precipitated the Sphinx from the rock in fragments. This was the liberation of the spirit of the Orient which in Egypt had advanced in consciousness far enough to propound the problem. And the first answer to the problem of the ancient world came from new Greece and culminated in the Temple of Apollo—"Man, know thyself." Man, knowing himself, shall know all. And what a failure in sensuousness has that system proven. All systems emanating from it have left man empty and desolate at the grave. And why? Because man was unable to apprehend the subjective portion of his nature. This apprehension came later to the world when "The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father . . . hath declared him."

One nation was slowly but surely apprehending the truth. Through all this colossal world-failure, the Hebrews were slowly being prepared for the apprehension of the thought of docility—the emptying of self. It is written down in that great hymn-book of the Hebrew nation, The Psalms. They thus obtained, dimly at first, the promises that when man's docility was complete and he should, by the eradicating of conceit, prepare himself for the gracious guest, the Christos should come and solve for struggling man the problem of the ages, man's destiny.

"When the fulness of time was come." Just at this period the world had become morally threadbare. The governments of the old world had proven themselves unmistakable failures. Spirit had merely disclosed its existence but had made as yet no practical development in man. In China man had a value of reverence only after he was dead. The Hindoo by taking his life became absorbed in Brahm. Here there can be no progress, for independence of Spirit is impossible. The Persian doctrine of "Light," Syrian voluptuousness and luxury, the activity and courage of the bold Phœnecians, the abstraction of the Jew, the mental unrest of the Egyptian and the wild rush of young freedom in Greece were but world-stuff to be shaped and idealized and these elements to be made to answer one the other. This, then, was the "fulness of time."

The Roman world has emphasized the objective side of Spirit to its death, like the death of a Chrysalis, and made ready for the birth of Subjective Spirit. Rome has been designated a place of

birth. Hegel has said: "Its [Rome's] entire condition is analogous to a place of birth, and its pain is like the travail-throes of another and higher Spirit, which manifested itself in connection with the Christian Religion."

Up to the Incarnation, mankind had simply learned its incompetency. The Jewish nation had failed to apprehend its needs and to look up for light. A fierce fanaticism had taken hold of them in the sects of the Pharisee and the Sadducee, and the religion of Moses and Isaiah had fallen away into stupid discussions of minute ceremonial of dress and food and posture. It was at this point that "God sent forth His Son." It is best described by the gifted Rousseau, who said: "I dreamed a dream. I saw the temples and altars of the ancient world in all their splendor. I looked again and they had vanished, and in their place was standing a young teacher, full of grace and truth. He had not attacked them; he had not destroyed them; but by his own intrinsic excellency and majesty he had superseded them, and there was no one to dispute his right."

The attestation of the Deity of Christ must be one's own spirit, and not miracle, because it is Spirit alone that can recognize Spirit. The Incarnation must depend, for its apprehension, upon the intellectual faculty. Christ is seen to be the great world democrat and has most fully apprehended the worth of a human soul. He tells us that greater than all ceremony, greater than all systems, greater and more sacred than all organization is the human soul. Books and forms and ceremonies and revelations exist but as means to assist the human soul to find native atmosphere.

The door which He has opened and which leads through the grave is that, when we have each found our incompetency and docility, we turn to Him who shows us the way out from under the burden of the condemnation of the law which He has overcome for us and adopting us His brothers makes us conscious sons of God. It is not enough that we believe He is the son of God. When He declares Himself the son of God, if the Incarnation is a revelation, he speaks my truth and your truth. Because we "*are* sons of God, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father."

Thus is the old world-problem solved. We are under the care of a loving Father, not a remote God; a loving Father who struggles and suffers in and with us. He knows what our trials are. He knows every struggle we have put forth even though we have failed. His loving hands heal the wounds we give ourselves. We can feel His loving sympathy when we have cut our feet on the sharp rocks. Life can never be meaningless to us when we have the Father's presence with us, and death can have no terrors for a son who is on his way to his Father's loving bosom. We can fold the tired hands in the care of Him who, "watching over Israel, neither slumbers nor sleeps" in subsequent history.

"I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care."

C. Adolphe Livingstone.
*Port Henry, New York.*

# THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO.

By Wallace B. Conant.

NEGRO emigration and colonization have never been a popular theme for advocacy, mainly because they have rarely been presented on their merits without personal bias and prejudice. Any project of this nature is generally branded as impracticable—a stemming of the tide of natural progress and the currents of individual inclination. Usually the project has been opposed by the argument that it would involve forcible deportation, the uprooting of a contented people from their well-loved homes; in short, the Acadian tragedy.

Nothing could be farther from the thought of the friend of the negro in America. Every one who knows the race by close contact has learned that it possesses many high qualities and is capable of development along certain lines. The colored people have made great strides since emancipation. They have acquired a large amount of property and gained the rudiments of educational training, while many of the race have achieved a worthy place in the communities where they live.

As an ethnological question, viewed in its large relations, these facts of progress signify little as to what the solution of the "race problem" in America is to be. Professor Washington asserts that the negro will remain in America. He has, nevertheless, counseled his people to let politics alone, and to devote themselves to industrial pursuits. This doctrine, popular at the present time in the country at large, and especially in the North, makes its appeal to common sense, and, what seems more important, to the practical test of Northern philanthropy. But, at the same time, the abandonment of the voting right and of the ambition to stand equal with the whites in public functions, is a virtual acknowledgment of the central principle which the South has always asserted and for which it fought: that an insurmountable racial barrier divides the black and the white races which neither personal fortune nor mental endowment can overcome.

By all proper logic, the mental and material growth of the negro should lift him to a higher place in the civil life of hte South and insure him a larger measure of personal rights and more influence in public councils.

It is plain, however, that the progress of the race thus far has not produced these results. On the contrary, the negroes' political status has declined to an amazing extent during the past ten years, while their civil rights, guaranteed them under the National Constitution, have either been entirely taken away or else are held at the tender mercies of the whites. People lament over the condition of the Filipinos—a people without full self-government; let them look to the southern half of this free republic, where six millions of native-born citizens live practically as people without a country.

In the matter of industrial position, it is very doubtful if the technical training of a few hundred colored men and women, such as is carried on at Tuskegee and elsewhere, has not been greatly overmatched by the curtailing of positions for skilled labor which the negro might occupy but which are now denied him. Foreign visitors to the cotton mills of the South recently were surprised to find no negroes employed at the looms, when plenty of colored help was at hand. With the advance in general prosperity in the South has come the danger of reënslavement through the system of peonage.

To the casual observer, the Southern negro is the embodiment of care-free contentment. But beneath the surface lies a deep under-current of discontent, which, with the increase of intelligence through education, becomes yearly more intense. The race, with the very possibilites for expansion, is feeling its limitations more keenly.

To the white people the situation is more than ever before one of grave menace. People of the South know well the dangers that arise from the many roving negroes that are found everywhere in that section. The little learning which is a dangerous thing makes many of the employed class insolent and not to be relied upon, thereby crippling industries dependent upon them. More than ever the white people are aware that their section is greatly hampered by the presence of a double population, in the disadvantages it entails of duplicating schools, churches and transportation facilities, and making delicate class-lines between occupations that are "white men's work" and "negroes' work." They would gladly throw off this incubus if they could, but no way has opened. It is not hard to see why negro education is not regarded as a panacea for the ills the South suffers. The South is struggling to place itself on a level with the industrial civilizations of the North and of Europe, but under present conditions this is extremely difficult.

On this bare outline of the situation is based the argument that negro emigration is the solution of the negro problem, from three points of view:

1. It is desirable for the negroes themselves, to enable them to develop a racial life away from the blight of caste stigma and the monopoly of land and other advantages by the whites.

2. It is desirable from the Southerners' standpoint, in that it would lighten the burdens entailed by a two-fold population, remove the dangers which the low and degraded of the colored race offer, and enable the South to be American in the full sense in its social and political make-up.

3. It is desirable for the nation as a whole, as the completion of a work begun and carried forward by the two great idealists of the American system, Jefferson and Lincoln, removing at last the cause of bitter division between brothers North and South.

This at any rate is a broad enough hypothesis from which to argue a vexed question. Only Destiny can bring to a harmony a theme to which human dulness and passion have set so false and uncertain a key-note. But in the past there have been a few whose almost prophetic vision seems to have compassed the whole design. About eighty years ago a few broad-minded men, among them Henry Clay of Kentucky, started Liberia, a colony for free American negroes. Lincoln, in his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, specifically stated that the liberation of the blacks was to enable them "to colonize in Africa or elsewhere." And no less discerning a mind than that of the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* prophesied the return of the freedmen to their ancestral home. Liberia has been mostly forgotten in the noisy material advance of the past century, but it still exists as a very worthy example of self-government in Africa, by the Africans, despite the craftiness of European governments and a frontier crowded with the aboriginal races of the Dark Continent. As exacting an English diplomatist as Sir Harry Johnston, in his recent work, *Liberia*, leads one to believe that the little republic is a proper success, maintaining the ideals of Christianity and freedom in the face of great obstacles. Doubtless it would prove a greater power in Africa if its small population were to be reïnforced by a new influx of negroes from America—a movement which doubtless would be welcomed by the Liberians, who now numbering only about 25,000, hold a territory as large as England and inhabi-

tated in its hinterland by two millions of savages.

But Liberia is only one of several tropical regions to which the negro might resort.

The most pertinent phase of the question seems to be: would negroes to any considerable number leave America if given opportunity and aid in doing so? Of course, everything would depend on the attitude of the recognized leaders of the race. Present conditions are evidently not ripe for such a movement. But it is the future that is being considered; and time may bring forward a leader with the enthusiasm of a Moses to lead the race on a new pilgrimage.

It is evident that the negro, and not the whites, must decide what the negro will do for himself. If the negro were the ward of the nation, as he began to be, in a manner, after emancipation, and as the Indian has long been, one might expect the black to follow the red men's path to gradual extinction through not having to struggle for his place in the world. But the negro is of a very different nature from the Indian. He takes readily to organization, is naturally coöperative, as the numerous churches, lodges and societies show; very unlike the Indian, who, bereft of the fields and woods that maintain his free, wild, individualistic life, embraces oblivion. More than this, the individual negro feels himself a part of a distinct and peculiar race. In certain ways the negroes in America resemble the Jews in their various periods of captivity and wandering, and in a remarkable manner the race finds itself reflected in the history of the Hebrew people. More than any other class in this country, and perhaps more than any other people in the world, the negro reads the Bible, and reads it literally. He finds there a vital parallelism between the story of the Children of Israel in their wanderings and periods of slavery and his own race history. It is natural, then, that he should carry the analogy further and foresee for his race a final deliverance and a happy entrance into Canaan. Often as one goes through the South, one hears in the colored churches the expressed yearnings for this consummation.

Then, from the standpoint of the whites: It has been freely argued that the South needs the colored people as laborers; that it cannot do without them; that they alone can endure field labor in the warm climate of that section. In refutation of this statement statistics show that more than one-half of the cotton is raised by white labor. Europeans, especially from Southern Europe, would settle in the Southern States were the negro absent. There is no reason, as experience shows, why Italians and Austrians are not able to work in Georgia or the Carolinas with as much health and comfort as in their native lands. With the introduction of improved farm machinery any Northern farmer could till the Southern acres without undue discomfort.

Southern people, as a whole, would welcome a large exodus of landless negroes. A canvass by letter of fifty leading Southerners—governors, educators, editors—has brought to the writer a remarkable body of sentiment in favor of the project. To the question: "Would the South be better off were large numbers of negroes to emigrate?" nearly all responded: "Yes, if we could get European settlers to take their places." Some advocate governmental aid. Two or three name the Philippines or Porto Rico as desirable places for negroes to colonize. Many say that the negroes would be better to have a chance to develop a civilization of their own.

In a Georgia Sunday-school the leader, the brilliant young superintendent of the county schools, was discussing the words of St. Paul: "God made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The relator, who was a visitor in the class, was curious to see what disposal the leader would make of this seemingly "hard saying"

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with the negro brought into the scope of the discussion. His curiosity was speedily given check, and a new view of the whole matter dawned on him when the leader passed on to the clause following, in which Paul continues: "And hath determined . . . the bounds of their habitation," etc., the leader going on to explain these words as meaning that the Almighty made all races to be as brothers but to dwell apart, each in his divinely apportioned part of the earth. Was not this explanation a logical one? Was it not good common sense? Does it not also help mightily toward settling the vexing problem of the relation America bears to various races to-day —Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, Negro?

Disfranchisement, Northern indifference, Southern prejudice—sinister omens, seemingly, for the negroes' prospects. But in the large view, signs of hope. The race, now "out of politics," is a subject that can be handled without reference or deference to any political party. Enough of fanaticism and mawkish sentimentalism; enough wrangling and harsh words; now let there be some *constructive* statesmanship. Northern indifference of late has done much to put the negro on his own resources. Race prejudice is in a large sense beneficent, in that it has kept the negro race remarkably pure, purer than in any other country—West Indies, South America or elsewhere—preserving the race as a distinct body of population. This separateness will be effective in enabling it to do its part in history which no mongrel race could do.

Finally, then, is the idea practicable? Would it not cost too much? Is not Africa too far off?

West Africa is hardly a half farther than Europe. Single emigrants can go to-day to Liberia from Baltimore or Savannah via Liverpool for about seventy-five dollars. Before the middle of the last century regular packets ran between Baltimore and Monrovia. With such service, which demand would create, the cost of emigrating would hardly be more than that of European peasants coming to America.

Russia has spent millions to colonize Siberia. England has helped the surplus of her own crowded cities to Australia. The Salvation Army has established successful colonies of English settlers in Canada. This country, which has spent *billions* in a civil strife to free a race from serfdom, ought not to begrudge a few *millions* to set it on its feet as a people.

Just as Russians are to-day by thousands leaving their native land for a strange land of larger freedom, just as our own fathers crossed the seas to seek a condition better suited to self-development, just as in all ages great movements of population have taken place, to get away from economic pressure, escape tyranny, or seek religious or political freedom, so the negro, under the plan of an overruling power, may, at some future time, make what will be the next great migration in history—an exodus from the land of his serfdom and early training in the arts of civilization, back to the land of his origin, where, possessed of all he gained here, he may be the entering wedge in darkest Africa for the enlightenment of that continent.

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# A WHITE MAN'S EFFORT FOR NEGRO UPLIFT.

By Saint Nihal Sing.

"Whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, deserves better of mankind and does more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians."—Dean Swift: *Gulliver's Travels.*

"He who from the soil he cultivates draws forth one additional sheaf of corn serves mankind more than he who presents them with a book."—Hernandino St. Pierre: *Paul and Virginia.*

NOWHERE in the world is more organized effort made with better success to reduce these sentiments expressed by Dean Swift and Hernandino St. Pierre into fruitful practice than at an institution conducted in the interests of negroes and North American Indians at the historical town of Hampton, Virginia. At this institute the effort is made to produce useful, well-balanced and clean-cut young men and women who will go out into the community and by right living or actual teaching, influence the masses to lead healthier, better lives. The pupil is discouraged from considering book-learning an achievement in itself rather than a mere means to an end. Industrial and agricultural training are employed, not only with a view to render the young men and women self-supporting and dependable citizens; but "learning by doing" is also utilized as a beneficent and powerful instrument for brain culture and character-forming.

Hampton Institute was founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong five years after the emancipation of the American negro. The General had fought in many pitched battles to help free the negroes who were held in bondage. Being a man of large sympathies and endowed with shrewd common sense, he realized that the liberation of the negro slaves did not absolve the United States from responsibility regarding their welfare. The white man had acknowledged the injustice and cupidity involved in forcibly expatriating the Africander from his native continent, transporting him to America, holding his body in bondage and his mind in midnight darkness. He undertook to free the negroes whom he had held in slavery, and pledged never again to enslave them; but this was not all that was needed. In addition, some sort of reparation had to be made to the aggrieved black man. A little over four million people had been set free; but the bondage of many decades had so enfeebled their minds and clouded their intellects that they were more like weak and half-witted children, ruthlessly cast adrift, than grown-up men and women who had come into their own. Something had to be done for these helpless people—and done at once.

The native genius of General Armstrong combined with his large-heartedness, led him to resolve that he would devote his life to continuing the work of negro emancipation which had liberated the persons of the colored people, by setting free their minds and producing leaders amongst them who would make it their aim and ambition to use their abilities in the work of civilizing and modernizing their race. Both sexes would be taught how to live and work in order to do the maximum good to themselves and their community.

It was this peculiar situation which inspired the founder of Hampton Institute to establish a school which would make its sole purpose to *put wits into the fingers as well as the minds* of the pupils. Until then education was purely intellectual. Pupils studied books only, and the education offered in colleges

was entirely literary. It was the education of the head alone—not an "integral" education, that is to say, the education of the whole man—head, heart and hand. General Armstrong protested against this system of education. Enforced labor on the plantation, done in some instances under the most bestial conditions, with the lash constantly held over their heads, had led the negroes to feel that physical work and slavery were synonymous—that labor in the field and workshop was the curse of Cain rather than a potent agency for good; and mere literary education would doubtless have accentuated this hatred for manual work in the newly-freed Africanders. In founding the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute the General sought to produce men and women who would constitute an actual pillar of strength to the community and whose direct as well as indirect influence would evermore tend toward making the negroes, young and old, rich and poor, realize that all labor is worth while, holy and conducive to the colored man's real well-being. It is hard to determine whether or not the kind-hearted veteran of the Civil War foresaw that he was establishing an institution which would show the weak-sighted educator his crudeness of conception and faultiness of method, and thus eventually work a revolution in educational ideals and methods; but it is certain that this man realized the value of preparing the negro boy and girl for life, while at school, and used every means in his power to perfect the machinery which would translate this ideal into actuality.

The seed was sown in the year 1868. To give a palpable and concrete form to the principle upon which the school was founded, the Institute adopted a seal which vividly portrayed the correlation of the work of brain and brawn. Sheaves of wheat, a plow resting against a pile of books on which stood a globular model of the world, in the foreground of the seal, graphically symbolized the interdependence of muscle and mind. In the background the sun of knowledge was shown rising over the mountains of ignorance and shedding its pristine glory over a wide expanse of blue waters whereon steamboats were proudly moving. A teacher's table and tools of industry further emphasized the intent of the institution.

It would have defeated the object for which the school was founded to make it lean heavily on governmental crutches, or even to make it denominational or sectarian; nor would it have been consonant with the object the institution was to fulfill to go to the other extreme and let the negro children grow up as soulless materialists and conscienceless money-grubbers. The ideal of the institute was not to produce sectarian men and women, but to graduate pupils who would lead wholesome and normal lives and endeavor, in a kind, sympathetic manner, to train other members of the race to live in a healthy, frugal, industrious and useful way; to so saturate the hearts of the male and female students with moral training that, through catholicity of spirit, they would voluntarily do genuine missionary work among their less fortunate fellows.

Eighty-five or ninety per cent. of the negroes resided in villages, and in one way or another derived their livelihood from work on the farm. A course in scientific and modern methods of agriculture and allied branches was therefore deemed an imperative necessity. The pupils had to be shown the use of up-to-date farm machinery; initiated into the mysteries of employing scientific fertilizers; instructed in the art of stock and poultry raising and making dairy products. The folly of such superstitions as the effect of the moon on the crops had to be instilled into them. The boys had to be taught the best ways of wheelwrighting, carpentry, blacksmithing, putting up frame houses, and other industries and trades vital to their future well-being. Those who wished larger

opportunity and wanted to reside in the cities had to be coached in mechanical and electrical engineering; the modern methods of office work; the latest devices employed in commercialism and industrialism.

Educating the male and neglecting the training of the female portion of the negro community would have been more prejudicial than the training of the brain without the development of skill of hand. Improving the "sterner sex" without providing equal opportunities for "the other half" would have produced a fiasco in the home. The unlettered wife and mother would exert direct and indirect influence to undo the work of the Institute and hold back the modernized male members of the family. The hands of the clock of progress would not only be set back by uneducated negro women, but the unequal culture of the two sexes would cause friction and disharmony, great stress and storm in the home. The pre-natal and post-natal effects upon the children would prove baneful and in a measure mar the usefulness of the rising generation. The institution would have signally failed in accomplishing its initial object unless it sought to provide for the enlightened men it had produced, women who would, in the truest sense of the word, be their helpmeets, comrades and counselors. The Institute had to recognize that the man and woman were the complements of each other; that neither was the superior of the other; that the evolution of one meant the uplift of the other. It was evident that the preponderance of either element would lead to a lop-sided development of society.

The institution had, therefore, to be coëducational. Means had to be devised and the system of coëducation had to be planned in such a manner that it would tend toward the progression of the two sexes and not endanger or wreck the moral lives of the students. It was necessary to institute a humane though a strict system of discipline to regulate the lives of the boys and girls in the classroom as well as the boarding houses, so that the sexes would come in contact with each other to exercise a potent force for good and not for evil. Furthermore care had to be exercised that the Institute would not transform the girls into men. The school would have failed in its primary ambition had it allowed the training of women to proceed along lines identical with that of the men. It would have meant steering directly against the united forces of nature if the institution had failed to recognize the special domain of woman and provide instruction along lines that would fit her to become a force in her own sphere of work.

General Armstrong's idea was to establish an institute that would enable the girl-student to develop skill in the arts, trades and industries for which she was peculiarly designed. He aimed to make a good housekeeper of the colored girl, to teach her how to care for the house and furniture, to keep it clean and dust-free, sanitary and healthy; to economically and effectually manage her kitchen; to teach her to cook, not only savory and tempting but wholesome and healthy meals. The ideal was to prepare the girl for the duties of wifehood and motherhood. The instruction was so modeled that it would develop the initiative and decision of character of the girl so she would be capable of performing any natural tasks that might be entrusted to her. The General recognized that, as a nurse, woman was the superior of man. Therefore, she should be educated to take care of the sick. He also realized that, by heredity, temperament and inclination, the woman was, par excellence, the trainer of character and the educator of the child. Arrangements were, therefore, to be made so that the institute would render the woman capable of bringing up her own children and successfully directing the education of other peoples' boys and girls. The school was to take in hand the education of the negro girl, not only

with a view to enable her to do her own cooking, sewing and housekeeping in an improved way so that she would not look upon these tasks as drudgery; but also to so direct her natural talents and faculties that she would be able to render the community the maximum of good by employing herself in the channels for which Providence had intended her.

General Armstrong was a deep student of human nature and knew the bane of forcing a child through a stereotyped and inflexible groove. He was not like the old-time doctor who endeavored to cure multifarious disease by means of a solitary specific. His knowledge of the human plant was so extensive and intensive that he knew positive injury would result by unintelligently forcing it to develop in diametrically the opposite direction from that in which nature intended it to grow. The enforcement of a fixed, unrelenting curriculum represented, to General Armstrong, as much of a concentrated and obvious folly as the endeavor to make a plant grow roots upward. To him the education of the child necessarily meant the recognition of his individuality. His aim was to study the child, find out its special inclinations and then to treat it as a human being with special rights and privileges of its own, and not as a mere piece of metal to be hammered into shape after a stereotyped model. He reasoned that an unyielding curriculum was as bad as an attempt to make water run up hill. He felt that the first aim of the educator ought to be to find out the bent of mind of the pupil. His knowledge of the world assured him that there was no use whatever—that, in fact, there was positive harm, in endeavoring to run counter to nature's laws. He knew that the only way which science has demonstrated was to conform to nature's forces—that the way of evolution consisted in proceeding along the lines of least resistance and not frittering away vital energy and producing friction by an effort to subvert the natural law. He therefore set out, not to break the will of the child, but to strengthen it—not to conform conditions to his theories, but rather to study conditions and then make an honest effort to meet and master them.

These ideals of General Armstrong have now been widely disseminated, and the world has begun to prize him as one of the greatest educators it has produced. His ideals could not but have vitalized and modernized the effete, fossilized methods of education and made them saner, more practical and more useful. But the General was not a mere day-dreamer. He was an intensely practical man. He founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in 1868 and died in 1893, after living long enough to see the little slip he had planted develop into a colossal, full-grown tree and commence to furnish many sliplets to reproduce its own kind.

The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was started in a very humble and unostentatious manner. On opening fifteen pupils were enrolled on the books of the institution. It began like a stream, in an unpretentious way, gaining more volume and strength as it went along. The institution was built on the faith that the principles which led to its establishment were vital and would appeal to the innate goodness of humanity and lead to voluntary coöperation. General Armstrong was not only a great man; he was also a good man. He was a man of large faith. He was extremely magnetic. His personality was such that wherever he went and whomever he met, he enlisted their sympathies in the cause which was dearest to his heart. It is said about him that he had such a pleasing personality, such a manly, genuine manner of speaking, such a noble and open forehead and face, that to see him once was to remember him always and to become his friend. There was something about his stately figure, courtly countenance, soldierly carriage, silver tongue and earnest, incisive talk that men of large means, and even men

with limited resources, volunteered to share with him the privilege of helping to set on their feet a race of people that had been profoundly wronged by greedy and grasping white men.

This does not mean, however, that this brave soul had an easy task—that money flowed so easily that the work of the Institute could be carried on smoothly and without the loss of a night's sleep.

Neither in the early portion of the Institute's life nor now has it suffered from a plethora of resources. The need for money is always acute and has been so throughout the annals of the institution. In fact, at the present time, the principal of the Institute spends the major portion of his time out campaigning and canvassing for funds.

The school is as much alive to-day as it was when General Armstrong first breathed into it the breath of life. One essential sign of life is that it shows constant growth. Life and growth may be said to be synonymous. Hampton Institute has been so alive that it has constantly been expanding, evolving and reaching out. Every year some new addition has been made. A new building has been reared, a new printing-press installed, some new departments added, or new furniture has been bought to replace that which has been rendered unserviceable by time and use.

The evolution of Hampton Institute has established the fact that a kindly Providence looks after institutions started and conducted by unselfish men and women to promote the welfare of society. In the life-history of this school the money always has come whenever the need for it was pressing. At times and often the founder of Hampton and his corps of coöperators passed many anxious days and restless nights, not knowing how urgent bills were to be met; but they always have been paid, the money always has come for their liquidation; many times it has come in a way as if the earth parted in two and deep down, from its womb, threw up into the air a rich treasure of gold and then the partition hermetically sealed itself again. It reads more like a romance than a *de facto* description, the way tradespeople and business men have trusted General Armstrong and his helpers. Even the young boys and girls studying in the Institute have shown such an intelligent appreciation of what was being done for them that they have voluntarily foresworn the necessities of life so that a cog would not stop the revolution of the institution's wheels. It is related that a few years after the establishment of the Institute the influx of students became so strong that the boarding accommodations were too narrow for them. As a temporary measure the General pitched tents and many of the older boys volunteered to sleep and live in them. One of these volunteers was Mr. Booker T. Washington, who has since grown to be an educationalist of world-wide reputation, a reformer who stands probably head and shoulders above others of his race. He states that one cold night a gust of wind blew away the tent and left its inmates without shelter. But, with justifiable pride, he points out that none of the occupants of the tent was heard making complaints. Every one was eager to accommodate the General and so genuine was this interest that none of the students ever tired of making all manner of sacrifices for him and for the principles he represented.

A great secret of General Armstrong's success was that he did not attempt to domineer. His unusual humility always caused him to call what would usually be termed his "assistants" or "subordinates" his "helpers." He always looked upon them as his comrades, his brothers. He always treated them as his peers. He was never known to issue any "orders." He merely made "suggestions." He made no distinction between the "white" and "black" helpers; nor did he have any "favorites." All found favor in his sight. All he endeavored to utilize. All he talked with can-

didly. All he loved affectionately. The General was a man who got along beautifully with every one. Never was he known to have quarreled or quibbled.

Another secret of General Armstrong's success was that he never attempted to do too much himself. Whatever somebody else could do just as well, he did not try to do. He recognized and worked on the principle of "division of labor." His constant aim was not to make himself the pivotal point of the institution, not to make it so dependent upon himself that if he chose to pull away from it the school would fall to the ground. He made every effort to gradually eliminate himself. He aimed and succeeded in producing other men who would shoulder the wheel when he was gone, and his successor, Dr. Hollis Burke Frissell, D.D., LL.D., a white man of unusual talents and rare administrative powers, has ever since General Armstrong's demise been the principal of the Institute and kept it evolving along the lines laid down by the founder.

Thus the ball set rolling by a single person is being not only kept in perpetual motion, but its velocity is constantly increased by a large number of white as well as negro men and women vitally interested in the movement. The General has been dead for fifteen years or more, but his work is being carried on by others, not in a half-hearted, listless, drawling sort of manner, but with an increasing impetus and enthusiasm.

The most vital principle upon which Hampton Institute is founded is that it not only endeavors to create leaders and self-supporting men and women, but it is conducted on such practical and helpful lines that the willing student can go through the entire course without investing much money of his own. The Institute makes use of the student labor and allows them its full equity, which goes toward liquidating the expenses of the boy or girl pupil.

The school to-day comprises 100 buildings which stand on a plantation of 188 acres. Many of these buildings were "sung up"—that is to say, built by students while pleasantly singing. They are built of bricks made by the scholars on the grounds. A great deal of the equipments used in the class-rooms, such as tables, chairs, benches, upholsteries and furnishings, were made in the workshops and factories of the Institute. In several of the buildings almost everything but the galvanized iron roofing was supplied by the trade shops connected with the school.

The Institute employs over 120 officers and teachers and has an average attendance of 1,200 students who come from all parts of the United States. The cost of the running expenses of the institution is slightly over $200,000 a year. The permanent endowment fund amounts to $1,500,000. Since the year 1878, provision has been made to teach young men and women belonging to the race of North American Indians. Ninety-eight Indian boys and girls were in the Institute during 1907. The United States Government, through an annual Congressional appropriation, expends $167 for each of the Indians up to 120 that it sends to the school. The state of Virginia also assists the school to the extent of $10,000, annual interest on one-third of the land-script fund of Virginia, appropriated to the Institute towards the agricultural and military training of the students. Besides these sources of income, $100,000 have to be raised annually to meet the deficit in expenses. The school buildings are valued at $600,000 and are all paid for and free from debt.

The school holds sessions both in the daytime and during evenings. In the day, training is given in trades, agriculture and academic and normal courses. Academic studies are also taught in the evening to those who work with their hands during the day, pursuing practical studies where they actually learn to turn out first-class work of commercial value; by this means they not only become expert teachers, skilled farmers and workmen

but earn sufficient money to pay all or most of their expenses.

The Institute teaches the students the value of economy and gives them instruction in the transactions necessary to the acquiring of land, houses, live stock, etc. Account books are kept by every student showing monthly receipts and expenditures and every care is taken to inculcate the value of continuing such a habit through life. The pupils are taught how to work with and without expensive machinery in field, factory or home, so that they will be able to adjust their knowledge to the amount of money at their command.

Over one hundred students go out on Sundays to the cabins, jail, poor-house and Sunday-school and read and comfort the sick, old, poor and criminal. They frequently mend fences or cabins or make gardens for the helpless. The King's Daughters prepare Christmas boxes for country schools and make clothing for orphans and old people. By these and various other means the missionary spirit is cultivated in both the male and female students. The Institute issues an illustrated monthly magazine called *The Southern Workman.* The publication department of the Institute also publishes from time to time leaflets on topics vital to the evolution of the negro people. A vast number of subjects are treated in a lucid and simple style. Closely connected with the work of the publication office is that of the Hampton Negro Conference, which meets at the institution every summer. Five hundred teachers and prominent business and professional men club together to discuss questions appertaining to the morals, health, economic welfare and educational conditions among the Afro-Americans.

The proof of the school is in its pupils. Out of the 6,000 graduates and undergraduates that the institution has sent out, only two have been recorded as criminals. The rest are engaged in useful work in the schools, factories, shops, farms and homes of the country.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

*Chicago, Illinois.*

# THE ADVANCE OF DESPOTISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

## I. FREE SPEECH AND GOOD ORDER.

BY LOUIS F. POST.

FREEDOM to speak and write without restraint, subject only to punishment in the courts and by due process of law for criminal utterances actually made, is a fundamental American right. The state constitutions have guarded this right with great care from local attack, and the Federal Constitution guards it from Congressional invasion. Yet its integrity is recklessly assailed with every new question that evolves heated controversy, when one side to the controversy happens to be politically weak and the other strong.

The case of Lovejoy the abolitionist, who was murdered by a pro-slavery mob, furnishes an historic illustration. A public meeting at St. Louis denounced the paper he published there, because it condemned human slavery; and the resolutions of that meeting made the distinction that is always made by men who, while professing to believe in free speech, object to what they are pleased

to call its "abuse." Those resolutions declared that the Constitutional guarantees of free speech and a free press were not intended to permit the free discussion of slavery, either orally or in print!

This spirit of intolerance has revived to-day. While no one would think of denying to another the right to discuss the question of chattel slavery, all discussions of that subject being harmlessly academic now, yet a tendency to prohibit discussions of what may possibly be other forms of slavery is everywhere manifest. There are abundant indications, too, of utter indifference to the destructive effect upon the vitality of the principles of American government of such prohibitions.

Sometimes this highly dangerous tendency asserts itself against public meetings of workingmen. A sensational instance was the recent dispersal by mounted police of a meeting of unemployed workingmen at Union Square, New York. This was upon pretense that no permit for the meeting had been obtained in accordance with the usual requirement for street meetings. But in fact the permit had been applied for in the usual way and refused. As the place was one at which large street meetings are commonly held, and for which permits are usually granted as matter of course, there could have been no other motive for refusing the permit than to restrain freedom of speech by and in behalf of workingmen in distress.

For the most part, however, the tendency to restrain freedom of speech and of the press is exhibited against persons known as "anarchists." The recent assault by a police captain in Chicago upon Emma Goldman is an instance in point. She had been introduced at a lawful public meeting for the purpose of speaking. Her theme was an explanation of anarchy. Before she had uttered a sentence, a police captain, backed by a large detail of police which had crowded into the hall, forbade her proceeding, and, seizing her in a ruffianly manner, ejected her from the room. His action was doubtless intended to excite the audience to resistance. If it had been an audience of the old American type, his purpose would probably have been accomplished; but this audience was composed largely of Russians accustomed to submitting without protest to summary interferences with free speech, and no disorder resulted.

A similar though vastly more dangerous violation of the constitutional guarantees, is the recent one of the Post-Office Department, acting under Presidential orders, in arbitrarily excluding from newspaper mailing rights a New Jersey paper printed in Italian, because it has published "seditious libels." This is conviction without a hearing, and punishment without a trial. It remits to a bureau at Washington absolute power to bar from newspaper mailing rights any newspaper which the political party in power chooses to suppress as "seditious." From such an assault upon freedom of the press, the distance to a licensing system with a censor is not far away. If a Washington bureau may stop the publication of a paper because the bureau considers it "seditious," newspapers will have to ask for a censor to determine for them in advance what utterances the bureau will regard as "seditious."

In defending untrammeled freedom of speech and of the press, we make no apology for criminal utterances. This freedom is entirely consistent with responsibility for what is uttered. Libels are justly punishable, slander is justly punishable, exhortations to murder are justly punishable, and seditious utterances may be punished if the people so insist—all without prejudice to freedom of speech and of the press. But punishment for unlawful utterances after lawful trial and conviction, is a very different thing from prevention of utterances arbitrarily and without trial, upon the judgment of a postal or police official.

If Emma Goldman, on the occasion mentioned above, had been permitted to proceed with her speech, and had counseled assassination, she would have been lawfully subject to an orderly prosecution for crime. If the Italian newspaper in New Jersey has published criminal matter, its proprietors and editors are subject to prosecution. The right to speak and print is subject to responsibility for what is said and printed. But the right itself is absolute. No American court would prohibit the publication of a libel by injunction, whether the libel were seditious or otherwise, and though it threatened property rights. Neither would any court enjoin a publication advising crime. Every court would instantly say that such publications are for the consideration of the grand jury after they are made. If it is so important, then, that courts shall not prevent free speech with injunctions, how much more important that postal officials shall not prevent it with an arbitrary censorship nor policemen with their clubs.

When Emma Goldman stepped forward to explain anarchism, she should have been protected by the police, not assaulted by them. If her explanation had comprehended advice to murder she should have been arrested in an orderly way upon an appropriate accusation under the law, and in due course placed upon trial for criminal utterances. The same course should be followed in the case of the New Jersey editors. But if her explanation of anarchy, or their exhortations in behalf of anarchy, consisted of arguments against the right or the expediency of coercive government, the arguments are not answered by calling them "seditious."

Although I believe in coercive government—the less the better, however, within the limits of necessity—yet I am not immodest enough to insist that my belief shall settle the matter. If Emma Goldman believes otherwise, why may not she be right instead of I? To answer that question I must know to what extent and why she believes otherwise. And I cannot know this unless her right of utterance is faithfully conserved. As of Emma Goldman and her opinions, so of everybody else and their opinions. So of the Union Square meeting which was dispersed as it assembled. So of the New Jersey paper which has been suppressed without a trial. So also of the people whose meeting to protest against this lawless act was riotously dispersed by a lawless police order.

No harm can come from the free expression of opinion, but only good. Is that government best which governs least? Let us listen to its advocates. Is that society best in which there is no government at all? Let us listen to its advocates. Or, if we will not listen ourselves, let us at least prove our confidence in our inerrant opinions by tolerating freedom of debate. Above all things, let us not be so mean as to deny to the advocates of weaker opinions that freedom of speech which we claim for ourselves, nor so cowardly as to see this done without our protest.

Do we fear deadly crimes from incendiary utterances? Let us learn from experience, as we may already from historical study and reflection, that incendiary utterances in the open are harmless. Do we fear riots from street meetings of the "lower classes"? Let us send the police there to preserve the peace instead of breaking the peace. Do we fear wholesale lawlessness by any class of the people? Let us insist upon rigid law abidingness by the servants of the people. It is in faithfully conserving that great inheritance of ours—free speech and a free press—and in the spirit largely, as well as in the letter narrowly, that we shall find our best guarantees of peace and order and progress.

Louis F. Post.

*Chicago, Ill.*

## II. THE GROWING DESPOTISM OF OUR JUDICIARY.

By Theodore Schroeder.

THE FOUNDERS of our Republic thought they had established here a government of fallible men by fallible men. Because of the proneness of such to err, and in the interest of political betterment, all our constitution (so it was thought) guaranteed us the right of free speech and a free press, among other reasons, that our servants, the public officers, might have their official acts subjected to criticism and the public, by ballot, express its approval or disapproval. It was thought that rule by divine right had been abolished forever, and criticism of officials was no longer to be a punishable affront to the Almighty whose proxy they impudently had assumed to be.

We also thought we had established government according to law, as distinguished from the despotism according to the arbitrary edicts of men. It was provided by our constitutions that no man should be deprived of life, liberty or property, except by due process of law, which meant by prior known, general, uniform and certain rules. However, the lawlessness and despotism of our judiciary is slowly but surely entrenching itself behind a steady growth of precedents, which are fast converting these "servants" of the people into lawless masters, who may arbitrarily punish all who dare to criticise their official conduct, even though such criticism is unprohibited, even by an unconstitutional statute.

The latest outrage of this sort to come under my notice is about to be perpetrated in the Supreme Court of Minnesota. One Francis B. Hart, a prominent lawyer of Minneapolis, was guilty of believing that the courts of his state were not above its constitution and that therefore under the latter he had a right at least to make a respectful criticism of some decisions of the Supreme Court. Accordingly he prepared a lengthy and dignified review of officially reported judicial opinions, the net result of which was to exhibit such contradictions and manifest disregard of elementary principles as to demonstrate at least the intellectual bankruptcy of the politicians who hold the judicial job. This lengthy document was sent to the chief justice of the state, to the Governor, and published in the daily newepapers of the state about December 7, 1907. I repeat that though severely critical and very convincing, it was dignified in tone and judicial in spirit.

Accompanying that copy of the indictment of judicial "intelligence," which was sent to Governor Johnson, was a special letter containing this statement:

"My object in preparing the paper is to present in an orderly manner the character of alleged grievances existing against the court, and to advise the court thereof that proper inquiry may be made (1) as to whether they are in fact grievances—that is, are the decisions referred to, or any of them, right? (2) If not right, is it possible in the making of them for the court to have been honestly wrong? (3) If not, is such flagrant disregard and violation of the rights of litigants without warrant of law or any apparent honest purpose or excuse, a just cause of impeachment?"

I cannot too often repeat that Mr. Hart's arraignment of the court was dignified and convincing to real lawyers and was no violation of any statute or prior-known rule of the court, and yet the Supreme Court has appointed a special commission to disbar this man for having the temerity to believe them unfit to hold their high office, and to

express convincing reasons for his conviction. Had these reasons not been so very convincing Mr. Hart would only have seemed ridiculous, and, of course, it is not thinkable that any self-respecting court would then have dignified such a silly performance by giving it any attention. It must be therefore that the disbarment proceedings were instituted precisely because Mr. Hart's criticism was not foolish but forceful to the damnation of the court.

It must be interesting to the public to know by what pretenses the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech and of the press is to be explained away by the proposed judicial amendment of the constitution of Minnesota. Are they going to disbar Mr. Hart for misquoting their opinions or telling untruth about the court or for maliciously making groundless inference about their competency or intellectual honesty? Not at all! The special court has held that these issues are not involved.

Here is the proposition on which disbarment is urged. Every lawyer in Minnesota takes an oath to conduct himself "with all good fidelity to the court," and the statutes declare it his duty to "maintain the respect due to the courts of justice and judicial officers."

It must be remembered, however, that the statute does not inform us as to how much respect is due to a court such as Mr. Hart has shown to be a court of injustice, or to judicial officers who clearly are not "learned in the law," as required by the Minnesota constitution, and who are, of course, unable to discern their own defects. Neither does the statute prescribe disbarment as a penalty for not respecting judges even when their intellectual supereminence ought to inspire a very high respect.

So then we ask what is fidelity to the court? Heretofore I had thought it meant only uprightness in conducting causes before the court; that is honestly helping the court to avoid error and promote an ever-refining sense of justice. Such fidelity to courts, as a means of justice, might make it the duty of attorneys to expose the injustice and incompetence of judges, so as to secure their impeachment and defeat at coming elections. But now we are confronted with the contention that a lawyer's "fidelity to the courts" means faithfulness in concealing from the general public judicial errors and ignorance, especially if of such a character that intellectual dishonesty or corrupt motives might possibly be inferred therefrom. It is in effect upon such monstrous contentions that it is proposed to disbar a lawyer who assumed to exercise his right of free speech, by submitting to the Governor and the electors the question as to whether impeachment charge should be filed before the legislature.

What is meant by the statutory direction to lawyers to "maintain the respect due to the courts of justice and judicial officers"? Heretofore this has been thought to mean that in the presence of the court, that such respectful demeanor shall prevail as is essential to the orderly ascertainment of truth and the ensuring of justice. Now it is proposed by the Supreme Court of Minnesota, sworn to uphold the constitution of that state, to ignore that constitution's provision guaranteeing freedom of speech and of press, and to establish a precedent which in effect says that lawyers outside of court, by a sworn conspiracy of silence, must keep the public in ignorance of the facts which would prove that a particular court has done great injustice and therefore is not entitled to respect, and to keep from laymen and voters the facts which might show that not very much respect was due to particular judicial officers. Unfortunately several states have already established judicial precedents which come very near to compelling such a conception of professional loyalty to the judiciary.

A court or judge, respect for whom is maintained, or maintainable, only by suppressing criticism of official conduct

has forfeited all claim to respect. In a judge ignorance of those elementary principles of law by which justice is maintained is a more grave offense than venality, because his incompetence necessarily is an element for evil in every case that comes before him, whereas a purchasable judge with ability would go astray only in those few cases wherein the venal motive might be operative. The honest ignorance of judges, as well as their conscious dishonesty, should be exploited to those whose servants they are and whose votes they seek and no doubt the most competent critics are the lawyers. The judge who cannot maintain the respect of the bar and populace in spite of honest criticism probably is not entitled to respect, and the judge who is thus shown not to be entitled to respect, or who in fear of honest criticism would arbitrarily punish an honest, even though a misguided, critic by disbarment, when he had violated no statute of his state and had only exercised according to his ability the constitutional right of free speech, such a court is seeking to establish its own arbitrary power, which is not "due process of law," and such a judge is already beneath contempt. It is not so much Mr. Hart who is on trial, as is the Supreme Court of Minnesota. That part of the public which is not yet ready to bow "with humble prostration of intellect" before the fetish of a judiciary, rapidly becoming lawless in asserting itself above criticism, will have a keen interest in watching for the result of this trial. Should Mr. Hart be disbarred I intend to have something more to say. There is no more crying need in our time than to arouse the people from their century-long dream of liberty under law, and make them realize the dangers of our progressive despotism through executive and judicial constitutional amendment and usurpation, by which is growing up here a government by men inflicting penalties without authority of law, and overriding those constitutional guarantees of liberty which they have sworn to maintain.

P. S.—Since the writing of this article the Supreme Court has found Mr. Hart to be in contempt and has disbarred him from practice for a period of six months (see 116 *Northwestern Reporter*, 212).

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

*New York City.*

## PROHIBITION IN MAINE AND SAVINGS-BANKS IN OHIO.

BY HON. L. B. HILLIS.

UNFORTUNATE, perhaps, was Mr. Jones, in his December article in THE ARENA, when he selected the state of Ohio to support his contention that prohibition in Maine was responsible for large deposits in the Maine savings-banks, and that licensed saloons in Ohio explained the fact that savings deposits were much smaller in that state.

Maine has one savings-bank for every 6,336 of its population. Ohio has one savings-bank for every 18,000; in other words, according to population, Maine has three times as many savings-banks as Ohio.

In the language of the breakfast-food advertisement, "There 's a reason."

Let us see if prohibition is the correct one.

By virtue of the revenue laws of the state of Ohio, credits are assessed and taxed at their tabulated value. Moneys

in banks are held to be credits. The rate of taxation in Ohio is about three per cent. In some of the cities it is as high as three and one-half per cent. per one dollar, therefore if "A" has one hundred dollars on deposit in any banking institution in the state of Ohio and he makes a truthful statement to the assessor of his moneys, or credits, he will be assessed three per cent. of the same, or three dollars. Few savings-banks are able or willing to guarantee their depositors more than four per cent.; this leaves the savings-bank depositor a net income of one per cent. on his money in Ohio banks. It is therefore seen at once that there is little encouragement in Ohio for a man or woman to open a savings account, and no particular inducement to organize and operate savings-banks. It is true, notwithstanding the apparent harshness of the law upon bank savings, there are many savings-banks in the state, but they are confined to the larger cities, where, it is said, the assessors are sometimes kindly disposed, and where actual or truthful returns are not made, but in the smaller cities of Ohio, you will find no savings banks, for the reasons stated, and because in smaller communities where everybody knows the affairs of every other body, it is not so easy to conceal the fact that you have money in the local bank. As long as such a law exists in Ohio, the growth of savings-banks and their deposits will be slow. So it must be apparent, that so far as Ohio is concerned, neither license nor prohibition has any effect one way or the other.

The Maine savings-banks usually pay four per cent., and the accounts of depositors are exempt from local taxation, the bank itself paying the tax assessment without diminution of the account of its depositor. This is the real answer to Mr. Jones, and the one Mr. Rappaport might have used in his article in the March ARENA in which his explanation to Mr. Jones' contention seems rather lame when we consider the facts.

As has been stated, Ohio is a great manufacturing state, and as observed by Mr. Rappaport, capitalists need no savings-banks. But Maine is also a great manufacturing state, and some of its great cotton mills pay larger dividends than the Standard Oil Company ever paid, or ever dreamed of paying. Maine's magnificent water power will hold its industrials. Its other sources of wealth are natural, and apparently inexhaustible, namely, its lumber, and its vacation and hunting grounds.

Said Nanki Poo to Yum Yum, "If it was n't for the law, I might kiss you thus" (kisses her), and there is a law in Maine which in express terms prohibits the sale of malt or spiritous liquors, and many people imagine by reason thereof, Maine has no drunkenness, or less drunkenness than other states that have no such law. Ohio has one saloon to about each 1,000 inhabitants. In Bangor, Maine, in 1907, a city credited with a population of 23,000, thirty saloons or places where intoxicating liquors were sold, were in operation on a single street, namely, Exchange, from State street to the new depot. There were many others in various sections of the city. The principal business of the Bangor police court, presided over by Judge Chapman, was disposing of drunks. In Biddeford, 16,000 population, saloons are openly run on the main street, and the sixteen drug stores there sell whisky by the pint or quart to any one who applies. The proprietor of the leading hotel was indicted so many times for liquor-selling that his name no longer appears in the proprietorship of said hotel, but it is operated as a corporation. One of the wealthiest men in the city has had a saloon there unmolested for years. Less than a year ago there were more than forty places in the town selling liquor. In Sandford, population 2,500, are two clubs, four or five places selling liquor, and, according to the local express agent, $500 are collected by him weekly for whisky packages sent there from Boston.

In Old Orchard, a summer resort, when the sheriff levied on the Hotel Velvet, 300 quarts of whisky, 40 barrels of beer, one hundred dozen of cases of wine, were found. Liquor could be had from a dozen places in the town, and many of them were shown me by the chief of police of the place.

I have visited and done business in every county, village, town and city in the state of Maine, and the places I have selected reflect the conditions in all as to the liquor traffic. In Portland of a Sunday morning, I have seen men and women seated on the curbs, drinking whisky from bottles they passed from one to another.

Whisky salesmen travel all over Maine soliciting orders as freely as others do for groceries. The largest whisky house in Boston has had the same salesman in the same territory for more than twenty years.

In Van Buren, Aroostook county, on the St. John's river, are no regular drinking places, but on the other side are several well-appointed saloons, but nothing else. Their proprietors reside in Van Buren. For the accommodation of their patrons free ferries are operated day and night. As the banks of the river are watched closely by the United States revenue officers, those who go to the other side to drink, knowing the danger of smuggling, fill up their skins, in lieu of jugs and bottles, so that the procession of drunks day and night, in that town, affords an excellent object lesson to the temperance reformers.

I have been in every state in the Unio and in most of the cities and towns of the same, and if the sense of sight is of any value to a man in forming a conclusion Maine is the "drunkenest" state of them all, not even excepting Kansas.

There is a little town in Maine called New Sweden, whose proud boast is that every citizen there is a church member. I have the names of every inhabitant. Seventy-five per cent. of the male adults of this community are customers of a well-known Boston liquor house. Mr. Rappaport's suggestion that twelve millions of dollars are spent by Maine citizens for liquor annually is not far out of the way. This, however, does not include the vast sums spent in the remote sections for Jamaica ginger, Peruna and flavoring extracts, which are shipped into the state in freight-car loads, and drank continually by people who never had an ailment except constitutional thirst.

A divorce libel filed by a woman in Fox Croft, Maine, alleged that her husband was a confirmed drunkard, and that he would buy a dozen bottles at a time of the grocer of vanilla extract, and drink their contents before he could get home with his purchase.

A Maine statute law prohibits the publishing, printing or circulating of any poster, paper, or other advertisement, announcing the sale or place of sale of intoxicating liquors. The daily papers in the state publish advertisements of Boston whisky dealers in large type, right-hand corner, top of column, next to pure reading matter.

According to many lawyers in Maine the most frequent cause alleged for divorce, is drunkenness.

In the town of Lancaster, population 4,000, Erie county, New York, with thirty licensed saloons, there is less drunkenness apparent than in Houlton, Maine, same size, with no saloons.

In the towns noted above, the jails are filled with drunks. There are numbers of county jails in Ohio absolutely without a single prisoner charged with any offense of any kind. The Union county (population 24,000, with 22 saloons) jail has not had a prisoner in nearly a year.

It may be questioned, therefore, if prohibition in Maine has swelled the deposits in the savings-banks; there can, however, be no question that it has swelled the profits of the Boston liquor dealers.

L. B. Hillis.

*Columbus, Ohio.*

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## LINCOLN STEFFENS' QUEST FOR A MOSES.

### The Searcher.

IN THE June issue of *Everybody's Magazine* Mr. Lincoln Steffens appears in the *rôle* of a searcher in quest of a Moses who shall lead the people out of the bondage of the graft-infected and corruption-tainted Egypt of high finance and corporate domination, back to the Canaan of fundamental democracy where equality of opportunities and of rights and a genuine government of the people, by the people and for the people shall obtain. Mr. Steffens in the *rôle* of a modern Diogenes in search not merely of an honest man but of a statesman whose wisdom shall be only equaled by his courage and loyalty to moral idealism, is himself worthy of more than passing notice.

He is one of a very few popular present-day writers whose experience and work entitle their writings to the serious attention of every high-minded patriot in the land. For years we have followed with increasing interest the steady growth of this seeker for the light. At first he did not impress us as being more than an earnest man, conscious of deadly evils in the body politic and ready to strike any corrupt head that might appear, regardless of consequences; but ignorant of the fact that the giant evils were due to certain fundamentally unjust and reactionary conditions which were absolutely inimical to a democracy. We felt that Mr. Steffens was at heart a true patriot, that a holy indignation stirred his being, but that he had not traced the streams of corruption to their source, so that his work, though immensely important because it was forcing men to take cognizance of crying wrongs which the criminal rich who have long posed as pillars of society and political leaders persistently declared did not exist. Mr. Steffens showed in a most convincing manner that the great evils were rampant in our municipal and national life, though he offered no adequate remedy for stamping them out. We felt, however, that the time would come when his investigations would place him on the trail that led to the fountain-head of corruption. Then he would be forced to look at the grave question from the standpoint of a philosophic and constructive statesman. He would see not only the evil, but the cause, and he would not rest until he had found the remedies demanded, unless he was an opportunist politician or a self-seeker rather than a fundamental thinker whose moral courage and patriotism overmatched personal considerations.

Our hope in regard to Mr. Steffens has been realized. Steadily and bravely he has advanced from vantage-ground to vantage-ground, until to-day he is one of the clearest thinkers and one of the most fundamentally sound of that group of progressive democrats who believe in the step-by-step method of progress toward justice, equality of opportunities and of rights, and that rule of the people which differentiates a democratic republic from a misrepresentative government that pretends to be popular but is in fact class-rule. Mr. Steffens is therefore a writer whose words should receive the attention of all earnest men and women.

### A Backward Glance.

We have had a decade of exposures. When in the early nineties of the last century THE ARENA was the pioneer review that boldly attacked corrupt and republic-destroying conditions, the cry came from every side that the charges that were made were unfounded, that conditions described did not exist; yet it was noted and pointed out that no attempt was made to refute the circumstantial charges made. Blanket-denials, accompanied by a wealth of invective calculated to discredit all who dared to "cry aloud and spare not," were all that was offered in answer to the exposures which this review persistently made.

One thing that made the condition at that time especially discouraging was the fact that leaders in the business and political world—men who long had posed as the ultra-respectable pillars of society, and many conventional and academic leaders of thought

actively joined in the general denunciation of all who sought to awaken the people to the republic-destroying conditions then at work.

We well remember the storm of invective and denunciation called forth by our series of papers on the slums of America, in which we discussed "Society's Exiles," "Sights in the Social Cellar," "The Democracy of Darkness," and kindred themes. These papers, which originally appeared in THE ARENA and were later published under the title of *Civilization's Inferno*, were criticized by many who knew nothing of the subjects but who had been taught to parrot what certain powerful interests desired the public to believe.

In much the same manner Henry D. Lloyd's *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners* and that clarion call to sleeping America, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, were denounced by the "safe and sane."

Yet, as subsequent events proved, our stories of the slums, which were based almost entirely on what we ourselves had seen, and Mr. Lloyd's books were under-statements instead of exaggerations of actual facts. Happily for the Republic, certain official investigations soon took place that failed of their intended purpose of whitewashing the guilty. Then followed a series of exposures which forced men everywhere to take note. Professor Parsons did a tremendously important work in his masterly discussions of the telephone, telegraph and railway situations.

The investigations and exposures revealed corrupt and alarming conditions on every hand. Conscience-guided men and women among our essayists, journalists and novelists took up the work which they felt impelled to do in the interests of just and clean government. A notable series of important works of fiction followed which were invaluable as public educators. Such books as *The Octopus*, by Frank Norris; *The Plum-Tree*, *The Deluge*, *The Second Generation* and *Light-Fingered Gentry*, by David Graham Phillips; *The Jungle*, by Upton Sinclair; *The Romance of John Bainbridge*, by Henry George, Jr., and a number of other virile social studies served an important part in the campaign of education.

Mr. Steffens' masterly papers on "The Shame of the Cities"; Ida Tarbell's popular exposure of the Standard Oil's criminal record; Rudolph Blankenburg's exposure of corrupt practices under the Quay-Penrose *régime* in Pennsylvania, backed by the great public-service corporations; J. Warner Mills' papers on "The Economic Struggle in Colorado"; Charles E. Russell's masterly exposure of the beef-trust; and Professor Frank Parsons' great work, *The Railways, The Trusts and The People*, were a second factor in the popular education; while the insurance investigation, the official report of the President's commission to investigate the beef-trust, or, rather, such small part of it as was allowed to see the light of day; the facts brought out in the suits against the Standard Oil Company and various railway investigations and suits; the exposure of the morally criminal record of leading Senators by David Graham Phillips in his important series of papers, "The Treason of the Senate," also materially furthered the general awakening of the conscience of the American people, and incidentally they brought to light the important fact that the evil conditions, the reign of graft and corruption, were not due to pot-house politicians or the ignorant voters, as men of the Chauncey M. Depew class had so long striven to make the people imagine, but that the master offenders were the great pillars of society who had posed as the ultra-respectables or the "safe and sane" members of the community. It was seen that the chief offenders were the great trust magnates, the public-service chieftains, the Wall-Street high financiers and their handy-men who ramified the commercial feudalism in all departments of government, who were picketed in the journalistic, educational and religious strongholds of the nation and who were reinforced by a veritable army of lawyers whose intellectual acuteness was only surpassed by their moral obliquity. All the investigations and exposures tended to prove one great fact—that the mighty fountain-head of corruption lay in special privilege, especially in special privilege that enabled men to control the public-service corporations and the nation's circulating medium. And this revelation explained what had so long puzzled many. It showed precisely why such men as Chauncey M. Depew, Harriman, Rockefeller, Morgan, Ryan, the Whitneys and the hosts of political bosses and handy-men who served as retainers for these commercial feudal chiefs, were so indignant at what they loved to call the "anarchistic ravings," the "demagogic appeals," "loose talk" and "assaults on the nation's prosperity."

**The Peril and Promise of The Present.**

The exposures, happily, have been so complete and incontestible in character that the old refuge of denunciation and vituperation, under which the criminal rich so long took shelter, no longer affords protection. Moreover, the people are at last awakening; but since the lid has been lifted and the guilty can no longer divert attention by denouncing the reformers, new cries are being raised. We are told that the people are tired of exposures, that the nation desires that silence shall follow the revelations. Mark the fact: the demand is not that those proven to be chronic law-breakers and plunderers of the millions be sent to the penitentiary. Nor is it urged that laws be passed to better safeguard the people. Instead, the great criminals and their army of retainers and servitors have raised the cry, "Let us alone!" and frequently this cry is accompanied by the threat that they will wreak their vengeance on the people if any effective attempts are made to punish those caught red-handed in the commission of crime. The hope of the enemies of the Republic lies in stopping the agitation before any effective measures to meet the giant evil have been enacted.

If the lid can now be put on; if some pseudo or pretended reforms can be substituted for real and efficient remedies; and if the great criminal and corrupt bosses can compass the election of some one who, while *pretending to favor the people, is satisfactory to the so-called "interests" or the corrupt feudalism of privileged wealth*, the Republic will be in graver danger than ever before and the prospect of a recrudescence of democracy through peaceful means, or a return of a government of, for and by the people, in place of the present government of corporations through political bosses and money-controlled machines, without the shock of force, will be far less probable than at any preceding period. No one knows this fact better than the criminal rich who are to-day so brazenly demanding a cessation of exposures and of the prosecution of the great law-breakers.

On the other hand, if the lid can be kept off, if there is no cessation in the work of unmasking evil conditions till the public sentiment is so aroused that no half-way measures will be tolerated, a great step will be taken in the interests of democracy.

But the present demands more than mere exposures. They are vitally necessary, but they must be complemented by fundamental measures to root out the evils and by the election of statesmen who not only are honest and loyal to the people, but who see the root causes of the evils and who have the moral courage to stand resolutely for genuine and not make-believe remedies.

In these things lies the promise of the future. There can be no doubt but what the people are rapidly awakening. A new and a great hope is filling the minds of millions. Moral idealism is again taking possession of the brain and heart. But the hour is as crucial as any in the history of the Republic, and for those who still believe that democracy or a genuinely popular government can yet be rewon for the people without force or bloodshed, it is impossible to overestimate the momentous character of the present struggle. It is therefore well that we have a strong, fearless and thoughtful writer making the quest for a real Moses for the present crisis.

**President Roosevelt Under The Searchlight.**

Mr. Steffens begins his search for a statesman wise and brave enough to meet the present crisis, by a vivid pen-picture of President Roosevelt as he has known him since he entered political life as a New York police commissioner. It is fortunate for the President that the writer is a strong friend and admirer of Mr. Roosevelt. It is fortunate for the cause of truth that Mr. Steffens' close observation of the President during his public career has been complemented by a series of personal interviews stretching over a number of years and capped by a recent conversation in which the vital question under consideration was fully canvassed. And finally, it is fortunate for the Republic that the interviewer is not one of those blind Roosevelt angel-painters of the Jacob Riis variety, but instead he is enough of a patriot to place the nation's weal above personal admiration; enough of a philosophic statesman in spirit to follow the trail of corruption to its common source—privilege, which enables the few to levy tribute on the many, and especially that most odious form of privilege that gives to the few monopoly rights in great public utilities or natural monopolies which are essential for the needs—monopoly rights which enable cunning, unscrupul-

ous and daring buccaneers of commerce to plunder the producing and consuming millions at will by extortionate rates, by stock-watering, legislative protection and legal immunities, extortionate salaries to favored officials, and various other unjust and morally criminal practices.

Mr. Steffens' long years of search into the conditions productive of corruption, graft and the deterioration of moral idealism in American municipalities and the Republic at large, have made him an expert in this realm. His superb courage in uncovering iniquity and showing the real source of public corruption has already made him a marked man among the criminal rich and republic-wreckers.

In making his study of Mr. Roosevelt the writer throws some luminous side-lights on the President's mental make-up and his actions in certain critical moments, that will explain much to thousands who have been greatly perplexed at the President's vacillation, shifty actions and compromising in moments of victory from time to time.

Mr. Steffens quotes from an interview with the President in which the latter declared that he does not claim to represent public opinion. "I am no demagogue," exclaimed the Chief Magistrate. "The public interest, not public opinion, is my guide."

The question naturally arises in the minds of many readers at this point: Is not that precisely what the Emperor William would have replied if the same question had been asked him? And if public opinion or the people's wishes and desires are not to be considered by the Chief Magistrate or the people's servants, what becomes of popular rule? What differentiates a Republic from a monarchal despotism, in so far as the obligations of the public servants are concerned?

Mr. Steffens does not seem to realize this vital fact, perhaps because another fundamental weakness of a more personal character as it relates to President Roosevelt is at once suggested to his mind as he proceeds to consider this declaration in its bearing upon Mr. Roosevelt and the present crisis.

"The leader," he holds, who follows this doctrine, "should have either a pretty definite philosophy of the philosophy of the common good or—a substitute. Mr. Roosevelt has the substitute. He is no philosopher, as he well knows.

"His is not that sort of mind, he said, when I asked him my leading question. He admitted that he does n't know what the matter is, fundamentally; and that he does not know what to do about it, fundamentally. He wishes he did. . . . He bent forward in the attitude of attack.

"'All my life,' he said, 'I have been striking at evils; here; there; wherever they have shown a head to hit, there I have struck, and with all my might.'"

The President in this declaration states only a half-truth. He has attacked more or less resolutely many evils, when his own friends were not supposed to be implicated and when his own interests would not be jeopardized; and when the political machine has not been antagonizing him, he has been strangely solicitous for its safety. One or two instances of scores that might be cited will serve to illustrate this fact.

When Mr. Parker, speaking by the cards, charged that great corporate interests were contributing to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign fund, the President, though his own intimate friend and a member of his own cabinet, Mr. Cortelyou, was the fat-frying campaign collector, promptly, circumstantially and savagely denied the charge. No more positive denial could have been framed than was made by President Roosevelt when he threw the lie direct into the teeth of his opponent. Yet after the election, when official investigations showed that Mr. Parker's statement had been absolutely true and that interested officials of the great insurance corporations had wrongfully mulcted the treasuries of their companies of the trust funds to further the Republican party, did Mr. Roosevelt punish Mr. Cortelyou for falsifying to him in regard to this serious question? No. Mr. Cortelyou was promoted from Postmaster-General to the most important position in the Cabinet, with the possible exception of that of the State portfolio, which was already held by a gentleman who had long been the most active and efficient handy-man of the law-defying bosses and corporation interests in the nation's metropolis.

Again, no man has ever more savagely denounced the secret rebates and rebaters than President Roosevelt, yet he gave a cabinet position to one of the most successful rebaters in the land, and when the facts given under oath were brought to the public before the Interstate Commerce Commission, including Mr. Paul Morton's own damaging admis-

sions, which proved how he had systematically indulged in rebating for the benefit of his railroad, President Roosevelt promptly gave him a clean bill of health.

Similar cases might be multiplied. These, however, will serve to show that the President has been far more discriminating in his hitting at evils and evil-doers than he would have the public believe.

But the most important revelation made in the above extract is the fact that the President is not a philosophic statesman; that he is painfully superficial; that he is ignorant of the fundamental causes of present evil conditions, after all his years of political life, in which, at first, he appeared in the *rôle* of the enemy of corrupt machines and political rings; later as a defender and beneficiary of the organization. Yet he confesses to ignorance as to fundamental causes and remedies. This confession is almost incredible. It shows an ignorance that is exceptional among intelligent students of political conditions who do not hold briefs for great corporations and the political bosses who manipulate the money-controlled machines.

Further light on the superficial character of the President's statesmanship is shown in the following extract from one of Mr. Steffens' interviews with Mr. Roosevelt. This paragraph is also interesting as giving the genesis of the famous "square deal" phrase.

Mr. Steffens describes how during the Roosevelt-Parker campaign he called on the President to try to persuade him to ask the people instead of the corporations to contribute to his campaign fund. He found the President interested in political, but not at all in economic problems underlying political questions. And he then uttered this reproach:

"'Mr. President, I do n't believe you will ever solve any of our real problems. You merely stand for a square deal.'

"Down came his fist upon the desk. He sprang to his feet. He had n't heard or he did n't heed the reproach. No, this man of action seized, as he always does seize out of books and men, that which he had use for, and that alone.

"'That's it,' he exclaimed. 'A square deal. That's exactly what I do stand for. And I shall say so in my next public utterance.'

"And he did. His next public statement was his famous reply to Mr. Parker, and he wound it up with 'a square deal.'"

Mr. Steffens feels that the President, blindly striking at evils instead of battling against the fundamental evil, represents the great masses of American people. They, too, have no clear idea of the underlying or fundamental cause of evil conditions. But the case is not the same, for the people have long been confused by the "kept" editors and other hired agents of the "interests," and they have not been behind the scenes as has President Roosevelt. On the subject of attacking the consequences rather than battling against causes, Mr. Steffens observes:

"What are good men doing, separately, everywhese? Like the President, they are hitting at heads, striking at evils. Who is looking for that Evil which is the source of all our superficial evils? No one. We are all fighting the consequences, not the causes of our corruption. In one place the reformers are closing saloons; in another they are trying (in vain) to send big rascals to jail; in still others they are beating the boss. Good work, yes, but who is dealing with the system that supports the liquor interest and causes intemperance? Who is proposing to deliver from temptation the men who offer bribes and take them? A few men are just beginning to look behind the political boss to the business bosses who 'keep' the organization. How many are asking what it is that turns our ablest and most courageous business leaders into enemies of the republic?

"Half a dozen. And the President is not of them. I put my favorite question to him one evening, and he listened to it, sunk deep in his chair. Here it is:

"'What does it mean that in all our cities—all that I have studied—the public-service corporations are the principal sources of political corruption?'

"He did n't know."

The case of the average man on the street and that of the President are in no way analogous. Everything that a prostituted press could do, everything that political machines could achieve and that the money of the privileged interests could accomplish to influence public opinion has been employed with the one object in view of misleading and confusing the people. The position of the millions has been that of an audience in front of a company of jugglers who by the aid of confederates and assistants behind the scenes are able to mystify and perplex the audience at every turn. But President Roosevelt

has been behind the scenes for years. He knows as well as does Lincoln Steffens or any other intelligent student of political evils who has come into intimate touch with present-day political life, that the corrupt political rings derive their sustenance from corrupt business rings seeking privileges at the expense of the people; that the success of of the corrupt boss depends on the money he receives from the enemies of the Republic for the making effective of the money-controlled machine.

The time might have been when Mr. Roosevelt did not know this; but is there any friend of the President in the land to-day who imagines that he is so feeble-minded that he does not know these things? Indeed, Mr. Steffens cites an incident that occurred years ago that would have opened the eyes of any man who wished to see.

He shows how Mr. Roosevelt was approached when young in politics, by the offer of a bribe in the form of a most advantageous business connection or legal partnership, if he would stop fighting the political ring. It was all right "if he was only seeking applause or political promotion," to use Mr. Steffens' words. "But if he was sincere, he ought to wake up and realize that the 'political ring' he talked about was only part of a business ring, and that this big business ring controlled everything worth having in life in New York: political offices, business opportunities, big retainers in the law, social position—everything, and that he could n't get anywhere without 'standing in'."

Roosevelt in that day had not been seduced. He had not yet become an opportunist politician. Mr. Steffens cites another incident which it seems would have opened the eyes of any one who did not wish to be blind, but space prevents our noticing it at length.

Perhaps the most illuminating point in the whole paper touching Mr. Roosevelt is found in the following confession by the President, made to Mr. Steffens ten years ago. He had been describing his battle against the corrupt political ring and the evils generally against which he had warred during his first term in the New York legislature. In referring to it and his fatal decision to win personal and immediate success by consorting with the organization which he knew to be a condoner when not an upholder of evils, he said:

"I accomplished practically nothing. I beat a few bad measures; passed a few good ones, and I satisfied nobody; neither my party, nor the reformers, nor myself. So I made up my mind that I, Theodore Roosevelt, the man, could do nothing in this world; but that as one among many, as a politician, with a party back of me, I might do something, by choosing among the good things those which might be put through, and among the bad things those which might be beaten."

Here we find the statesman becoming the opportunist politician. Here we have the key to Rooseveltism and the chief reason why a very large section of the plutocracy has always been staunch for Roosevelt. And this also explains why Roosevelt, while pretending to want real reform, has eschewed real reformers in selecting his counselors. Men like LaFollette and Governor Cummins have been passed over and in their stead he has selected Root, Cortelyou, Taft, Bacon, Knox, Lodge, Spooner, and others who have been either master bosses or leading handymen for the law-defying corporations.

When Mr. Steffens recently tried to drive home to the reason and conscience of the President the fact that it is the "system" that must be fought, the President refused to see the obvious fact—the "one thing" to be attacked. And finally he displayed something of the spirit of the much-despised mollycoddle. It was after he refused to see what is so clear to almost every one else who wants to see and who has the slightest knowledge of the actual political conditions.

"He started at me fiercely," says Mr. Steffens. "'How can a man fight *that?*'"

Strange question, Mr. President, for you to ask. Senator LaFollette has eloquently answered the question; so has Mayor Tom L. Johnson; so has Governor Folk, and so have other great statesmen under the compulsion of moral idealism and faith in the people and the eternal ethical verities. And what is more, these men have not only shown how a man can fight "that," but they have successfully fought what Mr. Roosevelt terms "that."

That there is much, very much, about Theodore Roosevelt that is attractive to those who come in contact with him in such a way as not to cross him, goes without saying; and that the President has performed a great and very necessary work in somewhat tardily joining the procession of popular leaders who have pointed out some of the

master evils and injustices of the day is equally true. And Mr. Steffens' friendship for Mr. Roosevelt, extending over fifteen years, though it does not blind him to some of the President's glaring weaknesses and inconsistencies, is shown in the tribute he pays to Mr. Roosevelt when in the concluding part of his sketch he says:

"The President, then, is simply the greatest of those blind but loyal political leaders whom a blind but encouraged democracy has raised up here and there to lead our first random, reconnoitering charges against the organization of abuses that has taken the place of representative government in the United States. . . . Theodore Roosevelt will go down through history as a great democratic leader rather than a great President."

We cannot agree with Mr. Steffens' opinion that Theodore Roosevelt will be known to history as a democratic leader. He has been one of many awakeners of a sleeping nation, but he has been more of a reactionary than a democrat, and, as Mr. Steffens has clearly shown, he himself confesses ignorance of the fundamental causes of and remedies for present-day evils; while he has elected to be an opportunist politician fighting with the money-controlled machine and selecting such reactionary counselors as Root, Cortelyou, Bonaparte, Taft, Bacon, Knox, Spooner and Lodge, rather than leaguing himself with the incorruptible and morally courageous champions of the people against the law-defying and criminal corporations and privileged interests known as the "system." Hence we cannot predict that Mr. Roosevelt in history will be recognized as a democratic leader.

In this connection it is well to observe that Mr. Steffens, even when he quotes from those he interviews, states that he wishes to "insist not on the language, which I am not precise about, but only upon the general ideas suggested to the reader. And there again, my purpose is not only to give the best thought of the man I quote, but to set people thinking for themselves."

### Mr. Taft: The Typical Opportunist Politician.

From Mr. Roosevelt we turn to the man whom the President has selected as his successor; and at the very outset, before noticing Mr. Steffens' characterization and his report of interviews with the Secretary of War, it is well to call to mind certain facts.

All persons who have studied present-day political conditions must have been impressed with the circumstance that since the modern commercial feudalism has arisen and has set out to conquer and gain complete control of the government, the corporation influences, including the political boss, the controlled press and the handy-men of the "interests" are all a unit in opposing any statesman who they find cannot be seduced or swerved from loyalty to the demands of fundamental democracy and the rights of all the people. The only apparent exception to this rule is found where certain political bosses find that an incorruptible popular leader is probably going to win in spite of the opposition, and they desire to be found on the winning side, or when they pretend to favor the popular leader only to knife him when the opportunity is offered.

Now there are and have been many men who pretend to be honest representatives of fundamental democracy and popular rights and who have been very lavish in fair promises, who have, notwithstanding all this, been loyally and efficiently supported by great political bosses, corrupt corporations and their handy-men. But this is because predatory wealth has no fear of these popular champions.

Now among the rank and file of plutocracy's minions, among the great privileged interests, the public-service corporations, trusts and monopolies, the masters of the money-controlled machines, the political bosses and corporation handy-men, the "kept" editors and the apologists for the "system," we find no single voice raised in aggressive advocacy of Senator LaFollette, of Mr. Bryan, of Mayor Tom L. Johnson or of Governor Folk. And why? Because the plutocracy understands perfectly well that what these men say they mean; that they are not opportunist politicians; that they are neither fundamentally reactionary nor statesmen who will put the party machine or personal considerations above the rights of the people, above justice and the ideal of equality of opportunities and of rights. With this fact in view, it is very significant that the most notorious political boss in America to-day, Cox of Ohio, is the most active and aggressive champion of Secretary Taft in the Buckeye State. In Massachusetts Boss Lodge, the loved one of the privileged interests of the Bay State, and Samuel Powers, the well-known handy-

man of the public-service corporations, have been the two most aggressive champions of Mr. Taft. While the *Financial Chronicle* the most authoritative organ of the "interests" in Wall Street, thus "O.K.'s" the candidacy of the Secretary of War:

"Mr. Taft is a man whom every one respects, and no opposition can be made to him except on the ground that he is heir to the place appointed by the present ruling President." And the *Chronicle* continues: "If time should prove that any of the recently enacted laws are working industrial mischief, he will not hesitate to urge remedial legislation, notwithstanding he wears Mr. Roosevelt's mantle."

These words, coming from the Wall-Street journal which the Springfield *Republican* well characterizes as "above any other publication the organ" of the great corporate interests, are highly significant.

Mr. Steffens turns from the President to consider Mr. Roosevelt's friend, who is also the true and tried friend of the railway interests, as was amply shown when he appeared in the *rôle* of a Columbus of capitalism as Federal judge and discovered that the Interstate Commerce Law could be made an excuse for an injunction against organized labor, and thus secured precisely what the great railway corporations most desired.

"Mr. Taft," says the interviewer, "may succeed Roosevelt as President, but as a democratic leader making war—never.

"'My temperament is against that,' the Secretary said.

"And that's true, and that's the point," adds Mr. Steffens.

And then he goes on to discuss, to compare and to contrast Mr. Taft and the President. He finds that in some respects the Secretary resembles Mr. Roosevelt. Like the President, he has no fixed idea as to what is the matter, fundamentally. He therefore cannot be expected to meet the great need of the hour.

"He also will strike, not at evil, but at evils; at consequences, not causes. He also has no policy. . . . If Taft is made President, there will be a difference between the two administrations as great as the difference between the two men. We got, not results, but a result, from Roosevelt: the encouragement of a people to solve their own problems.

"'We shall lose that under you, Mr. Taft? Is n't that a fair criticism?'

"'Yes,' he said, thoughtfully, 'that is a fair criticism.'"

Roosevelt's strength lay in his willingness to fight some of the giant evils, and this made him an educator and an enlightener, even though he was not philosopher enough to seek and find the root cause of the evil, or, if he did find it, was not morally courageous enough to fight the system or what he termed "that."

But Mr. Steffens does not encourage us to believe that Mr. Taft either possesses the light necessary for true leading or the fight that made Roosevelt a wholesome influence in the present crisis. Mr. Taft's assumed ignorance of the root causes of the evil conditions is pitiful, and his assumed confidence that if regulation is tried the great public-service corporations will not in the future do as they dave done in the past—regulate the government instead of the government regulating them, must have aroused the risibilities of the great railway magnates who loved Taft for the service he had rendered them when Federal judge.

Mr. Steffens shows how Mr. Taft sought to justify his action as Secretary of War, in approving an amendment to a railroad franchise making it perpetual, in the Philippines. After quoting Mr. Taft's lame and impotent plea, the interviewer continues:

"Mr. Taft explained the difference between a 'street railway which must monopolize the street it occupies, and a steam railroad, which leaves room for competition over any land a rival may wish to condemn.' But he had no ear for the practical monopoly which railroads have by their corruption of the franchise-granting power of legislatures and, more serious still, by their control of the money, the capital, the credit of the United States. David H. Moffatt, of Colorado, Clark, of Montana, or any other promoter of new railroads, can tell him about this. And this is IT; this is the system which is fixing its hold upon states, the United States, transportation, our new resources, and our old industries, like steel and oil. But Mr. Taft is not afraid of trusts and combinations."

No, Mr. Taft is no more afraid of trusts and combinations than are John D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, Senator Aldrich, Pat M'Carren, or Boss Cox; and we may add, neither are these gentlemen afraid of Mr. Taft.

Space prevents our giving a more extended

notice of Mr. Steffens' interview with the Secretary of War and his analysis of Mr. Taft, the would-be political leader. Sufficient to say that he shows very clearly how under the candidacy of Mr. Taft, men like the notorious Boss Cox are coming back into power. Then Mr. Steffens thus concludes his paper on the Secretary of War, based on his interviews with the man:

"The President had no light, but he had fight, and he fought in the open, interestingly, so that we all saw what was against him. That was a public education; it 'hurt business,' but it helped men. Taft has the fight in him, too, and he will fight our battles valiantly, but alone, on the quiet. He also will compromise with a misrepresentative Congress; he also will get 'results'; but he also will leave a misrepresentative government. In short, whether he wins or loses, we shall lose—interest; and whether he receives light himself or not, we shall not receive it."

**Senator LaFollette: A Real Popular Leader.**

The reader who turns with Mr. Steffens from the latter's interviews with the President and Mr. Taft to the conversation with Senator LaFollette, will experience a sense of relief and exhilaration very like what one experiences in going from a malarial swamp up to the invigorating air of a mountain slope. Here there is no pitiful shambling or halting; no blind swinging of the shillalahs in a hit-or-miss effort to strike certain evil heads; no high-sounding platitudes that mark the approved "safe and sane" candidate before election, that create such ripples of merriment behind the curtains where the masters of the money-controlled machines prepare the slates and dress the stage to deceive the voters. No, Senator LaFollette is not only a fighter; he is a fundamental thinker. He does not make fish of one and fowl of another. He fights the "system" and all the evil-doers who are manning the pirate crafts that are to-day plundering the people and defying the laws of the land.

There are several things in Senator LaFollette's career that remind one of like moments in the public life of Theodore Roosevelt; but how great the difference in the course pursued. On the one hand we have the statesman under the compulsion of moral idealism, who is true to his faith in democracy and the people, and on the other the opportunist politician who places immediate success and personal considerations above the fundamental principles of good government and free institutions.

We have seen how when Mr. Steffens was discussing the "system" as the fountain-head of our republic-destroying and manhood-debauching conditions, Mr. Roosevelt exclaimed, "How can a man fight *that?*" We have also seen that the time came when Mr. Roosevelt as a legislator was impatient because he had only succeeded in killing a few bad bills and aiding a few good ones, because he was fighting the corrupt political machine, and he decided to become an opportunist politician and get in on the machine band-wagon.

Mr. LaFollette had precisely the same thing to meet. He offended the machine and the interests, and they exiled him from office and condemned him to remain for years in private life. But he refused to compromise with corruption, injustice and oppression. He found himself one man against the Spooner-corporation state machine. He did not cry, "How can a man fight *that?*" He did not show the white feather. No, he simply went forth as did David against Goliath, and he demonstrated anew the power of moral idealism and the fact that the heart of the American people is sound. He whipped the machine and the corporations in the state to a stand-still and gave his people a larger measure of political and economic independence than is found in almost any state in America to-day. So much for the difference between Senator LaFollette and President Roosevelt.

But returning to Mr. Steffens. The interview, he tells us, was "rapid and easy." When asked what the matter was the Senator replied:

"'Politically, the trouble can be summed up in one phrase: misrepresentative government. Our government does not represent the people. . . . Back of that is the fact that the government does represent privilege. . . . I mean that our government is manned by the agents, sometimes honest, often corrupt, of businesses which have, or want to have, what we call "special privileges," which really are just plain advantages over other men and other businesses.'

"'For example?'

"'Franchises to railroads; exceptional

rights to land, timber, deposits of minerals, coal—the natural resources of the country.'"

In answer to the question, "'What do you propose to do about it?'" the Senator replied:

"'What we did in Wisconsin. Restore representative government; redeem the democracy; set up an establishment which will deal in our interest with all these forces.'"

The interview with the Senator from Wisconsin was brief but very full of vital truth, so much so that we heartily wish all friends of free institutions would secure the June *Everybody's* and read the entire paper carefully. It will prove highly illuminating to those who, like Secretary Taft, appear to be wandering in the dark, providing they wish the light. Of course, to those who desire to reap benefits by an alliance with the Mammon of unrighteousness, the plain truths cogently stated will be of little value, as there are none so blind as those who will not see. But to the honest patriot who loves the Republic, who believes in democracy and who wishes light on the great question, the words of Senator LaFollette will be illuminating.

Of the great danger that threatens the Republic—the federation of the oppressive monopolies and special privileged interests, Senator LaFollette had a word to say that is as timely as it is disquieting.

"'You said in your speech on the Aldrich bill,'" observed Mr. Steffens, "'that the special interests were combining into one mammoth trust.'"

"'Yes, and I meant just that. I meant this one great combination which, while yet not complete, already controls the finances and the industries and the transportation and the natural resources of the country, as it does the government of states and of the nation. And it is growing.'"

It would be difficutl to find two leading members of one party who better represent the two great contending armies in the present crisis than do Secretary Taft and Senator LaFollette. One pretends to represent the people, is brave, loyal, wise, just, and faithful to the trust which democracy imposes on her children who would serve her worthily, and he is feared and hated by all the corrupt bosses, the high financiers, the railway and other law-defying corporations.

Why does the great organ of the "interests," the *Financial Chronicle*, have eulogies for Taft? Why are bosses and corporation handy-men, like Cox, Lodge and Powers, and the interests that they represent thoroughly satisfied with Secretary Taft? And why are all these influences without exception strenuously opposed to Senator LaFollette, if it is not because they are confident that Secretary Taft will represent the feudalism of privileged interests and help that feudalism to complete its conquest of government, while they know Senator LaFollette would fight for the people and their just rights; would be loyal to the principles of democratic government and free institutions?

## SPEAKER CANNON AND THE COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF POPULAR RULE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE DEGRADATION of the House of Representatives is a striking illustration of the rise of the one-man power which has marked the destruction of democratic government by the industrial autocracy acting through the money-controlled party machine and the political boss. The recent Congress has been marked by the practically absolute rule of Speaker Cannon and his four lieutenants in charge of the all-powerful committees. If Cannon and his lieutenants were receiving princely salaries for services to the privileged interests and in opposition to the interests of the people, it is difficult to see how they could have rendered more zealous or effective service to the corporations, the trusts and privileged interests. It is impossible at present to notice at length this record of shame, but three typical illustrations will serve to emphasize the fact.

The treatment accorded the bill to have the tariff removed from wood-pulp, and thus benefit the American reading public and the publishers by relieving the latter from complete bondage to the exorbitant and avaricious paper-trust, affords a striking and typical example of what we have in mind. To have given this important relief to the people, the

rapacity of the robber trust would have been checked, and Speaker Cannon did not propose to permit this band of plunderers to be disturbed. His zeal in their behalf was almost as marked as were his labors in behalf of the infamous beef-trust last year. The result was a farcical investigation and the shelving of the proposed demand for relief, this being precisely what Cannon and his confederates determined on. The New York *World* in its editorial commenting on this one of many offensive aggressive acts in the interests of campaign-contributing trusts, made the following concise and truthful summary of the situation:

"It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the majority report of the House committee appointed to investigate the petition of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association to remove the tariff on wood pulp and print paper. The committee was named by Speaker Cannon to find some sort of an excuse for not granting the petition, and did its work well enough to block any legislative interference with the Paper Trust's protective schedules. So far as the publishers are concerned the hearings were farcical; the investigation was a fraud. If the Paper-Trust does not make a handsome contribution to the Republican campaign fund this year it is a double-dyed ingrate."

The bowing to the mandates of Wall-Street high financiers in rushing through the infamous Vreeland-Aldrich crazy-quilt makeshift financial measure during the last hours of Congress, by the coercion of the members through the refusal to pass the appropriation bill until the dictates of the Wall-Street buccaneers had been yielded to, is another thoroughly Cannonesque exhibition of high-handed outrage against the rights of Congressmen to follow the known wishes of their own constituency. The Wall-Street financiers have during the past year been aggressively battling to get the finances of the nation more completely in the hands of the banking class, with the ultimate object of making a great central banking power one of the master tentacles of the octopus of the commercial autocracy. Their wishes and desires were incorporated in the infamous Aldrich Bill. J. Pierpont Morgan applauded this measure, but Senator LaFollette so clearly showed how essentially vicious it was and how the interests of the people were not being protected in vital respects, that he forced certain amendments onto the bill which were calculated to safeguard in a measure the people's interests. These were not satisfactory to the trust-seeking, campaign-contributing banking monopoly. Then the money interests came forward with the Vreeland bill. But the opposition of the people was so strong and the Congressmen from all districts received such tremendous protests that they feared to brazenly defy the will of their constituents in the face of an impending election. When it was found that the bill could not be passed, the banking and campaign-contrbuting interests were disgruntled, and Cannon and his lieutenants determined that Congress should not adjourn until a bill satisfactory to the great Wall-Street gamblers and campaign contributors was forced upon the people. So it was decreed that the appropriation bill should not pass until the hodge-podge, misfit and hastily concocted financial measure had been rushed through the House. In this way they passed the vicious measure. Senator LaFollette made a magnificent fight to kill the bill, speaking consecutively for nineteen hours; but the Democratic Senators, with two other honorable exceptions, decided that it was good politics to let the vicious bill become a law, that the odium might be placed on those in the unholy alliance, rather than defeat it by the filibustering method; and so the iniquitous measure has become a law in spite of a popular opposition that terrified the Congressmen.

Of the infamous character of this shameful law brazenly forced upon the people in the interests of the great Wall-Street high financiers, the Philadelphia *North American*, one of the greatest newspapers in America, and one of the very few great Republican dailies not edited from Wall Street, has the following to say editorially. The quotation which we give below is merely the concluding part of an extended editorial which appeared in its issue of May twenty-ninth:

"This law will mean the turning over of the treasury of the United States to the gamblers of the New York stock exchange for a period of six years.

"It will mean the making of 'good times' and 'bad times,' of 'bull' markets and 'bear' markets according to the pleasure of Rogers and Rockefeller in the National City Bank and J. P. Morgan in the National Bank of Commerce.

"It will mean not the slow and certain

movement of contraction and inflation by the natural laws of commerce, but sharp changes forced at will by the master gamblers.

"It will mean the gift to the chief enemies of the nation of the power to issue or retire half a billion of dollars, exciting speculation or compeling disaster according to whichever best suits their betting book.

"What the effect will be upon the coming elections we do not know. We do not know what measure of punishment a long-suffering people will inflict upon their betrayers.

"It is not the time to think of politics or partisanship. A thing is being done which will affect every employer and every employé in America, every banker, merchant, manufacturer, clerk and mechanic.

"We wish merely to warn one and all. The country will be in the condition of a convalescent to whom drugs that are powerful stimulants, but poisonous, would be administered.

"There will be a boom—a feverish but false activity. The issue of half a billion of fiat greenbacks or 16-to-1 silver would have the same effect. And then, after the *North American* and a few like us have been mocked at as false prophets and pessimists, payday will come. And the price will be a bitter one."

Another typical illustration of Cannon's loyalty to the trust interests and his infidelity to his own trust and the people's cause, was seen in his successful postponement of the passage of a bill to protect the New England forests from wholesale destruction by the avaricious lumber trust. In speaking of the action on this important measure the *Springfield Republican* of May twenty-eighth said editorially:

"Speaker Cannon and his House oligarchy set out to defeat the White mountain and Appalachian forest-reserve bills, and they have succeeded—achieving by indirection what they did not dare to do directly. To substitute a bill for more government investigation is to effect an indefinite postponement of the matter. Such is the Cannon response to the great conference on conservation of the nation's resources."

These examples of flagrant defiance of the popular demand and of the palpable popular interest and good, and of subserviency to the campaign-contributing trusts and monopolies, are purely typical of the reign of Cannon over the House of Representatives. He appoints as chairmen of the all-powerful committees men who will be responsive to the demands of the Speaker and the corporations, so that with the aid of three or four of his lieutenants the Speaker becomes the absolute master of the situation.

A striking cartoon was recently drawn by Beryman and published in the *Washington Star*. It was entitled "The House in Session" and represented Cannon with gavel in hand and cigar in mouth, standing at the Speaker's desk, while every seat in the chamber was filled with a counterfeit presentment of the Speaker. This cartoon represented the real fact in so far as it strove to shadow forth the supreme power of Cannon under the present rule of the industrial autocracy. The Speaker and his lieutenants are supreme, and this condition is rendered possible because of Cannon's fidelity to the great privileged interests which are preying on the people and corrupting our government and which are also the great campaign contributors—the masters of the money-controlled machine, of the political bosses and of a large proportion of the papers of the land.

Two other cartoons bearing on the present disgraceful condition that is absolutely destructive of popular government and subversive of the people's interests recently appeared in the Washington *Herald*. They were drawn by Cunningham.

The hour has struck for a change. From now on until the close of the polls, the slogan should ring from ocean to ocean, "Turn the rascals and corporation tools out of the seats of power."

## "SHALL OUR MOTHERS, WIVES AND SISTERS BE OUR EQUALS OR OUR SUBJECTS?"

SEX HAS no essential relation to suffrage. The reasoning on which the case for manhood suffrage rests is that the ballot is necessary as a protection against injustice, and very desirable as a means of education and development. These reasons apply to women as well as to men. The only limitations placed upon manhood suffrage relate to age, intelligence, character and interest, or residence and identification with the country sufficient to justify the inference of interest, and these should be the only limitations placed upon woman suffrage.

Inconsistency is supposed to be feminine, but consistency is not a prevalent virtue even with men. We make a vigorous statement of inherent and inalienable rights and would fly to arms if any one denied us political liberty and equality, yet we deny those sacred rights to those within our power. We declare that taxation without representation is tyranny, but tax numbers of women directly and practically the whole mass of women indirectly without representation in either case, so we are self-confessed tyrants unless it is understood that there is a mental reservation to the effect that it must be a man who is taxed without representation or there is no tyranny. We affirm the governments derive their just powers from consent of the governed, but exclude the consent of half of the governed. We profess democracy and establish an aristocracy of men. We boast of our liberty and hold the best part of the people in subjection. We proclaim a republic and ignore the fact that no real republic can exist where half of the people of full age and discretion, character and interest have no part in the elections, and though they have to obey the laws are allowed no voice in making them. We gave the suffrage to millions of unprepared slaves, and claimed it for ourselves (or our ancestors did, and we approve the act, with some slight modifications, perhaps) centuries before we knew much about using it, believing the use the best means of developing fitness for use, and yet we deny the suffrage to women because they are not familiar with politics. We permit the slums of New York and Chicago to vote, but deny the privilege to such women as Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mary A. Livermore, Jane Addams, Clara Barton and a host of the best minds on earth, on the ground that women do not know enough to vote. We allow multitudes of men to vote who are exempt from military duty and yet deny the right to women because they cannot fight, and even Herbert Spencer deems this argument conclusive. We give the suffrage to millions of men who do not care enough for it to use it, and yet deny it to women because some of them do not wish to vote. With our brothers over the sea a woman may sit on a throne, but is not permitted to sit in Parliament.

Justice seems to say, "Put the age of discretion where experience indicates the reasonable average to be, and make the requirements as to character, intelligence and interest what you please. Then if women come up to the requirements let them vote, and if men do not come up to those requirements refuse them the ballot. To be just is to treat all persons alike under the same essential circumstances, and sex has nothing to do with the reasons on which the suffrage rests. Women are as much entitled as men to the education, development, influence and protection afforded by the ballot. Exclude women who prove to be unfit in the light of impartial and relevant tests, but do not class the whole sex with infants, idiots, criminals, Indians, aliens and paupers."

In four of our states and in New Zealand women have the full suffrage, and its exercise has been attended with none of the evils predicted by its opponents, but with beneficial results so marked as to call forth emphatic statements in its favor by leading legislatures, judges of the highest courts, and other leading officials who affirm that woman suffrage has tended strongly to purify politics, improve the character of nominations and aid the enforcement of the law. The approval of equal suffrage is all but universal where it has been tried, almost the only exception being the case of some would-be politician who might get what he wants if it were not for the women's vote, or the case of an individual like the man from Wyoming who declared that woman suffrage was a failure in that state, but when they looked up his record they found he had carried the ball and chain for an unpleasant

period in consequence of the verdict of a jury of women.

In Kansas and in England women enjoy the right of municipal suffrage; and in 25 of our states they have the school suffrage. There is no doubt that the full suffrage already adopted in four of our states will come in all. Certainly there is much need for its adoption and need of the most vital moment.

The laws and governments made by men have not been fair to women or children. By the common law a married woman has no property rights, nor any legal existence. Husband and wife are one, and the husband is the one. A married woman is a *feme covert*, or woman under the cover or wing of her husband, and being so hidden the common law cannot see her but recognizes the husband as the only personality in sight of the law. In Shakespeare's day a woman practically belonged to her husband the same as his horse or dog except that he could not kill her suddenly. In the early part of this century, it is said a man in England led his wife to market with a rope about her neck, and sold her in the street, getting more for the rope than for the woman. Blackstone says that a man may give his wife moderate correction, but I have hunted in vain through Blackstone to find a similar right granted to the wife against her husband. It must be admitted, however, that the law is not without its compensations, as may be seen by the case of darky Reuben who made a complaint against his wife for beating him, and got her convicted and fined, whereupon she having no money he had to pay the fine himself.

Miss Diana Hirschler, in her address at the Washington suffrage convention a few years ago, cites an old writer as saying, "If a man beat an outlaw, a traitor, a pagan or his wife, it is dispunishable, for by the Law Common these can have no action," adding very appropriately, "God grant gentle woman better sport and better company." The fact is that women were formerly thought of by men as their property, and the denial of civic and legal rights was the natural consequence of that conception. With the growth of enlightenment the law has been changed by statute in many respects, but the continued denial of civic equality is a persistent remnant of the conception born of a barbarous age that woman belongs to man. Even the lighter disabilities were slow in going, and are not all gone yet. Only a generation ago a man in Massachusetts married a woman who had $50,000 in personalty. He took possession of it as he had a legal right to do, and then made a will providing that in case of his death the lady should have the *income* from that $50,000 during her life, *provided* she did not marry again. In Massachusetts and other states a woman can now control her property, for the most part. But the laws are still in many respects unjust. Joint earnings and funds belong to the husband absolutely, so that if a wife allows her money or her personalty to become mixed with her husband's, she loses legal control of it. In about one-third of our states the husband can appropriate his wife's earnings just as he can take the earnings of his horse and wagon. In all but eight of our states the mother is still denied an equal right with the father to the control of their children. The laws of divorce are not impartial. The laws of descent of property are not equal. A widow's dower affects only a *third* of the realty of her husband, while a widower's curtesy relates to the *whole* of his wife's real estate. Children under man-made laws are left to fester by thousands in an atmosphere pestilent with immoral and criminal influences, left to "soak and blacken soul and body in the slime of city slums." In many of our states the law makes no effective effort to remove the saloon, the gambling-den and the brothel from the path of youth, nor to banish the poisonous cigarette or the still more poisonous "literature" of sensationalism and immorality. It is time the women had a chance to see what they can do. They make home pure and beautiful. They can make our streets and cities pure and beautiful also. Their sovereignty in the home is beneficent; their sovereignty in the state will be no less so.

It is the right of woman to use not only the power of persuasion, but the power of the ballot to protect herself and her children. The ballot is the point at which intelligence and moral sentiment take hold upon action and mold institutions and laws. Woman has a right to this most effective means of transforming the social environment into greater fitness for the highest life of herself and all her loved ones. It is the right of woman also to enjoy the educating and developing effects of civic responsibilities.

It is the right of man that woman shall vote in order that his companionship with her may be lifted to the plane of equality, and blessed with a new development, a new element of power and thought and sympathy. What man would have his wife and daughters sub-

jects instead of equals? What man would deny to his mother the right he claims for himself? It is a man's right to have his children born and reared by women who have had full advantages of development and who understand the world and the conditions under which their children will live.

It is the right of children, living and unborn, to have the ennobled motherhood and the more excellent training that will come with a symmetrical, well-rounded, fully developed womanhood. It is the right of every child to be born and reared by a sovereign citizen and not by a subject. It is the right of every child that the mothers of the land shall have the power to banish vicious influences from the social and political environment in which the child must live, the power to bring the force and wisdom of mother-love to bear directly on civic affairs to purify and invigorate the civic and social atmosphere the child must breathe throughout its formative years.

It is the right of society to have the purest force in the world put into action in political life. It is the right of society to have the virtue, love and devotion of womanhood crystallized into law. Women are far less influenced by the commercial spirit than men. Commercialism is the danger of our time. The despotism of the dollar is the threat of the future. The power of women in politics would be of incalculable value in the resistance it would offer to the domination of the mercantile spirit, and the conscienceless pursuit of gain. Women have a higher regard for principle than men. They love justice and mercy. They are against oppression. They would favor peace even if trade should suffer. They would banish the slums and make cities beautiful. Their gentleness, sympathy, refinement and incorruptibility are sadly needed in our politics; their nobility should be registered in our statutes.

The sweep of history is toward equality as civilization advances and the revolt against despotism expands. There are traces in early times of civic rights for women. But they were swallowed up, as were also the rights of the mass of men, in the growing absorption of power by the few, consequent on military organization and conquest. As war and ambition turned political development into despotic channels, and kings and nobles gathered all power to themselves, the mass of the people, both men and women, lost liberty and civic right. The spirit of mastery and the rule of might infected every class and even the peasant under the domination and example of his lord, in his turn played the master to his wife and all within his power. When thoughts of freedom revived and the mass of little masters went to battle with the big ones for their liberties, they naturally claimed for themselves the new control, and women were left in the shadow of the Dark Ages, under the sway of a system born in a militant age and fostered by aggression. But the sunlight has touched the summits. And many of those who have caught the new light have left a record of the vision. Their very names thrill with power, character and thought that is linked with the new ideal. Here is a partial list of the splendid men and women who have expressed themselves in favor of woman suffrage.

Abraham Lincoln,
Theodore Roosevelt,
Wendell Phillips,
Mary A. Livermore,
Clara Barton,
John D. Long,
Florence Nightingale,
Phillips Brooks,
Helen Gould,
John G. Whittier,
Lady Somerset,
Henry W. Longfellow,
Pauline Agassiz Shaw,
John Stuart Mill,
Olive Schreiner,
Lord Salisbury,
Mrs. Potter Palmer,
Thomas B. Reed,
Lucy Larcom,
William T. Harris,
Harriet Prescott Spofford,
Edw. Atkinson,
Lydia Maria Child,
Joseph Cook,
Twenty professor of Wellesley,
Minot J. Savage,
Professor Huxley,
George W. Cable,
James A. Garfield,
Susan B. Anthony,
Harriet Beecher Stowe,
George W. Curtis,
Lucy Stone,
Chief Justice Chase,
Elizabeth Cady Stanton,
Henry Ward Beecher,
Frances E. Willard,
George F. Hoar,
Alice Stone Blackwell,
Charles Sumner,
Louisa M. Alcott,
T. W. Higginson,
Mrs. Chapman Catt,
B. O. Flower,
John Quincy Adams,
Marrietta Holley,
Ralph Waldo Emerson,
Frances Power Cobbe,
Theodore Parker,
Anna H. Shaw,
Professor Bowne,
Mrs. James T. Fields,
Rachel Foster Avery,
James Freeman Clark,
Lucretia Mott,
Charles Kingsley,
Elizabeth Stuart Phelps,
William Lloyd Garrison.

Objections? Yes, there are objections. There are objections to everything. There were objections to the revolution of the earth, objections that were deemed of overwhelming weight in the days of Copernicus. There were objections to the law of gravitation and the theory of evolution. There were objections to the railroad, the telegraph and the steamboat—people laughed at them and knew they would never work. There are objections to the ten commandments, and the objections are so serious that some persons refuse to be bound by the commandments at all. So it is not strange that there are objections to equal suffrage. Some of them are important, but most are featherweights. We will deal with them after they have been presented by the remonstrants.

FRANK PARSONS.

## PROFESSOR ZUEBLIN ON CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IMPERATIVELY DEMANDED.

IT WOULD be difficult to over-estimate the immense service being rendered to the cause of fundamental democracy by a few clear-visioned, able and brilliant educators who are instructing the people from the forums of our great cities. One of the ablest of these prophets of democratic advance and popular rights is Professor Charles Zueblin, who recently resigned from the faculty of the Chicago University that he might do a needed popular educational work as an awakener of the people.

In two recent addresses delivered in Chicago, Professor Zueblin discussed the need of constitutional changes to meet changed conditions of the present in order to preserve a democratic or popular government. In the course of his addresses as reported in the Chicago *Examiner*, the professor said:

"What we need is a new constitution that will give us a national initiative and referendum, and place the government of the country once more in the hands of the people, where the fathers meant it to be. The present constitution was framed for several centuries ago, and it filled excellently the needs of the day.

"It is totally inadequate to meet the increased necessities of a country that has grown to many hundred times the size of the colonies of those days."

Professor Zueblin described the many ways in which the will of the people and their interests are systematically disregarded and set aside since the feudalism of privileged wealth has become the real source of power by its partnership with the political bosses and its direction of the money-controlled machine. Here are some of the agencies by which he points out that under the present *régime* the "system" is able to nullify or defy popular rule and the people's interests:

"Lack of sympathy of United States Senators with the common people.

"Election of representatives to please parties rather than to represent the people.

"Czarlike power of the Speaker to prevent the House from taking popular action, should it so desire.

"Power of the executive through the veto to defeat both House and Senate.

"Power of Supreme Court to set aside any law it chooses, as not being in accord with the old-time Constitution."

Like Senator LaFollette and so many other of the most thoughtful and high-minded statesmen and educators of our day, Professor Zueblin sees the ominous fact that the United States government is rapidly falling into the hands of the very rich. On this point he observes:

"That so long as the control of the government, especially the lawmaking power, can be so manipulated as to keep it from the control of the common people, just that long will the country be ridden by trusts.

"He saw the control of national affairs rapidly falling into the hands of the very rich and feared that universal franchise was to become a farce.

"In proof of his contention that Congressmen are selected at the behest of politicians and are not the real choice of the people, he cited the fact that to-day not a single laboring man sits in the lower house, despite the huge number of laborers who are entitled to representation."

These observations are the mature convictions of one of the most deeply thoughtful and noble-minded educators of America to-day and are entitled to the serious consideration of all who love the Republic.

## RAPIDLY GROWING INTEREST IN THE WORK OF THE VOCATION BUREAU.

THE VOCATION BUREAU work is taking immensely with business men as well as educators. One of the biggest business men in Boston, who has read carefully the first report and a number of the cases, says he believes it will go down in history as one of the most important developments of our educational system. One of the leading Harvard professors is planning ways and means to establish such bureaus in connection with schools and colleges generally; and the national directors of the Y. M. C. A. have started a national movement to render similar service in connection with the educational department of the Young Men's Christian Association in all the principal cities as fast as competent counselors can be secured. A training school for vocation counselors is to be opened in the fall, under the direction of Professor Parsons, as a department of the Boston Y. M. C. A. Evening Institute.

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

By Ralph Albertson,
Secretary of the Initiative and Referendum League of America.

### An Important Warning.

IN REPLY to a letter from Mrs. Kate M. Gordon of the National Women's Suffrage Association, who is working for the direct-legislation bill before the Louisiana legislature, the following letter from Mr. George H. Shibley, chairman of the Initiative and Referendum League of America is of real interest:

"Your inquiry of the twenty-second instant at hand. We are doing our utmost to secure majority rule and are working against the Oklahoma plan of requiring for initiative measures more than a majority. This bad provision in the Oklahoma constitution was forced in by the Federal administration after the Oklahoma convention had decreed otherwise.

"In Ohio the machine in power in the legislature has inserted the minority-rule provision, the same as in Oklahoma, with many other bad features. I hope that Mrs. Upton and the other members of the N. W. S. A. will do their best to prevent the acceptance of the system by the voters, if it is submitted to them.

"This Ohio apology for a majority-rule system is an example of what we get when we ask the state machine to commit suicide. Had Mr. Bigelow, the initiative and referendum leader in Ohio, worked for the advisory initiative and advisory referendum he could have installed it early in 1906 and through the advisory initiative various constitutional amendments and legislative reforms could have been proposed, approved by the voters, and ere this their instructions would have been enacted into law. I hope that in your state you will not attempt to get a two-thirds vote in the legislature for a majority-rule system to be framed by the enemies of majority rule.

"I am glad to report that in Oklahoma the statute placing the Oklahoma system in operation is one I drafted, and in it are placed the various up-to-date provisions which experience has shown to be a necessity. For example, copies of each initiative measure are to be submitted to the legislature by the Secretary of State so that public hearings can be had and a competing measure framed, if the legislature so desires. Then a written debate is provided for, limited to 2,000 words each, of which one-fourth can be in answer to the other side and this joint statement and the bill are to be published by the government, and a copy distributed to each voter. This is the only way that the truth can be

gotten to the voters. The expense is to be borne by the state. The pamphlets are to be distributed by the registration officers in each county at the time the voters appear before them.

"I suggest that the Oklahoma statute be proposed to the Louisiana legislature, simply changing it to the advisory initiative and advisory referendum."

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### Oregon Notes.

AT THE June election of two years ago there were eleven referendum questions. This year there are nineteen. This number is unusually large and probably larger than will very often be submitted. The legislature will learn in the course of a few years of such direct-legislation experience to learn and obey more nearly than before the will of the majority of the people.

Pamphlets of about 120 pages, containing, describing and arguing for and against each one of these measures were issued by the Secretary of State April first, and a copy mailed to every voter. Discussions galore have been held on these measures by all sorts of societies and clubs and have been engaged in by citizens of every rank and class. Such a campaign of education in civics and training in public interest is an altogether too unusual occurrence in American life. If the referendum had no other result this would amply justify its cost.

But the other results are what the people are after. Many of the questions represent a phase of justice long denied the people under the old *régime* of machine-rule. A few are questions upon which honest and enlightened men differ.

Equal suffrage and the single-tax are both to be voted on. The measure amending the taxation laws provides: "That all dwelling houses, barns, sheds, outhouses and all other appurtenances thereof; all machinery and buildings used exclusively for manufacturing purposes and the appurtenances thereof; all fences, farm machinery and appliances used as such; all fruit trees, vines, shrubs and all other improvements on farms; all live stock; all household furniture in use, and all tools owned by workmen and in use, shall be exempt from taxation."

Much criticism of direct-legislation is being indulged in by the opposition press throughout the United States based on the reappearance of the woman-suffrage question so soon after its defeat two years ago.

The law giving the people of cities referendum powers has been challenged by the officials of Portland.

A league for the defense of the Initiative and Referendum has been organized in Portland.

The Portland *Oregonian* printed daily synopses of the measures and arguments. But the *Oregonian* is doing all in its power to create dissatisfaction with the majority-rule system. It has turned over completely to the corporation side of questions.

The United States senatorial campaign has proven once more the value of the Oregon type of democracy.

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### Reforms for Montana.

UNDER the provisions of the new direct-legislation amendment to the Montana constitution the people have started out to get by initiative petition and referendum vote three reforms that the legislature has failed and refused to enact.

The first is the direct election of United States Senators. This will enable the voter to indicate to members of the legislature their choice of candidates for Senator. It provides a regular way by which candidates may secure places on the ballots, requires the counting and certification of the vote in the regular way, and specifies that the result of such voting shall be read in the legislature at the time of the actual election of Senator which the Federal constitution requires the legislature must do.

The second is an anti-injunction law which legalizes all forms of peaceful striking. The third is an employers' liability act which seeks to remove some of the abuses of the "contributory negligence" theory and the releasing contract. A much needed reform.

It is good to see Montana "getting into the game."

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### Ohio Still Hopeful.

THE CORPORATION lobbyists at Columbus defeated the direct-legislation forces on every point except the bill which gives the people a referendum on municipal franchises. But on the day of final defeat the Direct-Legislation League began to lay plans for the resumption of the campaign in the next legislature.

To that end it was decided to call a state convention of union labor and other advo-

cates of the initiative and referendum to be held in Columbus.

The calling of the convention was intrusted to President Llewellyn Lewis of the Ohio Federation of Labor and Senator Fred. Howe, as two members of a committee of five, they to name the other three.

James Robinson of Canton, legislative agent of the Federation of Labor; Herbert Bigelow and Senator Marshall N. Duval, were named a committee to draft a new resolution to be offered at the next session.

It was announced that a campaign would be made for popular support, and also that every candidate for the legislature this fall, would be asked to pledge himself to vote for the resolutions, the inference being that candidates who refused to pledge themselves would be opposed at the polls.

In spite of the fact that the reactionaries were able to count the most votes in making the gubernatorial nomination the Ohio State Democratic Convention came out "flat-footed" for direct-legislation, and the party in that state will present a united front on this question.

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### Massachusetts News.

THE Massachusetts legislature in passing a bill to establish a commission government over the stricken city of Chelsea voted down a clause to submit the bill to a referendum for approval, but included, by some mistake, we must infer, a clause giving the people a referendum on the continuance of the system in 1912. Pretty risky, Senator Lodge, to let your state take such a step in the direction of "government by impulse" and "mob-rule" even at so remote a date.

BUT THE Massachusetts legislature has done a much more "dangerous" thing than that. It has enacted a law providing for a referendum anywhere in the state on the question of retired teachers' pensions. The law provides that: "If not less than five per cent. of the legal voters of any city or town ask that the question of the acceptance of this act be submitted to them, it shall be placed upon the ballot in the case of the city, at the next city election, and in case of town at the next annual town meeting, and the vote shall be in answer to this question to be placed upon the ballot: 'Shall an act passed by the general court in the year 1908, entitled "An act to authorize cities and towns to establish pension funds for teachers in the public schools," be accepted?' and if a majority of the voters voting thereon at such election or meeting shall vote in the affirmative this act shall take effect in such city or town. The school committee in any city or town, which shall accept the provisions of this act, may retire from active service and place upon the pension roll any teacher of such city or town who is sixty years or over, or is, in the judgment of the said school committee, incapacitated for useful service, and who has faithfully served such city or town for twenty-five years. The amount of this annual pension allowed to any person under the provisions of this act shall not exceed one-half of the annual compensation received by such person at the time of retirement and in no case shall exceed $500."

THE Massachusetts House of Representatives in this year of unemployment passed a bill increasing the salaries of the members 33 1-3 per cent. No referendum on that bill.

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### From England.

A LONDON correspondent of the Philadelphia *North American* says: "There is one explanation of the great change which has apparently taken place in the political opinion of this country within the last two years of which no account has been taken. It is equally applicable to America, where there is a similar complication of issues before the electorate as here. It may be easily true that there has been no change of opinion on any single subject.

"A Manchester elector agrees with the Liberals, say, on free trade and with the Unionists on education, and maintains his opinions consistently. His change of vote does not represent a change of his opinion; it represents his idea of the relative importance of different questions at different times.

"The impotence of the voter to express his will in the conduct of complicated modern democracy is well demonstrated in the English political situation of to-day, and so it will be in America in November. This difficulty is giving rise here to agitation in favor of the referendum.

"Why should not the electorate of a great nation be willing to go to the polls half a dozen times a year if necessary, to decide important public questions?"

**Notes.**

THE PEOPLE of Waco, Texas, recently took referendum votes on three propositions, viz., to adopt the commission form of government, to adopt direct-legislation and the recall, and to have the city control its own public utilities. The vote was about three to one in favor of each question.

THE PEOPLE of Lakewood, New Jersey, held an election April twenty-eighth to decide whether or not the township should become a borough. The result was nearly two to one against the proposition.

THE Common Council of Orange, New Jersey, called on the citizens May fourth to decide the question of purchasing a central building to be used as a City Hall.

A FIGHT is being made in the Kansas City Charter Board under the leadership of J. B. Shannon for the adoption of a provision in the new charter requiring the referendum of all franchises.

TEN THOUSAND copies of the constitutional and statute initiative and referendum provisions of Oklahoma have been printed by order of the legislature for distribution outside of the state.

THE Los Angeles City Council in the face of popular protest gave the Los Angeles Railway Company, over the veto of the mayor, a franchise on South Park avenue for a pittance of $500, the value of which is declared to be half a million dollars. But Los Angeles is one of the few cities in the land where popular government is possible, and a petition of 3,476 names was secured which held up the franchise. It then remained for the Council to rescind its action or call a special election at which the people themselves should decide the question.

A DISPATCH received May fourth, by the Associated Prohibition Press from Professor Evert, Secretary of the International Temperance Bureau says: "On April seventh the Swiss Congress, by a vote of 82 to 53 in the lower house and 24 to 12 in the upper house, accepted the initiative of the Swiss people, which calls for a national referendum on the question of complete prohibition of the manufacture, sale, transportation, exportation and importation of absinthe or any imitations of same. The initiative was signed by 167,814 voters, which is the greatest number ever obtained on a petition since the adoption of the initiative and referendum in Switzerland.

THE Brussels chamber of deputies by a vote of 70 to 80, on April twenty-fourth defeated a bill which sought to secure a direct expression of the people at a coming election on the Congo annexation bill.

WINNETKA, Illinois, is to take a referendum on a municipal gas plant at the next election.

THE Dallas (Texas) Trades Assembly has circulated petitions and secured the necessary signatures to insure the reference to voters of three proposed ordinances, namely: Establishing a two-cent fare for passengers standing on crowded cars; installing a municipal lighting plant, and fixing the minimum rate of wages for city employés at two dollars.

UNDER an act of April tenth the municipalities of New Jersey may hold special elections to decide whether they want voting machines. Hackensack, Bayonne and a large number of the smaller towns of the state are arranging for the vote. Feeling runs high in some localities.

ON May second, Alameda put the referendum to use in an election held for an expression of popular sentiment regarding the selection of sites for playgrounds. The issue centered on the choice between two propositions on which the municipal executive and legislative authorities had been unable to agree. One of these provided for the purchase of three tracts for public playgrounds located at points which, if adopted, would be serviceable to the west and east ends and to the center of the city; the other provided for the purchase of one tract only, located at the west end. The bonds for the purchase of playgrounds had been previously approved by popular vote. The Council and the mayor unable to agree, invoked the referendum, and a campaign was carried on in which more or less bitterness was manifested. The vote was decisively in favor of the purchase of the three tracts embodied in proposition No. 1, and its wisdom is generally conceded.

AT THE recent convention of the National Municipal League Mr. C. D. Willard of Los Angeles, said: "The effect of the recall has been magical. It is one of those things that are very handy to have around the house—like a revolver, for example, which you do n't

expect to make a business of using right along, but which you like to have there just the same, and which may have a deterrent effect upon those who would enter your premises surreptitiously."

SINCE the election of Mayor Busse of Chicago, the people have had no opportunities to pass upon any franchise questions and now the reactionary mayor and his government are trying to deprive the people of their right to vote upon bond issues.

THE PEOPLE of Portland, Maine, have had submitted to them a referendum on the question of building a new city hall. This embodies a provision that it shall not be binding unless 60 per cent. of the qualified voters participate.

PAMPHLETS explaining the proposed amendment to the State Constitution providing for the initiative and referendum are being mailed broadcast by the Missouri Referendum League. Every one of the 75,000 telephone users in Missouri has been mailed a copy. In addition 125,000 pamphlets have been distributed through organization and league members. The officers of the league in St. Louis are Dr. William F. Hill, president; Stephan Ryan and S. L. Mosher, secretaries; William H. Priesmeyer, Joseph Forshaw and Frank K. Ryan, vice-presidents. "This system does not aim to abolish the representative form of government we now have," says Dr. Hill, "or substitute another in its place. It leaves our representative system just as it is, but guards it from abuse and from becoming a misrepresentative. It will perform the same function as the safety-valve on an engine. Silent and unnoticed when not needed but most useful in time of danger."

THE Michigan state superintendent of schools has started a campaign for the establishment of a high school in each township adopting the unit system. The state Grange will withdraw opposition if a referendum is attached to the bill.

THE people of Mobile will vote at a special election this fall on the levying of a one-mill school-tax. In order that such an election could be held the law requires that a petition shall be signed by two hundred freeholding voters.

THE DIRECT-LEGISLATION provisions in the charters of many California cities are making a great number of enthusiastic friends of the principle, and a strong movement has started in some of these cities to pledge representatives to use this weapon to redeem the state from machine-rule.

THE North Dakota Direct-Legislation League has published Mr. Ueland's Valley City speech in pamphlet and is circulating it among the voters of the state.

A MOVEMENT is on foot for a simplified form of government for Pittsburg to embody the features of the initiative, referendum and recall.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### Attleborough, an Object Lesson.

THERE are those who claim that public ownership must fail because of the lack of personal incentive; there are those who claim that any enterprise entrusted to the people will be poorly run because the man at the polls loves a short-sighted policy; and there are those who claim that no public officer who plans his work along progressive and businesslike lines will remain in office to carry out his plans. To these and their friends I extend a cordial invitation to read over the reports of the municipal plants of Massachusetts. The laws of the commonwealth make it extremely difficult for a city or town to acquire control of its public utilities, yet every plant so controlled adds proof of the worthlessness of that law. A peculiar interest, furthermore, is connected with these Massachusetts plants inasmuch as they are governed by the town meeting and are therefore the best examples of public ownership.

I am going to vary the character of this department this month in order to call the attention of its readers to the last two reports of the water department of the town of Attleborough, two little volumes that I am proud to have in my library. I wish I could give them in full, for they are pleasant reading.

The report issued last year deals largely with the perfecting of the first concrete standpipe built in this country, and with the test of the system made after the standpipe was in operation. Let me quote:

"On December 27, 1905, we put the new standpipe into commission, and continued to use it until May 15, 1906. The leaks during that time were very trifling, although during extreme cold weather we noticed a scaling off on the outer surface at certain points, beginning five feet from the bottom of the tank and extending to a point about fifteen feet from the bottom of the tank. This was apparently caused by pockets or cavities that must have existed on the outside of the steel, probably caused by the slight moving of the forms when the concrete was being placed.

"About May 15, 1906, the Aberthaw Construction Company began the plastering on the inside of the standpipe. The first coat had two per cent. lime to one part cement and one part sand; the other three coats were composed of one part sand and one part cement. This was floated until a hard, dense surface was produced; then this surface scratched to receive the succeeding coat. Prior to the plastering the entire inside of the standpipe was thoroughly cleaned and then picked. There were four coats of plaster put on, and we felt reasonably sure that it would be perfectly tight, as great care was used in applying the same. But upon filling the standpipe this did not give us the result we expected as we had felt positive that we should have an absolutely water-tight structure.

"At the time the inside work was being done the outside, where the cement had scaled off from the effects of frost, was repaired by digging around the outside row of steel reinforcement, putting on iron clips made of three-quarter-inch by one-eighth-inch iron bolted through, and then cement was forced into the cavities around these clips by throwing it at a distance of four or five feet to insure the filling of the voids. This process was continued until the cement covered the entire outer surface, so that further plastering could be perfectly bonded; upon this surface was placed expanded metal, forced over the clips that stood out horizontally, and then a coat of plaster was carefully troweled over the surface of this metal, and then a coat of metal placed outside of that plastering, the ends of the clips being turned at right angles to hold the same in place. After this the final outside coat was applied, thus making a very firm and compact surface, equal to any part of the structure.

"After noting the result of the interior plastering, we were satisfied that some other method must be used to make the standpipe perfectly tight under one hundred feet head, at the same time realizing that in a warmer climate we should not hesitate to accept it as it was. After consulting with our engineer and contractor we decided to coat the inside with what is known as the Sylvester process wash. We presume many of you are familiar with the same, but for the benefit of those who are not, we will give the formula used on this standpipe:

"Dissolve three-quarters of a pound castile soap in one gallon of water. Dissolve one pound pure alum in eight gallons of water. Both must be thoroughly dissolved. Before applying to the walls the surface must be perfectly dry and clean; temperature must be about 50 degrees Fahrenheit. First, apply soap at boiling temperature with a flat brush, taking care not to form a froth. Wait twenty-four hours, so that the solution will become dry and hard upon the walls, then apply the alum in the same way, at a temperature of 60 degrees to 70 degrees Fahrenheit. Wait twenty-four hours, and repeat with alternate coats of soap and alum.

"On the Croton work, four coats of each solution rendered the walls impervious. According to the report made by Mr. Dearborn a pound of soap will cover about thirty-seven square feet, and one pound of alum will cover about ninety-five square feet. Water may be admitted to the tank as soon as the last coat becomes hard and dry.

"In order to test this process we decided to try about thirty-five feet of our standpipe from the bottom up. After applying four coats of the mixture we filled the standpipe full and at 100 feet head we found there were only four leaks in the thirty-five feet coated. On account of this success we decided to apply four coats more to the same surface, that making eight coats from the bottom up

to thirty-five feet, and above that distance four coats. The result was very satisfactory, but not absolutely tight. As the contract called for a water-tight structure the contractors decided to apply five more coats over the entire surface, thus making thirteen coats for thirty-five feet and nine for the rest of the structure. On October 28th the standpipe was filled and was found to be practically tight, as the slight wetting on the outside was due to the condensation of the atmosphere. Later a few leaks developed which seemed to come from the inside, but these varied from time to time during the next month. Under certain conditions of the atmosphere the entire surface was absolutely dry, under different conditions it would show a slight leakage. This was so gratifying to the commissioners and engineer that on December 6, 1906, the standpipe was accepted from the contractors under the conditions named in the contract, viz., to maintain the structure one year from date of acceptance, and if the same continued satisfactory during the winter they were to clean down the outside and wash with neat cement.

"There has been no time since the beginning of the structure that the commissioners or engineer have believed that it was a mistake in adopting this type, and we sincerely hope that others will be benefited by our experience.

"In constructing a receptacle for water, whether it be a jug or a reservoir, it is a natural desire to build it of stone or masonry. Somehow water tastes better, keeps cooler and cleaner, and the idea of holding water in a masonry structure seems altogether fitting. The aqueducts of Rome were of stone, and it was not until we came to handle water under pressure that metal came into use. . . . We believe that Attleborough may congratulate itself on its water system, the quality, quantity and source of supply; in the use of the meter system and the resulting low consumption; in the possession of new cast-iron mains and the small loss of water by leakage; and in the acquirement of a storage second to none in the world, making possible, in connection with the new pipe lines, a system of fire protection which should and must impress the insurance underwriters to our financial betterment."

In the engineer's report we get this further description: "Because of the character of the Attleborough water and its tendency to attack steel, reinforced concrete was adopted as the material to be used in the new standpipe, in this way lessening the depreciation and yearly cost of maintenance. The structure is a success in every way; permanent and clean, attractive in appearance and of such size that with the pumps operating only such hours as are necessary to meet the daily consumption all ordinary fire demands can be supplied for many years to home without the water being drawn down more than four-tenths of the height of the tank. This is equivalent to a statement that at all times of the day, for many years to come in the future, there will be a pressure of at least eighty-five pounds in the business section of the town."

The new standpipe is located on Ide's Hill, where the ground surface is 130 feet above the level of the central business section of the town. The structure is 100 feet high and 50 feet in diameter, with a capacity of 1,500,000 gallons.

In order to demonstrate the value of the improvements in the water system, which in addition to the new tank included new pipe lines and additional supply, a fire service test was made on the afternoon of October 16, 1906. The engineer's report continues:

"Concisely stated, the test was an entire success, demonstrated beyond all dispute in the statement that with sixteen fire streams throwing 3,800 per minute and concentrated as much as the necessity for carrying off water without damage to street and property would admit, a pressure of 75 pounds at the hydrant was maintained at the time of maximum discharge—all water being drawn from the standpipe and the pumps not running."

That's going some.

II.

The report for the year ending December 31, 1907, gives a review of the work of the commissioners in the last four years. With brief mention of the new pipe lines and the standpipe, it goes on:

"Considering more particularly the work done at the source of supply, in 1904 the consumption of water had increased to such an extent that the Barr pump, even when running at only two-thirds of its normal capacity, would draw the water down in the old well to such a depth that there was danger of uncovering the ends of the suction pipe.

The reduced efficiency of the engine so operated made it evident that some steps should be taken which would make possible the operation of the pump at more nearly its nominal rate. The solution adopted was the construction of a second well, forty feet in diameter, on the opposite side of the (Seven-mile) river, connected with the old well by a conduit of special tiling, which might also serve to intercept the underground flow. This well was completed in the spring of 1905. The result was that during the seasons of 1905 and 1906 the Barr pump was run at its nominal capacity of 2,500,000 gallons per day without drawing down the wells but a limited amount. The results were so satisfactory that the commissioners were led to believe that the second well had made possible not only the drafting of water at higher rates, but had increased the capacity of the supply to a point sufficient to meet the demands of the town for some years to come.

"That this anticipation will not prove true under all seasonal conditions has been demonstrated in the month of August of the past year, a result which will be considered in greater detail later.

"The opportunity of operating the engine at its nominal capacity at once drew attention to the fact that in order to obtain the best economy a steam pressure of 150 pounds was necessary. For such pressure the old boilers were not fitted. In connection with the question of efficiency and increased steam pressure it also became apparent that better results could be obtained by enlarging the diameter of the low-pressure cylinder of the Barr pump. It was accordingly decided to install two new boilers, to carry 150 pounds pressure, to replace the pressure, to replace the old steam piping which had not been installed for heavy pressure work, and at the same time to make the change in the cylinder of the Barr pump. The additional equipment necessitated the enlargment of the boiler house. That these improvements were justified was evidenced by the increased economy resulting from the ability to operate the pump at its nominal capacity and under the most efficient conditions. While in 1904 268 gallons of water were pumped per pound of coal, in 1905 the corresponding figures are 318 gallons, in 1906 367 gallons, and in 1907 338 gollons, the falling off in the latter year being due to the operation of the less economical Deane pump for a considerable length of time.

"For some years the sewage from the engineer's house has been discharged into a series of cesspools, periodically cleaned out at a considerable yearly cost, and constituting a more or less indirect menace to the quality of the supply. The commissioners had for some time contemplated the desirability of providing adequate means of purifying this sewage and in doing this of locating the filterer at a point reasonably distant from the wells. Accordingly, in connection with the improvement of the pumping station this work was carried out, the plant including a small collecting basin, a centrifugal pump directly connected to a water wheel driven by the town pressure and a force main leading to a small filter on the shore of Orr's Pond, where the sewage is being purified in accordance with the best sanitary practice."

During the month of August, which was the dryest month in thirty-two years, and when the flow from the watershed was very low, the amount of water in the wells began to decrease from day to day. "The reasonable conclusion from this experience is that while such conditions occur but at long intervals, a possible repetition makes it necessary to provide means for meeting such an emergency even with the the present consumption and increasingly so as the demand for water grows from year to year. What the permanent method of meeting such emergencies might reasonably be was indicated by the scheme adopted during the last few days of the dry spell.

Our first consideration was the danger of pumping surface water from Orr's Pond directly into the mains. The problem was to increase the supply of subsoil water. Experience has shown that whenever there was water in the stream above the wells no serious shortage of ground water occurred. The apparent remedy therefore was to pump water from Orr's Pond into the stream above the wells, constructing a temporary dam in the bed of the stream to hold this water until it had slowly sunk into the ground. Such a scheme was carried out, . . . and the desired supply was obtained.

"As to a permanent method of meeting such an emergency . . . it is recommended that the area surrounding the wells be stripped of the loam, a concrete dam be constructed in the stream near Ort's Pond and a small

centrifugal pumping outfit be installed in the station by which water can be drawn from Orr's Pond and lifted on the gravel area surrounding the wells."

And then they went and did it.

"The work at the source of supply has therefore contributed to additional assurance of an adequate quantity of water of suitable quality and to the operation of the pumping plant with increased efficiency. The duplication of the mains between the pumping station and the standpipe provides a guarantee against accident by which the entire supply might be cut off and also contributes to the possibility of running the pump at its nominal capacity by reducing friction.

"A consideration of the work carried out by the commissioners during the past four years at once makes evident the fact that much the larger part of the money expended has been for the betterment of the fire service in point of reliability and economy, by duplication of the parts of the plant, and in point of better pressure and larger capacity of the distribution system. Recently, in recognition of the work which has been carried out in the improvement of the system, the insurance rate in the commercial and business district of the town has been reduced at least ten per cent. by the underwriters after a visit and careful examination of the plant. Such reduction, however, in the minds of the commissioners, but poorly represents the return to the town in the shape of increased protection of property made possible by the betterment in the fire service.

"As to the present condition of the works, attention should be called to the fact that the method of construction adopted has been such as to reduce the element of depreciation to a minimum. The concrete standpipe is now in a most satisfactory condition; the pipe system is entirely of cast-iron pipe of recent installation."

And so on.

And the commissioners are George H. Snell, David E. Makepeace and William M. Stone. By their works shall ye know them.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### Porto Rican Laborers.

DELEGATES of one hundred and ten unions of Porto Rico, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in their last annual convention adopted a resolution looking to the establishment of a coöperative organization, to be capitalized at $10,000 to compete with the building contractors. Funds will be raised for this purpose by imposing a tax of one cent daily on four thousand members for ten months. A labor organ will be established, and it is the present intention to put a federation ticket in the field at the coming elections.

### A Telephone Dividend.

A FIFTEEN per cent. dividend on a capital stock of $15,000 was declared by the Inland Coöperative Telephone Association at its annual meeting at Pullman, Washington, in April. The company owns a system extending through the rural districts, with connections at Pullman, Albion and Colfax, and switching arrangements with the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company. The company is composed largely of farmers, who built the line beginning with a barbed-wire fence system with four instruments. This has been changed to overhead lines and three hundred instruments, distributed in various parts of the Palouse wheat belt.

### Co-operative Store for Chicago.

A NUMBER of the employés of the national government in Chicago organized early in March the Coöperative Federal Store & Supply Company.

The company is organized for the purpose of "owning, maintaining and operating" establishments for the retailing and whole-

saling of eatables and wearables and drinkables, all except "vinous, spiritous and malt liquors." The company will be organized under the laws of Illinois to do a business for profit.

A general store will be opened probably in the down-town district, where the six thousand government employés can trade. Only employés of the government can avail themselves of the privilege of trading with themselves.

The stock of the company will be sold at five dollars a share. Any subscriber may take as many shares as he sees fit. His credit at the store will be allowed to run until it reaches a sum within five dollars of amount of stock held. In a general way the establishment will conform to the coöperative store which has been established at Washington, D. C., for the benefit of Federal employés.

"The idea is to provide an establishment where employés of the government may purchase the necessaries of life at wholesale prices," said William A. Oldsfield, one of the organizers. "This plan has been tried with success in Washington and in England and Scotland. In England the coöperative societies made a profit to their members in 1907 of $6,000,000, the total membership being 2,260,000. In Chicago we believe we can save each member the profit of the middleman."

### A New Co-operative Bank Organized.

THE ORGANIZATION of the Tompkinsville Coöperative Savings and Building Loan Association was recently perfected. A certificate of incorporation has been filed with the Superintendent of Banks at Albany and also in the Richmond County clerk's office. The fact that there is so much activity in building operations in the borough of Richmond has induced the formation of the Association. It is intended to operate in Richmond borough only. The board of management is comprised of many local eminent citizens representing all lines and branches of work and professions and is calculated to appeal to the public as offering a profitable, safe and secure form of investment.

### Some New York Printers.

THE Workingman's Coöperative Publishing Association of New York is an active and enterprising business organization with an office at 6 Park Place. There is a voting membership of about fifty and a waiting list of about as many more. A daily paper is published, *The Daily Call*, and the management is on a practical coöperative basis.

### Co-operative Apartments.

THE LATEST expression of the apartment-house plan is the coöperative apartment that you buy outright, says *The Delineator*. Some half-dozen are in successful operation in New York. More of housekeeping conveniences than have ever before been delivered are offered. Among the rest a coöperative laundry in the basement, a coöperative kitchen that prepares individual menus, and coöperative servants that may be had to work by the hour.

### League Opens Club House.

THE Coöperative League of the Bronx, which consists of a number of workingmen and their wives, who have planned the establishment of coöperative stores, have recently announced the establishment of a club house and a coöperative grocery store at 1697 Washington avenue.

### Co-operative Dairies.

MR. J. R. MORELY, Ottawana, Minnesota, president of the Minnesota Dairies' Association, is authority for the statement that this organization will be ready to begin business about June first. Nearly one hundred creameries have joined the association and the butter from the creameries will be assembled in Chicago, graded and sold to the highest bidder. The purpose of the organization is to save the thousands of dollars that are now being paid out each year by these creameries for commissions to the butter dealers in the big markets. Should the plan prove feasible the large Eastern markets will also be invaded. This organization is but one of the many similar organizations which have grown out of the coöperative idea which is becoming so popular in the Northwest.

### A New Colony in Mexico.

ALL WHO remember Colonel Owen's famous Topolobampo colony will be interested to know that an even more ambitious project is now well under way, the plans for which, according to Ella Wheeler Wilcox, are very

idealistic. A tract of 500,000 acres is said to have been secured in the peninsula of Lower California, and a surprise awaits the average reader in the accounts of the beauty and fertility of the country. The colony is known as La Prosperidad Colony Association and seems to have drawn largely from California people.

### Co-operating Women Farmers.

A NEW kind of coöperative agriculture settlement is reported from England. Miss Zula Woodhull, it is said, has converted her fine estate—a thousand acres of land and a spacious old manor house—into a coöperative farm and home for women, where they are taught scientific methods of agriculture and demonstrate these by practical farming in all its lighter forms. The estate has been divided into small holdings for fruit-growing, poultry-raising, bee-keeping, market-gardening and dairying. There are, it is stated, already thirty student workers resident in Bredon's Norton Manor House, which can accommodate fifty lodgers, and as the movement grows in popularity there will be erected near the main building cottages whose occupants will rent plots of ground for farming.

The promoters of the movement believe that it will grow in scope, and that it will not only solve the problem of unmarried women, who wish to be independent, but will afford the most natural and wholesome outlet for the energies of the more active-minded women who are wearied of the purposeless lives they lead.

### Senator Hansbrough's Bill.

UNITED STATES SENATOR HANSBROUGH of North Dakota has introduced a bill to establish a commission whose work shall be to aid and promote coöperation among farmers. It is pleasant to find in such a paper as the New York *Times* the following account:

"It is not to be denied that the future of American agriculture depends very largely on coöperation, and the more intelligently and practically this is introduced and managed the better necessarily will be the results.

. . . . . .

"Nearly every other trade is carried on under conditions providing at once competition and coöperation. Manufactures and most branches of mercantile business are conducted in centres of population, with access to organized markets, and with more or less developed systems of exchange. The individual farmer as a rule is relatively isolated. He buys and sells in comparatively small quantities a comparatively small variety of wares. These he produces at obvious disadvantage in some respects. He is much at the mercy of conditions he cannot control or foresee and even as to the adjustment of his output to probable demand he is nearly helpless. But it has been shown by ample experience that some of the most important of these disadvantages can be reduced or removed by coöperation. Purchases can be made of better supplies at lower prices. Better small tools can be had for less. Machinery can be secured on better terms for either individual or joint use. Shipments can be improved in cost and in many other ways.

"Beyond these more usual fruits of coöperation there is a wide field for its application. Many products can be standardized, turned out uniform in quality, better suited for market, while better and more stable markets can be secured. Even more important, though not so direct, are the advantages for common study and discussion among farmers. In all these features of coöperation there is no doubt that an intelligent government commission working in unison with the Department of Agriculture, with the colleges, and with the various agricultural organizations, can be of aid."

### Danish Co-operative Associations.

THE PRINCIPAL reason why the export of agricultural and other farm and garden products from Denmark has reached the present dimensions, states a Canadian trade commissioner, lies in the forming of coöperative export associations, whereby quality and packing, etc., become uniform and stable. The commissioner also says:

"Besides the dairy and creamery associations there also exist such coöperative associations for egg and fruit producers. The Danish Farmers' Coöperative Egg Export Association founded in 1895 now counts about 40,000 members and has its own paper. The object of the association is to work up the best possible market in foreign countries for Danish eggs by guaranteeing the buyers that the eggs sold under the mark of the association are always fresh and clean. It has

packers in the principal cities. Every week the association sends out a list of prices which then is in force from Thursday morning to the next Wednesday evening. The sales of the Association amount to $1,125,000 a year.

"The Danish Fruit Producers' Association, founded in 1888, has now about 7,000 members, and, like the egg exporters, also has its own paper. The association's work consists in arranging expositions and discourses and in also sending out traveling teachers throughout the country. Further it assists the members in obtaining the most suitable young trees and plants as well as the most profitable sale of their products. The sales of the Association now amounts to 1,500,000 pounds of fruit a year."

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,
Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

### The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform.

A COPY of this unique and valuable book has reached the editor of this department. THE ARENA will probably review the book fully, so that all I need to do here is to mention that the subject of Proportional Representation has received its full share of attention. It occuppies four pages and the article is easily found, by reason of the self-indexing plan on which the book is framed: that used in the ordinary encyclopedia.

Mr. William D. P. Bliss, the editor-in-chief, deserves hearty congratulation on the handsome result of the patient toil which is involved in getting out such a publication.

### Cuba's New Law.

THE NEW electoral law of Cuba has been duly promulgated. It includes the proportional representation provisions which were referred to in a previous issue of this department, namely, that Representatives, Provincial Councillors and Municipal Councillors, are elected by a List system with simple quota and multiple vote. I gratefully acknowledge the courtesy of Hon. Colonel Crowder, of Havana, in sending to me English copies of the new electoral law, and in furnishing much previous information.

### Great Britain.

*Representation*, the monthly journal of the British Proportional Representation Society, is to hand for April and May. From these issues I select the following items:

"MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATION BILL.—This bill was read a second time in the House of Lords on the third of March, and has now passed through its committee stages. The bill has been amended so that its final adoption by any municipality will require in all three votes of the council at intervals of three years, the first vote requiring a three-fifths majority, but, once these three votes have been taken, then, subject to disallowance of the last vote by an address of either House of Parliament, the proportional system will be established in the borough, and can be dislodged only by fresh legislation. The reception of the bill in the House of Lords was on the whole very friendly, Lord Eversley alone appearing as a hostile critic.

"PROPAGANDA.—We are glad to report the formation of a branch of the Society at Glasgow by the energy of Mr. J. M. Easton, to whom the thanks of all our friends are due. Reports have also reached us of a debate at the 'Fifty' Club of Cardiff, when on the motion of Mr. Alfred Frazer a resolution in favor of proportional representation was carried, and of a meeting under the auspices of the Clapham Women's Liberal Association, when an address was delivered and a successful election held. The Wood Green Labor League has passed a unanimous resolution in favor of proportional representation, and has also addressed a communication to the government in support of the Municipal Bill.

"IMPORTANT MEETING.—At Caxton Hall, Westminster, an influential public meeting was held on April tenth. The speakers were drawn from every political party and represented every important side of current polit-

ical opinion. The chair was taken at 8 P. M. by Mr. James Gibb, Liberal Member for the Harrow Division of Middlesex, who was supported on the platform by Lord Balfour of Burleigh (Unionist), Lord Courtney of Penwith (Liberal), Mr. G. H. Roberts, M. P. (Labor), Mr. R. D. Holt, M. P. (Liberal), Mr. C. A. Cripps, K. C. (Unionist), and Mr. J. J. Stephenson, ex-chairman of the Labor Party Conference. Some excellent speeches were made; an illustrative election was held; and the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

"'That a reform of representative institutions, national and local, in accordance with the principles of proportional representation is urgently demanded in justice to all classes and parties, and in the interest of the steady and continuous development of their political life,

"'That this meeting earnestly presses upon His Majesty's government and Parliament the supreme importance of undertaking such a reform in respect to the House of Commons before the holding of another general election."

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### The Fairhope Colony.

A NOVEL and interesting application of the proportional plan of representation has just been made in Fairhope, the Single-Tax colony on Mobile Bay.

As many readers know, Fairhope is a village of some four or five hundred people, situated about fifteen miles from the city of Mobile. The Fairhope Single-Tax Corporation owns most of the land of the village. It leases lots to tenants, and applies the rents for the benefit of the village at large; first paying the state and county taxes of its tenants, and then applying the balance to public improvements.

For ten or a dozen years Fairhope was an incorporated village and practically without any regular municipal government. Out of this state of affairs complaints arose that the village was run by an oligarchy, and that fundamental principles of democracy must be applied. Dissensions arose, which now appear to be in a fair way to be entirely healed by the new state of affairs.

Fairhope has become incorporated as a town under the state law of Alabama, and it is in connection with this incorporation that the Proportional Representation idea has been introduced. At a full meeting of citizens held on May twenty-first, two resolutions were passed by an overwhelming majority: the first one providing for a complete application of the Initiative and Referendum, the second for Proportional Representation. Here are the resolutions in full:

FOR FULL DEMOCRACY.

"*Whereas*, The approaching first municipal election will be the first occasion for all elements of the town to come together upon an equal footing in matters of common interest, and

"*Whereas*, the most important issue before us is the 'square deal,' in the form of full and complete democracy, which has, indeed, been the chief reason claimed by many for urging incorporation, and

"*Whereas*, the law unfortunately does not provide for full democracy, but excludes from a legal right to participate in municipal affairs more than three-fourths of the adult males and all of the females thereby shutting out the great majority from a voice in affairs in which they are vitally interested, and

"*Whereas*, it is in the power of the voters of the community to secure at once to us, without any change in the law, the fullest democracy, by the simple pledging of candidates to obey the popular will, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this meeting of resident citizens of the town of Fairhope hereby pledges itself to the principle of complete democracy, and asks the qualified electors to support no candidate for mayor or alderman, who will not pledge himself, in writing, if elected, to obey the will of the people at any time they may express the same, even to the extent of resigning his office in case a majority shall request him to do so, and that any adult person, regardless of sex, who shall have maintained a *bona fide* residence in Fairhope for six months, shall be entitled to participate in such expressions of the popular will."

FOR FAIR REPRESENTATION OF ALL ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY AND HARMONY.

"*Whereas*, It is possible under the system of elections by plurality not only that a minority approaching half of the voters may be entirely unrepresented in the council but that even a minority might elect all the councilmen, leaving the majority wholly unrepresented, and

"*Whereas*, The system of proportional representation provides an absolutely 'square deal' and may be applied to the approaching election by agreement of the voters, and

"*Whereas*, The same furnishes a means whereby a 'harmony ticket' might be secured whereby each element of the citizenship should secure representation in the Council according to its voting strength and by those of its own choosing, all agreeing to vote the ticket thus selected, and thus present to the world an apparent unanimity of sentiment which would be greatly to our credit, therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That this meeting approve the proportional representation plan, to be applied in this way: that immediately after the registration of voters on next Friday and Saturday a committee to be appointed by this meeting shall go over the census of residents as taken recently, and ascertain the number respectively of members of the Fairhope Single-Tax Corporation, including adult members of their families, the number of residents on Single-Tax Corporation lands not members of said corporation and the number of those residing outside the lands of the Single-Tax Corporation, the total to be divided by five, the number of aldermen to be elected to ascertain the 'quota' necessary to elect a candidate.

"That on this basis the said committee shall apportion to each such division of the citizenship the number of candidates to which it is entitled, the same to be nominated by such division and reported to the said committee which shall prepare a ballot accordingly for which all shall agree to vote.

"*Provided*, That if the colored residents within the limits of the municipal corporation are not allowed to participate in the selection of the candidates of the division in which they reside, their number shall not be credited to such division."

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### Sweden Adopts Proportional Representation.

A SWEDISH correspondent of the British journal, *Representation*, gives the following particulars:

"Last year our Riksdag, after ever so many struggles, passed a bill for universal suffrage at the election of members for the Riksdag and for an extension of the municipal franchise, coupled with proportional representation in the elections for both chambers of the Riksdag for the county councils and for the town councillors, and is now expected to pass a bill for the proportional election of the committees selected by the Riksdag. These measures will not pass into law unless confirmed by the Riksdag in the year 1909, after the new elections for our House of Commons, but there is not the slightest doubt about the confirmation. Then the law will take effect from the year 1910.

"The method of voting adopted is one of the free type, *not* a 'list method.' The voters in a constituency who wish to go together to form a party, have to put the name of the party—Liberal, Unionist, Labor Men, Free Traders or what they like—at the top of their ballot papers. After the party-name they have to write the names of their candidates—few or many and just the names they choose. They are not bound by any nomination. The names are to be put in the order in which the elector wants his candidates to 'go in.' All the ballot papers with the same party-name are put together and form a party group. The ballot papers which have no party-name are regarded as a separate group, the free group. The names of the candidates in each group are arranged *proportionally, not* by majority principles, according to the votes obtained and to the order of the names in the ballot papers. The number of seats the constituency in question has to fill is distributed among the groups—the party-groups and the free group—according to the well-known rule of the Belgian professor, V. D'Hondt. The seats a group has obtained are given to its candidates in such a way that the first seat that the group gets is given to its first candidate in the sequence; the second seat the group gets is given to its second candidate, and so on. The constituencies formed for elections for the Riksdag return from three to seven members.

"The question of womanhood suffrage is still unsettled, but there is a strong movement in favor of the women, especially since in their proceedings they always respect the laws of their country."

ROBERT TYSON.

# ROOSEVELT FROM THE VIEW-POINT OF A FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRAT.*

## A Book Study.

By B. O. Flower.

WE HAVE been surfeited with lives of Mr. Roosevelt in which the master idea of the author has seemed to be to minister to the President's insatiable lust for applause—pen-pictures in which the verbal artists have seemed to be far more concerned with the aureole than with the plain and oftentimes ugly facts of historical verity. To Jacob Riis belongs the palm for fulsome praise that has verged on idolatry; but there have been other writers who have also thrown to the winds the solemn obligations which history imposes on the biographer of a public character who would be true to his trust. It is refreshing, therefore, to find a volume in which the clear demands of historical verity have dominated the author—a work by a sturdy democrat whose love for popular government or the fundamentals of free institutions is matched by vision clear enough to discern the difference between genuine democracy and the mask behind which self-seeking, opportunistic reaction seeks to parade in order that it may deceive and thus undo the people where vital principles and precedents are at stake.

Mr. J. W. Bennett, the author of the volume we are considering, is a valued contributor to The Arena. He is a fundamental democrat, a man whose rugged sincerity is equalled by a passionate love for the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the splendid government founded by the fathers—by Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Adams, and their noble co-workers. His love for candor and moral integrity and his devotion to the ideal of freedom have rendered it impossible for him to join in the kow-towing which the President and his partisans seem to imagine should be indulged in in the presence of Theodore Roosevelt. Moreover, his realization of the importance of clearly and sharply pointing out the difference between the sincere upholders of democratic government and the reactionary, autocratic and undemocratic masqueraders, has impelled him to write this plain, unvarnished story of the public life of Theodore Roosevelt. In his preface Mr. Bennett says:

"This is not a biography of President Roosevelt. We are interested in Roosevelt the man only in so far as his peculiarities throw light upon Roosevelt the office-holder.

"It is our aim to journey freely along the public pathway followed by Roosevelt in his march from obscurity to eminence. We shall pick up on the way, and examine evidences of his influence upon this Republic.

"In taking this excursion, we shall try to hamper ourselves as little as possible with the baggage of preconceived opinion. Our own opinion, we shall give for what it is worth, indicating where possible its foundation. Those who prefer to take their opinions of men, their political philosophy, or even their politics, blindfolded, would do well not to travel with us.

"Americans, as a rule, have improved upon the old maxim, 'noblesse oblige.' To persons in high places we prefer to apply the more comfortable fiction, 'The king can do no wrong.' Having no king, many of us try to make kings of every popular person. Being without heroes, we are not discriminating as to whom we shall give this distinction.

. . . . . .

"If at any time we should seem to treat the subject of our inquiry as just an American citizen, with rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness merely equal to those of other American citizens, it will not be because we forget the more popular view-point. As for standards of truth and righteousness to which we shall subject the acts of our characters indiscriminately, we shall make due allowance for high place and the trials and temptations surrounding it. The sequel will show whether our standards will be more strict or more liberal for one in authority.

"An administration which has attracted

*"Roosevelt and the Republic." By J. W. Bennett. Cloth. Pp. 424. Price, $1.50. New York: The Broadway Publishing Company

much attention is about to close. It has been different in some respects from other administrations. This is an excellent time to take stock and to inquire what influence that administration has had upon this Republic. Pleas are being made for a continuation of certain governmental policies. We could not take better time to inquire whether we wish them continued."

In his introductory chapter the author quotes at length from President Roosevelt's merciless assault on his great predecessors in the Presidential chair. It is a chapter that cannot be called pleasant reading, but it is very valuable as showing not only the intemperate and reckless mental character of the President, but especially as showing how this worshiper of democracy-hating Hamilton has long hated the ideals and bed-rock principles held by the signers of the Declaration of Independence. For Thomas Jefferson, one of the greatest and most far-sighted and and enlightened statesmen the world has ever known, Mr. Roosevelt has a special aversion and contempt, which he constantly exhibits in vicious, unjust and oftentimes untrue criticisms. The great statesman whose keen penetration and far-sighted vision gained for the Republic the vast Western empire without the shedding of a drop of blood, and who later did so much to save the Oregon territory to the United States—this man whose full-orbed statesmanship and high moral idealism shone forth so splendidly in the Declaration of Independence, embodying as that immortal document does the creed of Jefferson, appears to be the black beast of the President; though his confidence in the power of moral ideals, his passion for peace, for justice and brotherhood make his statesmanship radiate a light which, compared with the vacillating, incoherent, constantly compromising, "good Lord, good devil" political opportunism of Theodore Roosevelt, is as the sunlight to a rush-light. The President, who has been so generous in his use of the short and ugly word, would have us believe that President Jefferson was "constitutionally unable to put a proper value on truthfulness." Moreover, he was "perhaps the most incapable executive that ever filled the Presidential chair." He speaks of the "utter weakness and folly of Jefferson's second term and the pitiable incompetence shown by both him and his successor." He furthermore speaks of the "cowardly infamy" of Jefferson and Madison, and he finds Jefferson "a timid, shifty doctrinnaire." He tells us that "Washington's administration was in error in not acting with greater decision about the Spanish posts," and in speaking of Monroe's appointment by Washington, he characterizes it as "an excellent example of the folly of trying to carry on a government on a non-partisan basis." Other prominent statesmen besides the many Presidents who come under the ban in Mr. Roosevelt's writings, are mercilessly attacked.

Gouverneur Morris he regards as a traitor, telling us that, "In fact, throughout the war of 1812 he appeared as the open champion of treason to the nation, dishonesty to the nation's creditors and subserviency to a foreign power;" while Harrison Gray Otis "was almost as bad as Morris himself." Of General Winfield Scott he observes: "A good general but otherwise a wholly absurd and flatulent person." Jefferson was the most overwhelmingly popular statesman of his day, yet Roosevelt finds that, "Four-fifths of the talent and ability and good sense of the country was to be found in the Federalist ranks."

But we cannot dwell on the quotations from Mr. Roosevelt's writings in which his illustrious predecessors and many of the great statesmen whose names will ever be an inspiration to lovers of free government and the cause of human progress, are sneered at and assailed.

From this suggestive chapter of quotations, Mr. Bennett passes to a sketch of Mr. Roosevelt's public career, and it would be well for the Republic, well for the cause of free institions and the people's weal, if every young man in America should read this vivid and graphic story of Theodore Roosevelt, the office-seeker and office-holder. Mr. Bennett not only tears away the mask and reveals the real Roosevelt in his double *rôle* of ever seeking to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, but he gives a succinct history of the master events of Roosevelt's political career and points out their influence on free and just government and the well-being of the people. He quotes liberally from the President's utterances and the comments of leading newspapers and critics, the whole giving us a clear-cut, vivid picture of the real Roosevelt as seen by a deeply thoughtful and fundamental democratic thinker. Space prevents our quoting as we would like to

from this work, every chapter being pregnant with historical facts which have been carefully covered up or ignored, and yet which have a vital bearing on the subject in hand.

In the chapter dealing with Mr. Roosevelt as Governor of New York, our author shows how he schemed for the nomination for chief executive; how he played fast and loose with the Independents, using them as a club to advance his own personal ends, until he got Boss Platt so frightened that the latter was ready to treat with him and indeed to give him the Republican nomination. He then shows how Roosevelt's love for the Independents suddenly cooled and the ambitious Rough-Rider, figuratively speaking, returned to the ring to his erstwhile love, accepting the pledge of the Platt machine.

It was while Governor of New York that the Erie Canal scandal again loomed large on the political horizon. It had reeked with corruption during the notoriously unsavory administration of Governor Black, but Roosevelt had given the friends of clean government to understand that the stagnant moral pools which were spreading their contagion throughout the body politic would be cleaned away and the political atmosphere rendered pure and wholesome, if it lay in his power. But alas for the opportunist politician who sells his independence by securing the endorsement of a political boss like Platt! Here are two typical and characteristic episodes in the administration of Governor Roosevelt that illustrate a fact that it is very important people everywhere should take cognizance of.

It has long been the practice or policy of the shrewd political bosses and politicians in office, when confronted by a popular scandal and when for personal or machine reasons they do not wish or dare to make a scape-goat of any of the guilty ones, to announce with flourish of trumpets a rigid investigation. The investigation usually lags apace—in fact, it generally drags along until corruption breaks out in new places and the public forgets the carnival of graft that had previously aroused its indignation, so that when the snail-crawling report comes to hand it is possible to have it pigeon-holed and for the responsible officials to find nothing sufficiently culpable to demand official removal or criminal prosecution. Sometimes the report is promptly forthcoming, and the facts reveal criminal action of the most amazing and startling character. Here, if the criminals are mighty men in the party—"safe and sane" upholders of privileged interests and great allies of the political bosses, the reports are hastily pigeon-holed.

The quotations we give below afford an excellent illustration of these methods of professional opportunist politicians whose master ambition is political preferment. They are thoroughly characteristic of President Roosevelt.

"As the session waned, Roosevelt harkened more and more to the voice of Platt. More and more did the Plattite courage rise. Aldrich and his friends had turned the canal into an asset of the up-state machine. It smelled to heaven. Every hungry political buzzard moistened his beak in the carrion. Investigation had been going on—aimless, pointless investigation. Platt smiled cynically. He did not see the use. It was useless to try to keep the semblance of cleanliness with fingers graft-reeking. Wiser than Platt, Roosevelt saw the need. He knew better the force of public opinion and the means of directing it. For a whole year the legislature had been preparing the whitewash. It must be applied skilfully. If the legislature would not appropriate money for completing the investigation, he would raise a fund himself. The legislature appropriated.

"In order to permit no questioning of good faith, Roosevelt commissioned two Democratic lawyers, Austin G. Fox and Wallace McFarlane, to go through the testimony of the investigating committee and find the Senegambian in the puzzle picture. It was done with proper trumpet-blast and drum-beat. His feline majesty of the United States Senate laughed again.

"Through the long summer the Democratic lawyers toiled through the mass of evidence collected by the investigating committee. They reported to Governor Roosevelt. Theirs was a Scotch verdict. Rottenness had been found. Canal affairs reeked with it, but Campbell W. Adams, engineer, and George W. Aldrich, superintendent, had been given immunity in advance by the absolute discretion vested in them by the legislature. Motives might be difficult to prove. For technical reasons well known to the legal profession, the lawyers could not recommend a prosecution.

"Roosevelt interpreted the report as favorable as possible to the canal looters. With

deft touch he applied the whitewash brush where it would do the most good. There had been no fraudulent collusion. A little mismnaagement, but nothing really wrong.

"This whole episode is prophetic of the Judson Harmon-Santa Fé episode of Presidential years, and of the Judge Calhoun-Venezuela episode. In all three cases investigations noisily heralded and bravely started fizzled out. Roosevelt learned something from the event of the canal. Here he gave out the report of the lawyers, and newspapers very awkwardly pointed out that Governor Roosevelt's conclusions of no wrong were not at all warranted by the lawyers' report. In the Santa Fé and Venezuela cases the report was just forgotten.

"Another very similar situation presented itself a year later. We cannot present it better than in extracts from a recent account of the incident written by Charles Edward Russell. After detailing how cleverly the State Trust Company had been built up as a portly and plethoric financial institution, and how the state bank examiner had found it good—in a wonderfully happy and prosperous condition, Mr. Russell says:

"'Suddenly in the midst of this fair day and cloudless sky, a bolt fell. On January 11, 1900, Mr. Kling presented to the Governor of New York a long communication in which he made specific and very grave charges against the management of the State Trust Company, and petitioned the appointment of a commission to investigate the company's affairs. . . . These charges, if true, were enough to send the whole board of directors to the penitentiary for long terms. . . .

"'The governor was much stirred by the revelations it contained. He declared at once that he must know the facts and all of them, and to that end he appointed as special commissioner to investigate the company, former Adjutant-General Avery D. Andrews, of New York City. General Andrews had been a member of the Police Board under the Strong administration. . . . In more recent times he became one of the directing spirits of the Asphalt Trust. . . . His instructions in the State Trust matter were to "go to the bottom of it no matter whom it might affect."

"'Now the State Trust matter properly belonged to the official care of H. P. Kilburn, who was then superintendent of the State Banking Department. For some reason not officially disclosed, the governor totally ignored Mr. Kilburn. . . . Whereupon Mr. Kilburn started an investigation of his own. . . . New York newspapers, taking the scent, conducted the third.

"'General Andrews finished first. His appointment was telegraphed to him on the twelfth, and he began work on the thirteenth. His investigation lasted something less than five hours. Then he ceased his labors and returned two documents. One was a report on what he had found and the other a personal letter asking to be relieved from further research in the matter. . . .

"'General Andrews was relieved according to his request; no one was appointed in his place; his report was locked up in Albany; and Superintendent Kilburn's report coming in shortly afterward, that, too, was consigned to oblivion. In spite of all demands the government refused to make either public, to give any idea of the contents of either, or to take any action on either. . . .

"'In New York City the district attorney and at Albany the attorney-general declined to act. A committee of the State Assembly was induced to demand a copy of the Kilburn report, but by the time it was produced the committee had voted six to five to return it with seals unbroken. . . .

"'On March twelfth the New York *World* managed to secure in some surreptitious way a copy of the Kilburn report (so sedulously suppressed at Albany), and published it practically in full. The country gasped at the official confirmation it contained of the worst charges made by Kling or hinted at by the newspapers. There seemed no longer a chance to doubt that the official investigation had been muzzled because of the prominence of the persons involved, who now stood forth in the white light, painfully conspicuous. They were:

"'Elihu Root, then Secretary of War, now Secretary of State, a director in the State Trust Company, long the personal and confidential adviser of Mr. Whitney and Mr. Ryan.

"'John W. Griggs, then Attorney-General of the United States.

"'Thomas F. Ryan.

"'William C. Whitney.

"'P. A. B. Widener.

"'R. A. C. Smith.

"'Anthony N. Brady.'

"Mr. Russell goes on to give the details of

the rotten transaction, with its illegal loans to dummies, politicians, and directors. Lou F. Payn, insurance commissioner, was one of the men to profit by the crookedness to the extent of more than $400,000. Elihu Root negotiated a loan to the dummy office boy.

"Roosevelt was learning. No awkward tales of 'indiscretions' should come from him officially involving personal and political friends. It was as important then to protect Elihu Root, the Union League reformer and patriot, as it was afterward to protect Paul Morton or Francis B. Loomis."

In further commenting on Governor Roosevelt's administration, while showing how this ambitious politician who jumped into the arena as the champion of reform and independence in political action while he was coquetting with the Cutting-Chapman contingent, had now become in a large way the handy-man of Boss Platt, Mr. Bennett says:

"There had been talk of Roosevelt for the Vice-Presidency, but the good governor had embarked upon a scheme for making a paradise, politically, of the Empire State. Roosevelt consulted Platt and Odell, each making a special trip to New York for that purpose. As a result Roosevelt gave out a statement that:

"'Under no circumstances could I, or would I, accept the nomination for the Vice-Presidency.' Roosevelt added: 'I am happy to state that Senator Platt cordially acquiesces in my views in the matter.'

"This must have been highly flattering to his feline majesty of the United States Senate. Whether it was as flattering to Governor Roosevelt's self-respect and independence of character may be judged each one for himself. The disgusted *Nation* explained later that Platt had discovered Roosevelt's secret ambition to be President, and with that magic ring he could immediately bring the Rough-Riding genie to heel:

"'Here am I, master; what will you?'

"Roosevelt went on to explain that great problems had been met and partially solved. He wanted to complete his work. He must not be interrupted in producing that political paradise. Open avowal of Platt domination did not augur well for the solution of Empire State problems, yet Roosevelt faced them in 1900 as clamorously assertive as before.

"Very moderate indeed is the roster of good legislation accomplished during Roosevelt's second year as governor. Some progress was made in dealing with labor problems and with tenement conditions. On the other side of the balance sheet were the rapid-transit measure and the measure dealing with the creation of a metropolitan election district. Both amended earlier laws and in both cases the laws were made more rather than less dangerous.

"Under the rapid-transit act was carried to a successful issue the absorption by the Ryans, Whitneys, Bradys and the Elkinses of franchises of untold value belonging to the people of New York. It meant literally loss to the Metropolis of hundreds of millions of dollars. Roosevelt advocated this law in an insistently importunate special message. Corruptly? Not at all. Roosevelt has irreproachable money integrity. The special student of political science and the life-time office-holder and politician, merely acted ignorantly, not knowing what he did. Roosevelt himself charitably says that an official fool is as bad as or worse than an official knave. Possibly his actions confirm his words.

"Roosevelt's connection with the Metropolitan election district superintendent bill will not bear the same explanation. This was a move on the part of the up-state machine to capture New York City. Since their opponents had the votes, the only chance of success was by controlling election machinery. It was a state 'force' bill applied to greater New York.

"One with democratic prejudices might imagine this a peculiarly iniquitous measure, violating as it did every principle of local self-government. But, of course, the high motive left this objection not of the weight of a feather. New York City's elections were to be taken out of the hands of New York's voters and turned over to an up-state partisan political dictator with an army of 'inspectors' to carry out his will. Governor Roosevelt and his partisans extended the power of this election superintendent so as to include the New York police. No other portion of the state was subject to such a law, thus demonstrating its partisan purpose. . . .

"Roosevelt's success on the whole as governor of New York was extremely moderate. The New York *Nation*, which was almost enthusiastic over Roosevelt's election to the governorship, had some caustic things to say after the governor had been elected Vice-President.

"'For six months,' said the *Nation*, 'he has

been out of the state most of the time, and the state has been out of his mind all of the time.' When asked to coöperate in some work as governor, Roosevelt remarked, 'Do n't come to me. My work is done.'

"'An illusion about Roosevelt,' said the *Nation*, January 3, 1901, 'is that he is fond of work. Really he is fond of excitement. . . . It is the clamorous life that appeals to him.' The *Nation* goes on to remark that Roosevelt would be glad to do great things if he could have a series of moving pictures to show him in the act.

"'It is notorious,' continues the ill-tempered journal, 'that no governor of recent years has been so ignorant of the actual business of the state.' As a result institutions suffered. The *Nation* found that politicians regarded Roosevelt as an 'easy mark.' He was impressed with vociferated logic. 'Boss Platt found out Roosevelt's secret and played upon it to the discomfiture of his hopes and plans. Ambition, with a dread of breaking with his party machine was the magic ring which Platt discovered. New York's good governor was irreverently referred to as "Theodore the Sudden." He is further pictured in this wise:

"'A restlessness of temperament almost pathological, love of excitement, a fatal fondness for haranguing the public, brilliant and dashing personal qualities, these characteristics are showy and win for their possessor troops of friends; but do they make the strong and efficient public servant?'

. . . . . .

"The New York *Tribune*, of February 13, 1900, commenting upon Roosevelt's announcement of the previous day that he would not accept the Vice-Presidency, but would continue to give his energies as governor to problems 'which were partly solved,' remarks:

"'It must be acknowledged that less has been actually accomplished thus far under his administration than prevalent estimate of his character and talents had led the people to expect. He would probably say that this was his misfortune, but there are many good citizens who think that it is partly his fault. He has never seemed to them to take full advantage of the fact that the machine did not dare nominate anybody else, and that he virtually elected himself.

"'His position at the beginning of his term was exceedingly strong, and he might have made it impregnable. Doubtless he has meant to do so, but he has not succeeded. He has rendered himself liable to attacks which will not be the easiest thing in the world to repel, and is now forced to admit that he needs another term to finish the work which his own indiscretions have made unnecessarily difficult. . . . In case his desire for reëlection is gratified, we shall hope to see him grow to the full stature befitting a great office.'

. . . . . .

"Odell, Platt's lieutenant, when finally made governor, far outdid Roosevelt in personal independence of Platt control.

"Considering the way in which Roosevelt was already enmeshed in the Platt net, and the keenness of his ambition for Presidential honors, it is probably fortunate for Roosevelt's fame that he was not accorded an additional term as governor."

Of Mr. Roosevelt as President Mr. Bennett has much to say that is richly worth the reading. It is, we think, safe to observe that more positive advance has been made during the administration of the present President toward unrepublican, autocratic and bureaucratic government than under any and perhaps all preceding administrations. While there has been a plethora of high-sounding promises about shackling cunning and curbing the avarice of the criminal rich, and while there has been a democratic veneer spread over the reactionary and autocratic actions of Mr. Roosevelt's administration, the steady and powerful undercurrent has been at all times away from republican ideals and the cherished theories of the fathers which differentiated our government from the class-ruled lands of the Old World—an undercurrent that has ever strongly been toward the ideals cherished by rulers of the temper of the German Emperor. And it is astounding to note how sophisticated have been many pleas advanced for measures advocated and rulings made which run counter to the basic principles of free government and which are as precisely in line with what the plutocracy desired as they are in strict harmony with class and despotic government. Mr. Bennett points out these things from time to time with great clearness. Here is something worth the reading as illustrative of the general undercurrent of the Roosevelt administration:

"Because a poor deluded wretch had killed a President, the spokesmen of our country were ready to throw to the winds constitutional safeguards fought and striven for since the time of King John. President Roosevelt

recommended that Federal courts should be given power to deal with crimes against the person of the President, or any man in the Presidential succession. The punishment of an attempt should be commensurate with the 'enormity' of the offense.

"Out of the public clamor that gave rise to this recommendation or at least made it opportune, he would fashion a law making crime against a few Federal officers and foreign diplomats different from crimes against American citizens. Roosevelt may be given the credit for trying to embody in law the principle which in Germany makes speaking disrespectfully of the Emperor a greater offense than killing a mechanic—if the killing be done by a member of the military caste. Our whole national life until the administration of President McKinley has been a protest against this very thing—this giving of greater rights and privileges to persons in office than to persons out of office. We were getting back to the precious principles of Charles Stuart.

"Our sapient historical statesman explained the queer retrogression on the ground that the attack upon the officer was an attack upon the institution. They had assassins murdering the Presidency and the chief justiceship, rather than merely killing the man who happened at the time to fill the position; although they would hardly contend that the street-sweeping service was murdered by the violent and felonious taking off of Mike Clancy, the street-sweeper. Therefore, whether it was Mike Clancy or William McKinley who was killed, the crime was just murder. Now one must become regicide, a new crime in the American calendar. But we would not call it by that name."

The review of President Roosevelt's admintistration, though far too brief to do full justice to the sinister innovations and disquieting precedents established, is searching in spirit and very valuable; while the chapters in which the writer contrasts the President with the great democratic leaders like Jefferson and Jackson, for whom Mr. Roosevelt has such measureless contempt, and the very luminous chapter on Alexander Hamilton, Mr. Roosevelt's idol, are rich in fruitfully suggestive facts that no lover of free and just government should be ignorant of.

The chapter on Roosevelt's distrust of democracy is especially valuable as showing clearly the fact that we have for years insistently pointed out—namely, that President Roosevelt is not only not a believer in a democratic-republican government, but that he is at heart a strong believer in and a worker for class-rule.

Chapter thirty-four, which closes the volume, is devoted to a critical view of Mr. Roosevelt, based on his official life and writings as they have been presented in the preceding pages of the book. It is a strong, incisive essay and closes with this admirable prophetic forecast:

"Roosevelt's place in history is difficult to forecast. A scrub oak immediately in front of us may overtop in our vision the lofty but distant mountain peak. Roosevelt's size cannot be determined finally until he moves farther away. Certainly he will grow smaller with the lapse of time. Whether he will shrink into a mere scrub oak of statesmanship is still an open question.

"As we view it, his future size will depend upon the future course of the Republic. This none but a prophet can foresee. Centuries are but years in a nation's life. A Presidential term but the episode of a fortnight. What it may have accomplished no man can say in advance. But the seed for the future harvest may be sown in a day. More than that—a death germ may be planted in a moment. What moment is beyond our ken. Seeds of the white death lie dormant in many a robust bosom, unsuspected for years. It took Rome fourteen hundred years to disintegrate after the beginning of the end.

"If this nation should become a great imperialistic military power, inspiring admiration by its splendor and fear by its momentary strength; if after a hectic feverish course of apparent brilliancy, should ensue the palsied inefficiency of bureaucracy, with the inevitable death and disintegration, some future Gibbon, telling some future people, lusty in the strength of young manhood, the story of its rise and fall, would designate the time of the Spanish war as the day upon which the seeds of the white death had been sown. Theodore Roosevelt would be written down as the President who had seen to it that these seeds had taken root. And Roosevelt would be remembered.

"'First, freedom and then glory; when that fails, wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last.'

"Roosevelt would come in the beginning of the epoch of glory.

"On the other hand, should the bright sunlight and pure air of life-giving freedom

strengthen our Republic to throw off the menace of this white death—destroy this cankering germ which imperial ambition has planted in its bosom; if defying time, our Republic should live a democratic sanctuary through the ages, then the period of Roosevelt will be but a feverish, unsubstantial dream. He shall then be counted as one of the evanescent, inconsequent incidents of our national life.

"But one enigma will stand through time and eternity: Why democrats devoted to the Republic could have come to regard Roosevelt as their champion."

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

*The Religion of a Democrat.* By Charles Zueblin. Cloth. Pp. 192. Price, $1.00 net. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

PROFESSOR ZUEBLIN is one of the most earnest and fundamental of the present-day thinkers who have made a study of government from the view-point of progressive democracy, who conceive the next step in social progress to be the emancipation of industry, just as the Reformation emancipated the brain and the democratic revolution of the eighteenth century emancipated men politically wherever its sway extended.

The work before us contains six chapters devoted to the discussion of "Temperament and Personality," "The Constraint of Orthodoxy," "The Decay of Authority," "Religion and the Church," "Religion and the State," and "Impersonal Immortality."

While we are not prepared to endorse all Professor Zueblin's positions, and while we think in the case of his strictures on Christian Science his conclusions have been based on superficial investigation and the criticism of those ignorant of or unfriendly to this religious faith, the work as a whole is one of the most valuable recent contributions to the economic discussions of the present. Especially is his chapter on "Religion and the State" rich in helpful suggestions and facts that are vital to the cause of good government at the present crisis. Professor Zueblin holds that, "Religion is the expression of man's relation to the universal, ultimate and infinite. However," he says, "religions may differ, they are comprehended in this relation, and whatever seeks this expression is religion."

He believes it entirely practicable for there to be a state religion devoid of all the dogmas over which men war; a religion in which Jew, Catholic and Protestant will have no chance to fight and one that will deepen and enrich life and exalt the ideals of the people, spiritually vitalizing and enthusing the masses and leading to a love and reverence for all that is best, noblest and truest and to a passion for humanity that shall make the Golden Rule the rule of life.

He does not believe in teaching creeds or dogmas, and he is opposed to forcing the people who do not believe in certain kinds of religious tenets or dogmas to be taxed for the support of those beliefs, as in the end is the case where church property is exempt from taxation.

"In America, where the state church is scorned, and religion and politics are supposed to be divorced, there is, however, the exemption of ecclesiastical property from taxation. This violates the equal rights of citizens by involving the greater taxation of others who do not believe in the ministrations of these churches. It is more practicable for the state to provide edifices for common worship, or for the consecutive service of different bodies of religionists, so that all may have the use of public property without discrimination, than to exempt sectarian church property. If people will have private churches, they should be permitted to do so and to pay for them; but if they will worship in common, or in a common building, as often occurs in Switzerland, it may promote universal religious fellowship.

"The field houses of the Chicago small parks may be used, so the authorities declare, for all worthy public purposes which are not political or religious. A great advance is shown in the frequent use of the English town halls for all public purposes without distinction, so long as there is no discrimination. The

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

promotion of universal religion by the nation may be furthered at least by the public provision of places of worship and religious instruction for all who are willing thus to recognize the supremacy of the state, without insisting on special privileges from the state for the private worship of their private God in their private meeting-house."

He would have the public schools open to the public, when not in use, for the presentation of religious truths.

"There ought," he tells us, "to be no opposition to the use of the public school for the teaching of the Bible, provided it is not a part of the school curriculum and is permitted to every group of people who wish to give such instruction outside of school hours. It is deplorable that the instruction might be given by dogmatists and sectarians instead of by a trained teacher in literature; but that must be the solution until the belief in the inspiration of the scriptures shall cease to divide people into sects. Meanwhile, it would be much better to have this public form of instruction subject to review at the bar of public opinion, than to leave biblical and other ethical instruction to the incompetents who are the majority of the staff of any average Sunday-school."

Again he says:

"The state must officially enlarge the scope of the public school, without regard to the jealousy of private institutions, educational or ecclesiastical. The public school-house must must be used, not only in the evening, but on Sunday. As Dr. Stanton Coit points out, the hours when the masses of the people, because of rest and leisure, are most susceptible to higher influences are Sunday morning and afternoon. The church does not reach most of them on Sunday morning, except at hours which would not interfere with the further use of the school-house. The spiritualizing impulse which would come from the opening of the school buildings for all worthy public purposes is entirely comparable to the combined moral influence exercised to-day by all churches."

His arraignment of the state for its shortcomings is worthy of attention:

"The state," he observes, "must be held responsible for the political and social disabilities of the citizen. If he is ignorant, the state should educate him; if he is corrupt, the state should discipline him; if color or sex is a handicap, the state should prevent discrimination. Instead of allowing its citizens to be disfranchised by political or economic masters, by sexual, racial or intellectual superiors, it should permit the widest suffrage, and allow the citizen to disfranchise himself, if he will, by the inefficient use of a voting machine. No man can be trusted to dispense the franchise to others. The state must be impersonal in the treatment of its citizens and thus assail the strongholds of privilege in the name of a genuine democracy.

"The state is responsible also for ugliness. The destruction of the beauties of nature, the disfigurement of the natural features of the cities, the bad planning, the deficient open spaces, the smoke and dirt, the unscientific buildings and inartistic sky-lines, the inaccessibility of art, often the uncomeliness of the individual's face or figure—marred by preventable pre-natal or post-natal neglect—are within the power of correction by public regulation.

"Similarly, the state can be held accountable for ignorance. When a legalized system of popular education tolerates six millions of illiterates (of whom two millions are native white people) as is the case in this country; when the statistical school age is from six to twenty, and most children leave school at twelve or thirteen; when the admirably equipped high schools and universities are attended by a small fraction of the population, while the majority are too early condemned to the stunting effects of exhausting or monotonous labor, the state cannot shift the responsibility to the individual."

He believes that the work to be done will require time, but that the state can and must perform it.

"The struggle for the synthesis of human wants, in the name of the people," he tells us, "will at first take the form of rescuing from the economic institutions the control of wealth, health and sociability; from the ecclesiastical institutions, the control of taste, knowledge and righteousness."

He pleads for the throwing open of the libraries, art galleries, museums, etc., to the people on every Sunday.

"The function of the state in restoring art to the people will appear with the universal opening of libraries, museums, art galleries and music-halls on Sunday, and the provision of a municipal theater, with special consideration given to the presentation of superior dramas and operas on Sunday. The domi-

nance of ancient, ecclesiastical ideas, instead of modern social ones (as witnessed in New York in the reaction against the enforcement of the Blue Laws), leads only to the most unsatisfactory and compromising modification of the character of Sunday performances. A logical, moral and progressive regulation would be to limit all theatrical managers to a six days' week. Economic pressure would then close the theater on Monday as is commonly done in Europe, and give the people their Sunday amusement without interfering with a day of rest for the actors and employés. The state alone can enforce one rest day in seven; and while it is desirable that so far as possible people generally observe the same day of rest, for purposes of either recreation or worship, it is only possible to make the law all-inclusive by letting it be elastic."

Professor Zueblin may be called the apostle of progressive democracy embodied in the ideal of "all for all."

"Democratize morality," he exclaims; "democratize knowledge; democratize taste—and secure the synthesis of these, reconciling the sacred and the secular, by democratizing Sunday! 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.'

. . . . . .

"Is the synthesis of human wants an academic hypothesis, is the larger democracy utopian, must the state remain political and inconsequential? The nineteenth century answers by both philosophy and movements of great significance in the furthering of the higher life of organized society. A study of their tendencies points unmistakably to the social state as distinguished from the police state. The revolt against eighteenth-century formalism and conventionality was expressed in the ramifications of the romantic movement. The romantic movement included the reaction against pietism in the Methodist revival of the eighteenth century, and the ritualistic movement of the nineteenth; it included also the Gothic revival, with its protest against the formal, unenthusiastic, pseudo-classic art, and with its constructive social philosophies of Walter Scott, Pugin and Ruskin; it included the 'return to nature' of Rousseau, the destructive criticisms of Voltaire; the 'illumination' in Germany, and the fertilizing forces of Goethe, Kant and Hegel; and, not least, included the political revolutions in America and France and the industrial revotion in Great Britain."

We have referred to the criticism by Professor Zueblin of Christian Science, as based on a superficial examination of this religious concept, or as colored by the criticisms of its enemies, rather than based on a knowledge of its tenets and of the lives of its adherents. After criticizing Mohammedanism and Mormonism, our author thus proceeds to notice Christian Science:

"A more refined, but equally specialized, emphasis of the physiological is found in that modern form of Epicureanism, Christian Science. Christian Scientists are normally no more sensual than worthy Epicureans, of whom it could not have been said that 'their god is their belly'; but the inevitable result of focussing the attention on the body, even when it involves the denial of bodily ailments, is to give to physical welfare an inordinate amount of attention. There are broad-minded people in the Christian Science churches; there are very kindly people, and socially disposed people; their positive contribution is found in the denial of the time-honored conception that virtue is inevitably associated with pain; but their complacent, personal satisfaction with health, physical or spiritual, interferes with social service and social organization. Christian Science opposes by its cheerful inertia the aggressive movements toward the unity of society."

To persons who have made a careful study of Christian Science, the above criticism will be so essentially absurd that it cannot fail to amaze and pain those who admire the general breadth of view, earnestness and broad humanitarianism of Professor Zueblin. Christian Scientists have often been charged with asceticism, and one of the most positive and persistent of all the major charges advanced against Christian Science is its undue subordination of sexual impulses, which it is thought by many tends to discourage sexual relations, even in the marriage state.

In regard to the body, there is no tenet of Christian Science more clearly or impressively emphasized than the importance of subordinating all thought of the body to the idea of supremacy or mastery of the spiritual; while Mrs. Eddy teaches, and all the writings of the Christian Science leaders emphasize the fact that the healing of physical ailments is the least of the great works which Christian Science claims to accomplish for the individual. It is the regeneration of the life—the awaken-

ing of man to his real birthright as a son of God, created in the image and likeness of Deity, that is the master aim of Christian Science. The circumstance that Christian Science does emphasize the healing of the sick is due to the fact that this great feature of Christ's ministry, this command so imperatively enjoined on those who should carry His gospel to all the world, and which so universally marked the practice of the Primitive Church, has been discarded, ignored and virtually repudiated by the faithless church since the days when Christianity became corrupt, ritualized and paganized. Hence the healing of the sick as one of the signs that should mark discipleship is insisted upon, not as something of major importance in itself, but as a positive command and as one of the most practical ways of awakening the sleeping spiritual consciousness.

Now in the light of the teachings of Christian Science and its practice, to charge that this religion gives an inordinate amount of attention to physical welfare is the height of absurdity. To those who, like the Socialists, lay the major stress on material betterment and on externalized or organized effort, the basic thought and methods of the Christian Scientists will seem to be erroneous, for the reason that the two systems of thought start from essentially different premises. Their views of life may be said to be almost mutually exclusive. The Socialists place the master emphasis on the material man; the Christian Scientists place the emphasis on the spiritual man.

This criticism, that seems to us erroneous and due to a lack of understanding of the real character of the subject discussed, is in our opinion the gravest defect in the critical part of the work; and though, as has been observed, we are not at all times prepared to accept Professor Zueblin's views, we regard this work as on the whole one of the most helpful and constructive contributions to economic progress which has appeared in recent years.

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*The Encyclopedia of Social Reform.* Edited by W. D. P. Bliss, assisted by Rudolph M. Binder, Ph.D., with the coöperation of 180 special contributors. Cloth. Pp. 1,325. Price, $7.50. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

SEVERAL years ago it was our pleasure to recommend to the readers of THE ARENA Dr. Bliss's *Encyclopedia of Social Reform* as an indispensable work for all thoughtful citizens concerned in good government, civic advance and social justice. The present volume, though it bears the title of its predecessor, is not a revision of the old edition. It is a new work. Only a few purely historical and economic articles have been retained as they appeared in the former volume. It is in fact an evolution, being a far more comprehensive and a vastly superior work to the preceding volume. Here Dr. Bliss has had the assistance of 180 specialist contributors; and the latest and most authoritative statements and news relating to every subject that bears in a vital way on social and economic relations of organized society and the individual, are concisely and lucidly presented; and for the most part the treatment is highly satisfactory as presenting not merely the authoritative facts germane to the subject, but the facts are advanced by writers imbued with an enlightened altruistic spirit.

Among the scores of specialist contributors we mention the following: Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D.; the late Ernest Crosby; Edwin Markham; Professor Charles Zueblin; Professor J. R. Commons; Dr. S. J. Barrows; Dr. Josiah Strong; Professor Franklin H. Giddings; William J. Bryan; Eltweed Pomeroy, William Mailly, Samuel Gompers, John Burns, Professor E. W. Bemis, Ph.D., and Carroll D. Wright.

Great pains has been taken by Dr. Bliss to make the work authoritative in all respects. Articles on leading writers and their work for social reform have been, when possible, submitted to the subjects before the copy went to press; and in all other particulars the editor has striven to make this volume as complete and reliable a mirror as possible of the vital facts relating to the general field covered by the encyclopedia. It is a volume that no person interested in social and economic progress, a democratic state and that measure of justice and right that must underlie a civilized social order can afford to be without.

Among the hundreds upon hundreds of topics that will appeal to live men and women are those of "Child-Labor," "Adulteration of Food," "Expenditure and Cost of Living," "Corruption in Government and Commerce," "Direct-Legislation," "Factory Legislation" and "Municipal-Ownership."

Here, as throughout the work, the subjects

are treated as briefly as possible for lucid presentation, but the facts and data given are sufficient to inform the general reader and impress his mind with the importance of the subject discussed.

We take pleasure in urging all readers of THE ARENA who feel it possible to do so, to add this volume to their libraries. It is a reference work that no library of a patriotic, justice-loving citizen should be without.

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*The Cage.* By Charlotte Teller. Cloth. Pp. 340. Price, $1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

I.

THIS novel is one of the best romances that have been written by an American author dealing with the portentous struggle of the industrial millions with modern capitalism. Unlike most novels which deal with social or economic conditions, *The Cage* is a powerful and convincing romance rich in human interest and abounding in strong dramatic situations which are rarely if ever strained or melodramatic in character, while one of its chief merits is found in its dramatic character. The serious thought or the message is ever present, but is also at all times subordinated to the human interest, while here the most delicate subjects are handled in a manner that cannot offend the most sensitive tastes and marked skill is evinced in contrasting the two dominant concepts which concern moral idealists in the presence of social and economic progress—that of the old order which glories in the *noblesse oblige* theory, and the democratic idea of equality of opportunities and of rights for all—a nobler order and a finer manhood with justice rather than charity as the goal for society and government. The author also displays considerable knowledge of the deeper things of life, the inner workings of the heart and the complex human action, which indicates that she is a woman of strong imagination.

So strong and promising is this first work by Miss Teller that we confidently predict that should she be so circumstanced that she could give her thought to the writing of fiction and would take the time demanded for the production of finished work, she could easily win a permanent place among the great novelists of the New World.

II.

*The Cage* is a study of life among the working class in Chicago at the time of the Haymarket riots. The section of the city in which the heroine, Frederica Hartwell, and her father, the Rev. Dr. Hartwell, reside, is a poor district adjacent to Sloane's great lumber works. Dr. Hartwell had graduated from the same college as Mr. Sloane, the millionaire lumber dealer, and the clergyman had some years before decided to leave his wealthy and fashionable church in order to work among the poor of the city. Sloane had built a chapel for Hartwell and for some years had paid the clergyman's salary. Mrs. Hartwell had died many years prior to the opening of the story, and the only other residents of the clergyman's home were his daughter, Frederica, or Freda as she was frequently called, and Miss Anne Forester, a lady of wealth who had left her social world to help carry forward the labors to which Dr. Hartwell has dedicated his life. Back of the Hartwell flat lives the family of Michael Flanagan. The head of the family is a policeman whose weakness for whiskey keeps the large family in poverty. Above the Hartwells resides a German family named Schneider.

The hero of the romance is Eugene Harden, a wealthy Austrian, a young man who is, above all else, an idealist, a man with a poet's imagination and that passionate love for justice that marks the higher and finer natures. He has come under the spell of the social vision. He sees that as the new day that followed the night of the Dark Ages and ushered in Modern Times was marked by a momentous revolution in which the Christian world was engaged in one of the greatest conflicts known to history, a conflict for intellectual freedom; and as the age of democracy was marked by another mighty revolution in which Western civilization fought for political freedom, so now civilization is entering the third great struggle in the battle of society for emancipation—the revolution for the realization of industrial freedom. Harden has joined the world movement for social democracy, but he is content to work slowly by the step-by-step method toward the goal. The first great battle is for an eight-hour day, and he enters into the struggle with heart and soul.

Dr. Hartwell has been preaching the doctrine of resignation, contentment with one's

lot and faith in a better time in a world to come. He is sincere and lives a beautiful life of self-sacrifice and devotion to the poor in his midst, as do also his daughter Frederica and Anne Forester. This group represents one wing of the modern idealists who are struggling to better evil conditions, but their idealism is that of the reactionaries. The old order doctrine of *noblesse oblige* is the master note of their creed. Charity for the unfortunates rather than that larger measure of justice that would make all who were willing to work free men and women is the mainspring of action among these idealists.

Eugene Harden brings into the home of Dr. Hartwell the other idealistic theory—that of democracy and progress, the ideal of justice based on equality of opportunities and of rights, in opposition to all forms of privilege and protection for classes by which the favored few are able to divert unearned wealth into their pockets at the expense of other wealth-creators. The young Austrian, without intending to do so, wins the heart of Frederica and arouses the suspicion and dislike of Anne, while the doctor gradually comes under his social views. But Harden is not a free man. He has left Austria because he found it impossible to live with a profligate woman he had married to save the life and name of his married brother. Divorce proceedings have been instituted, but the case has dragged and has not been decided when he comes to America. Frederica is loved by Alec, the son of Mr. Sloane, but she does not return the young man's affection.

When the labor agitation begins and Dr. Hartwell is found fighting with the workers in the struggle for an eight-hour day, Mr. Sloane evinces the spirit of modern capitalism. He considers Dr. Hartwell as one of his hired men and refuses to permit the chapel to be used for the meetings of the workingmen. Then begins a series of exciting episodes in which the hero and heroine play very important parts and in which all the other leading characters are involved to a greater or less extent.

A sinister figure in the story is that of Gus Lange, an illegitimate son of Harden's father. He looms large in the romance, but principally as an evil genius, ruining Flanagan's daughter and also becoming the handy-man of Sloane in a plot to destroy the unions.

Harden, hearing that at last he is free, weds Frederica, but the honeymoon is scarcely over before grave complications arise that for a time wreck the happy home and threaten to blast the lives of the principal characters. Simultaneously with these happenings comes a tragedy of still greater moment. The capitalists have conspired to crush the unions and reduce the toilers to subjugation. They force a strike and foment in as great a degree as possible popular prejudice against the workers. Excitement runs high; public meetings are held, while the officials array themselves on the side of capitalism. Then comes the throwing of a bomb by an unknown party and the merciless massacre of innocent people by the police. This tragedy is followed by the killing of the anarchists who are suspected but never proven to be guilty of the crime.

It is while this grave judicial offense is being committed that the clouds begin to lift from the group who have won the interest and affection of the reader. The story ends in a manner far more satisfactory than at one time seems probable.

Whether considered as a strong love romance of absorbing interest or as a serious and admirable study of social conditions, presented with artistic skill, this novel is well worth the reading.

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*Mr. Crewe's Career.* By Winston Churchill. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 498. Price, $1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

I.

THE REIGN of corrupt corporate wealth operating through political bosses and money-controlled machines, is doomed. The nation at last is awaking to the fact that a deadly foe is at the throat of liberty. The magazines and the novelists have become perhaps the greatest popular educators in this respect; though the repeated exhibitions of far-reaching corruption in municipal, state, national and general commercial life that have been tracked to the very throne-rooms of the "interests," and the appalling revelations of almost incredible law-defiance and corrupt practices brought out in various official investigations, have demonstrated beyond all question the fact that magazine *exposés* and politico-economic romances, while affording popular and vivid descriptions of present-day conditions, have understated the actual facts rather than exaggerated them.

Some months ago we reviewed Henry George's extremely able novel, *The Romance*

*of John Bainbridge*, dealing largely with the corruption of city government by public-service corporations, such as has been witnessed in St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York and various other American cities. We have also noticed at length David Graham Phillips' great novels, *The Plum-Tree*, *The Deluge*, *Light-Fingered Gentry* and *The Second Generation*, all exposing phases of present-day immoral business or political conditions. In our March issue we made an extended review of Alfred O. Crozier's strong romance, *The Magnet*, in which that division of the feudalism of criminal wealth which is known as "high finance" and which manipulates the nation's finances from Wall Street and by gambling, stock-watering, market-rigging and various other forms of indirection is acquiring fabulous wealth by morally criminal methods is laid bare in the most convincing and thought-compelling work of fiction that has dealt with this subject. In our June issue we noticed Mr. I. N. Stevens' very important politico-economic romance, *The Liberators*, in which the destructive influence of the public-service corporations on American political life is vividly and effectively brought home to the conscience of the reader. This month we desire to notice Mr. Winston Churchill's latest and we think by far his greatest novel.

In *The Magnet* and *The Liberators*, while both contained a strong and very interesting love romance, the story is subordinate to the message. In Mr. Churchill's work this order is reversed. *Mr. Crewe's Career* is primarily a love romance, but the story is nevertheless one of the most vivid and accurate pen-pictures of the overthrow of popular rule by corrupt railroad corporations that has been drawn. In many respects it reminds us of Mr. Churchill's preceding novel, *Coniston*. Both books deal largely with railroad domination rendered possible through the political boss and the money-controlled machine.

II.

Among the leading characters in the romance are the following:

Mr. Crewe, a millionaire reformer—for personal advancement, at heart a corporation man and a reactionary, always ready to betray the people to serve his interests, because he is innocent of high moral convictions and is completely under the sway of modern so-called "practical" business methods.

Augustus P. Flint, the multi-millionaire president of the great North-Eastern railroads, the real and absolute master of the commonwealth. His headquarters are in New York City, and from his magnificent offices in the metropolis he rules his dependency with autocratic sway, by means of his perfect control over the Republican machine of the state, the editors of the commonwealth, most of the lawyers and many leading citizens who are either beneficiaries of or at the mercy of the railroad.

The Hon. Hilary Vane, prime minister to Augustus Flint, a lawyer of strong intellectual power and skilled in all the modern methods of a corporation attorney and a political lobbyist. He is the working master of the Republican machine. He is not only the leading counsel of the railway but he is the head of the railroad lobby and dispenses all favors from "the powers that be." He has under him an army of lawyers and handy-men scattered throughout the state who are retained by free passes and other railway favors that the consuming and producing public has to pay for as part of the earnings of the railway system.

Hilary Vane also has certain lieutenants who are the absolute bosses in different sections of the state. Of these Brish Bascom, Jacob Botcher, Samuel Doby and Mr. Ridout are the master spirits. These men through various devious methods, not the least of which have been loaning money and taking mortgages, have the farmers and various other citizens in their districts completely in their power in so far as politics are concerned. With the aid of the pass-bribed editors and lawyers they are able to control all the political conventions and make up the slates, which it is needless to say, are composed of men who are for most part favorable to the railway interests.

Austen Vane, son of Hilary Vane, a brilliant young man, inclined to be wild in youth. After graduating from Harvard he went west, became a cow-boy, shot a man in self-defense, and hastily returned home where he settled as a lawyer. In spite of his somewhat reckless early years, Austen Vane is an idealist, a dreamer who on the threshold of manhood awakens to the solemn demand which the Republic makes upon her young men. He has inherited much from his high-minded, poetic mother, who died in his early childhood. The young man becomes a sincere reformer. He sees the debauching of govern-

ment and the destruction of popular rule by the railroads operating through the machine, and though his father is the master spirit of this machine, he determines to stand for the popular interests.

Victoria Flint, the beautiful, accomplished, idealistic and unconventional daughter of Augustus Flint. As Austen is the hero of the love romance, Victoria is the heroine. She idolizes her father and believes him to be the soul of honor as he is the embodiment of generosity and kindness in his home. But she is also under the compulsion of "the love of the best." She is a fine type of the normal American girl with heart of the true woman and soul of the poet. As Flint has instantly seen in Austen a man of great strength of character who might easily become a formidable foe, and has conceived for him a fierce antagonism, Victoria, attracted by the natural nobility and idealism of his nature, is strongly drawn to him.

The Hon. Adam Hunt, long chairman of of the railway commission, who for many years has been argus-eyed in the railway's interests, serving his masters against the people with such fidelity that the real rulers have promised him the governorship.

Speaker Doby, handy-man of the interests, who appoints all the committees from the list made out by Hilary Vane.

Farmer Redbrook, leader of honest men, a statesman in the rough.

Tom Gaylord, of the Gaylord Lumber Company, a strong friend of Austen Vane. The Gaylord Lumber Company is at outs with the railroad interests.

Zeb Meader, run over by the railroad train and rescued from poverty by the culpable railroad through the legal services of Austen Vane.

Giles Henderson, an unknown man bound to the railroad interests and selected by them to defeat Crewe when Hunt's unsavory record is so exposed as to render him unavailable.

Mrs. Pomfret, an Anglo-maniac with a marriageable daughter whom the interested mother desires to wed to Mr. Crewe.

Mr. Ragely, a young Englishman of wealth and especially in love with Victoria Flint.

Euphrasia, housekeeper to Hilary Vane and foster-mother of Austen.

There are also numerous feudal chiefs or bosses, retainers and handy-men of the railways, farmers and other insurgents.

While the novel is concerned largely with the career of Mr. Crewe, its chief interest from first to last is centered in Austen Vane and his struggle for the restoration of free government and the overthrow of the railroad oligarchy based upon and bulwarked by corrupt practices. The struggle of the high-minded young lawyer to be true to his sense of justice and right, when by so doing he is opposing his father and enraging the father of the woman he loves, and the effort of Victoria to find the real truth of the situation; the contending forces that battle in her breast; the picturesque and sensational career of Mr. Crewe, the practical man who does not propose to fail in anything, and the original way in which he proposes to the lady of his choice, afford ample material for the novelist to weave a most fascinating and absorbingly interesting story, quite apart from the political interest and history with which the romance deals; for it is safe to say there is more actual present-day history here given than many contemporary historians have presented who presume to write of prevailing conditions.

The characters of Austen Vane and Victoria Flint bear strong marks of resemblance to Mr. Churchill's other heroes and heroines, a striking evidence of the novelist's imaginative limitations that cannot escape the reader. But we think that they are the best drawn of any of his lovers. Indeed, the book, though it suggests some of his preceding novels, strikes, we think, a deeper note and evinces a steady growth on the part of the author.

As a love story it is rich in interest and thoroughly satisfying, while as a careful, critical study of present-day political life in states like New Hampshire, Colorado, Pennsylvania and other commonwealths where the public-service corporations or what are known as the "interests" are the real governing power, it is one of the most graphic, accurate and convincing studies that has appeared.

Mr. Churchill knows whereof he writes. He has been leading a forlorn hope in New Hampshire in recent years against the powerful, corrupt and long-continued rule of the Boston and Maine Railroad, and it is pleasant to note that this young knight of clean politics and fundamental democracy sounds no note of discouragement or pessimism. He sees the fact that the thinking Americans are everywhere awakening, and, as a prominent American judge said to us not four weeks ago, "The people are at last becoming aroused,

and God help the great criminals who are corrupting government and robbing the masses, when the voters get fully awake to the situation."

Mr. Churchill sees and knows that at last the public mind is becoming aroused, and he reads in this awakening the overthrow of the present intolerable and degrading politico-commercial order and the restoration of popular government in the Republic. This is a novel that every American interested in pure and honest rule and free institutions should read and freely circulate, as it will hasten the great awakening that shall save democracy from the night of reaction and despotism.

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*The Gates That Shall Not Prevail.* By Herbert M. Farrington. Cloth. Pp. 298. Price, $1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

THIS is a strong, inspiring and uplifting romance; a story of a great soul who struggled and achieved. Paul Servain, the hero, is the illegitimate son of an English nobleman. Up to the time he is twenty years of age he is abundantly supplied with money by some unknown person. Then he is made aware of the facts in regard to his birth. He indignantly refuses to accept further aid from the man who so shamefully wronged his mother, and determines to carve out a career for himself. Years later a famous artist desires to paint a symbolic picture which has long haunted his imagination—"The Gates That Shall Not Prevail," representing a rocky summit on which stands a cross and around which the elements are raging in all their fury. To the cross clings a solitary figure, buffeted and beaten by the winds. The artist is in search of a model for this figure. A friend tells him that he knows exactly the man, a priest named Father Paul, who is doing a great work among the masses in the poorest section of London, where he is almost worshiped by his parishioners. This priest is Paul Servain. He at length consents to pose for the artist, and a picture is painted which is the most notable of the year. Through the artist Paul comes in contact with two people who have a powerful influence on his life: one a beautiful but unprincipled woman, who determines to bring him to her feet as she has brought countless others; the other a man, his father. The story of the priest's temptation and triumph; of his redemptive influence on the life of Violetta; and of his final struggle and victory when his father's identity is revealed to him and the dying man beseeches his forgiveness, is told with great simplicity and power. *The Gates That Shall Not Prevail* is one of the best novels of the season.

AMY C. RICH.

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*The Avenger.* By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 300. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

IN HIS latest romance Mr. Oppenheim has fully equaled any of his more recent novels, although it is far inferior to his earlier work. Of late years he has chosen to devote his unquestioned talent to the production of tales of political intrigue and crime; stories admirable of their kind but lacking any serious purpose.

In *The Avenger* the interest is unusually well sustained and the revelations of the closing chapters quite unexpected. The hero is a particularly attractive young man, and the heroine, over whose head rests the shadow of a horrible crime, is a thoroughly charming and lovable girl. There is not a dull page in the volume and many of the scenes are highly dramatic.

AMY C. RICH.

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*The Lure of the Mask.* By Harold MacGrath. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 401. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

MR. MACGRATH'S novels are as artificial in character as were the otherwise charming romances of the late English novelist, Henry Harland. But the novels of the author of *My Friend Prospero* always carried an atmosphere free from the reek and taint of liquor, gambling and the morally death-dealing influence of a section of present-d y life that includes the parvenue aristocracy that assumes to represent society, and a Bohemian contingent that, whether or not conscions of the fact, lives by the materialistic rule, "Let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die."

Not so with Mr. MacGrath. His characters, especially in the present novel, are

Bohemian in character. Some belong to the aristocratic world and some to the world of the strolling players or rather opera-singers. One of the leading young men in whom he strives to interest the reader has a love for gambling only exceeded by his love of the bottle; and despite the lecture he delivers on the evil and immorality of Monte Carlo, he makes this young man the fortunate winner of eighteen hundred dollars when he stands sorely in need of funds at this hell of modern civilization. Indeed, this novel is pervaded by a morally enervating atmosphere whose subtlety and insinuating character render it all the more injurious, and nullify any possible good of the vocal morality that from time to time confronts the reader. This and the wholly artificial, not to say impossible characters of the story, constitute its positive defects.

On the other hand, Mr. MacGrath possesses a bright, entertaining style. His characters are well drawn for superficial sketches. There is plenty of action and not a few strikingly dramatic situations which are treated in a thoroughly artistic manner. The graceful, flowing style, the artistry and the action, the bits of fine description, and the many exciting scenes, which are often very much out of the ordinary, invest the story with much of the charm and element of popularity that marked *The Man on the Box;* and indeed, in many respects this is a stronger story than was its popular predecessor.

The romance concerns a rich New York bachelor; a mysterious singer who turns out to be the wife of a dissolute Italian prince; the game-loving New York clubman to whom we have referred; an opera-singer, a bright young girl who wins the heart of the clubman; a number of parties belonging to the opera troupe; the dissolute prince, in search of his elusive wife; and Giovanni, an Italian peasant in the service of Hillard, the hero, whose one desire in life is to kill the man who has ruined his daughter, this man being none other than the dissolute prince. The scenes of the story are laid chiefly in New York and Italy.

Persons who enjoy artificial tales of present-day society life of the character indicated above, will enjoy this work. Indeed, it will doubtless have a large sale with those who wish a well-written romance whose sole object is to entertain and who do not demand that a novel shall possess the elements of probability.

*The Adventures of Charles Edward.* By Harrison Rhodes. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 289. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

This is a thoroughly delightful volume, quite out of the beaten track of humorous literature. Charles Edward and his equally charming and original wife, Lady Angela, are constantly engaging in the most surprising adventures which hold the reader's interest by the novelty, freshness and charm of the sketch, the genial character of the leading actors and the delicate humor that pervades all the work. The volume contains ten short stories, all describing the surprising adventures of the hero and his wife. This is one of the best light books for summer reading or for diversion during a journey that has appeared this season. It is illustrated with a number of excellent pen and ink drawings.

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*The Metaphysical Shakespeare: The Merchant of Venice.* By Julia Ruggles. Leather, stamped in gold. Pp. 92. Price, $1.00. Pasadena, California: The Occidental Publishing Company.

This little volume is highly interesting and suggestive, although we imagine few readers will go as far as does the author in her assumption that Shakespeare had in mind the definite purpose of presenting the spiritual verities of the New Testament, as is outined by the author in the following extract from her introduction:

"Nevertheless, the real source of his plays has never yet been named. After mature consideration, I here take the stand, without reservation, that Shakespeare's sole source of inspiration was the Bible.

"It was his deliberate intention to dramatize the fundamental teachings of Christianity, so far as he understood them. This was his Alpha and Omega. The simplest truths of the Scriptures inspired his liveliest scenes and most dramatic passages.

. . . . . .

"The teachings of the Bible, uncolored by doctrine, dogma, creed and ritual, are the truth about God, man and the universe; and the plays are based upon these teachings, and upon nothing else. They have lived, therefore, in the hearts of the people, to feed and satisfy the craving for truth."

We are not prepared to accept the author's

position, but we have long held that with Skakespeare, as with the work of almost all men of transcendent genius, great moral truths and spiritual verities are consciously or unconsciously embodied in their work, and frequently there is every reason to believe that they are unconsciously impressed. The man of genius, as Hugo has pointed out, frequently unconsciously yields to the type, so surely is the type a power. And so with those great ethical verities that underlie all true civilization. Their compulsion is imperious and even natures that do not themselves live up to the vision frequently shadow forth the great truths in their thought creations.

It is not, however, necessary to agree with the author's views as to Shakespeare's aim in writing his immortal dramas, in order to enjoy her thoughtful and stimulating metaphysical interpretation of *The Merchant of Venice*, in which the great eternal ethical verities are luminously impressed. The work itself is richly worth the careful consideration of the thoughtful. Though brief and concise, it is very rich in thought-arresting and inspiring observations. The author holds that in *The Merchant of Venice:*

"*Antonio* represents the average moralist seeking the world's good opinion.

"*The Venetian Law* represents human law unable to save man from sin and death, because of its own self-created limitations.

"*Shylock* represents the Mosaic law.

"*Portia* represents the Ideal—the higher Hebrew law now called Christian—which says: 'Love is the fulfilling of the law,' i. e., the old Mosaic law.

"*Portia's Suitors* represent the world in pursuit of a false concept of the Ideal: judging according to appearances.

"*Bassanio* represents those who correctly perceive the Ideal, by abandoning the material sense of it, and through 'righteous judgment,' judging not according to appearances, enter into possession of it.

"*Belmont* represents the home of the Ideal, where the fulfilment is achieved."

The body of the work is devoted to the illustrating and elucidating of her position. Numerous citations are made from the play.

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*Smiling Round the World.* By Marshall P. Wilder. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 330. Price, $1.50. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

MARSHALL P. WILDER is one of the best living story-tellers. He possesses the rare faculty of investing a simple tale with a humorous interest that is irresistible even to the prosaic man on the street; and in his new work, in which he writes of his journey around the world, describing the customs and impressions of many lands, his sense of humor is rarely absent. The pages of the volume are enlivened by many bright stories and funny experiences described in the author's inimitably droll manner. The chapters of the work dealing with Hawaii, Japan, China, Ceylon, Manila, Singapore and Egypt are of special value, The volume is full of interesting facts and information that all intelligent people should possess, so sugar-coated with humor that the dullest mind cannot fail to heartily enjoy the contents.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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*THE VOCATION BUREAU:* We open this, the Fortieth Volume of THE ARENA, with a paper of absorbing interest by Professor FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D., to whose efficient labor as director the success of the practical undertaking described is very largely due. It is one of the very encouraging signs of our day that men like Professor PARSONS, whose lives have been long consecrated to fundamental justice and sound methods for helping others to help themselves, are being sustained in such efficient methods as the one here described for helping the boys and girls of to-day to select life-work that will insure success where otherwise in most instances failure would probably result.

---

*Charlotte Teller at the Socialist National Convention:* The special commissioner sent by THE ARENA to Chicago to give our readers a graphic and authoritative historic pen-picture of this first national Presidential convention of 1908, has most admirably fulfilled her mission. Miss Teller, who is the niece of Senator TELLER of Colorado, is one of the strongest of our young novelists and magazine editorial writers. She is in deep sympathy with the people in their struggle to realize

the dream of democracy—a government of, by and for the people. She has the modern journalist's trenchant pen and keen sense of humor, together with a sense of proportion so essential in one who would picture a passing event so as to be of value to the historian while giving the reader far more than the dry facts that a pedant would put down with scholastic precision. This paper has the three-fold merit of being graphic in its presentation, rich in human interest and thoroughly authoritative in respect to facts and data.

*Notable Plays of the Past Season:* During the past year Mr. WILLIAM MAILLY, one of the staff contributors of THE ARENA, has given our readers critical reviews of serious plays, especially those having important bearings on political, economic and social conditions or which have impressed some great truth. A year ago Mr. MAILLY'S review of plays worth while of the preceding winter was so well received and widely noticed that it affords us pleasure this month to present an illustrated critical article from his pen on the important plays enacted in the metropolis during the past season.

*The Battle Against Baileyism in Texas:* The month of July will witness a momentous battle in Texas against Baileyism and all that it implies. Baileyism in Texas is almost synonymous with what was long lermed Quayism in Pennsylvania. The exposures of the past year have shown clearly how intimate have been the relations between the Texas politician and the great public-service corporations and such law-defying trusts as the oil combine, and how zealously this politician has served the "interests" while incidentally amassing a large fortune in their service. Presumably during this same time he has been representing the interests of the people who have been so largely the victims of Mr. Bailey's prosperous clients. The battle in Texas to-day, being led by General DAVIDSON, is similar to that being fought by the honest friends of popular and clean government against railroad domination and trust law-defiance in various other parts of the country—the same battle which Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL has so graphically described in his new novel, *Mr. Crewe's Career*. THE ARENA this month presents a strong paper on the battle against Baileyism prepared for this review by VICTOR MARTIN.

*An Important Paper on the Negro Question:* It is with great pleasure that we are able to give our readers a paper by an exceptionally able journalist, dealing with the liquor question. We have long been convinced of the fact that the day would yet come when the Afro-American would become a great civilizing and empire-building force in Africa, and we believe that social, economic, political and ethical conditions are at work hastening the day when America will appreciate the wonderful foresight of THOMAS JEFFERSON when he urged the education of the negro children in a practical way and that after they arrived of age they should be colonized with sufficient seeds, implements, etc., to enable them to start life successfully on their native continent. Mr. JEFFERSON held that the two races could not multiply and inhabit the land side by side peaceably and under just conditions favorable to both races. His plan embraced not only the colonizing of Africa with the American negro, but the bringing back of shiploads of laborers from Southern Europe to take the place of those who left for their native continent. Mr. CONANT has made a careful study of the question, traveling extensively in the South for a first-hand investigation, and his contribution is worthy of the serious attention of statesmen.

*An Asiatic Scholar on an American's Effort to Elevate the Africans of the New World:* An interesting feature of this issue of THE ARENA is the fascinating sketch by SAINT NIHAL SING of General ARMSTRONG'S work in establishing an institute for the elevation of the negro. This paper, apart from its intrinsic value, is of peculiar interest because of its authorship. Mr. SAINT NIHAL SING is a scholarly Asiatic who has paid a worthy tribute to a distinguished American for his work in behalf of the Africans of our land. Mr. SING after receiving an excellent education in India, has traveled extensively in China and Japan, being familiar with the languages of both those countries as well as the English tongue, since which time he has sojourned for some time in Canada and America. He is a regular contributor to the four leading reviews of India, a versatile essayist and a popular lecturer.

*Can the Incarnation be Interpreted to Meet the Demands of the Intellectual Mind?* A very notable paper is found in this issue, prepared by an Episcopalian clergyman, on the incarnation. It is, we think, one of the most profoundly thoughtful and luminous papers on this subject that has appeared from an orthodox pen in years, and will richly repay a careful reading.

*Browning's "Caliban" and "Saul":* Professor S. S. CURRY, Ph.D., Litt.D., contributes a deeply interesting and suggestive paper to this issue on two concepts of Deity as given by BROWNING in his poems on "Caliban" and "Saul." Professor CURRY is one of the great fundamental educators of our time, and as we pointed out in our sketch of his life and work which is another feature of this issue, he is doing an inestimably valuable work for higher education in his School of Expression. His recently published volume, *Browning and the Dramatic Monologue*, clearly proves him to be master of BROWNING'S verse.

*Prohibition in Maine and Savings Banks in Ohio:* In the present number of THE ARENA we present another paper on the liquor question, or rather a discussion of the positions taken by two contributors in previous numbers of THE ARENA. The writer of this paper, Hon. L. B. HILLIS, has traveled extensively in Maine and is also thoroughly conversant with conditions in Ohio. Hence his paper gives the result of actual knowledge. Next month we expect to publish a paper of great interest to temperance workers. It has been prepared especially for THE ARENA by Hon. PERE E. WALLMO, clerk of the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic of the Sixtieth Congress. It deals with the temperance question and the bills introduced during the last session of Congress.

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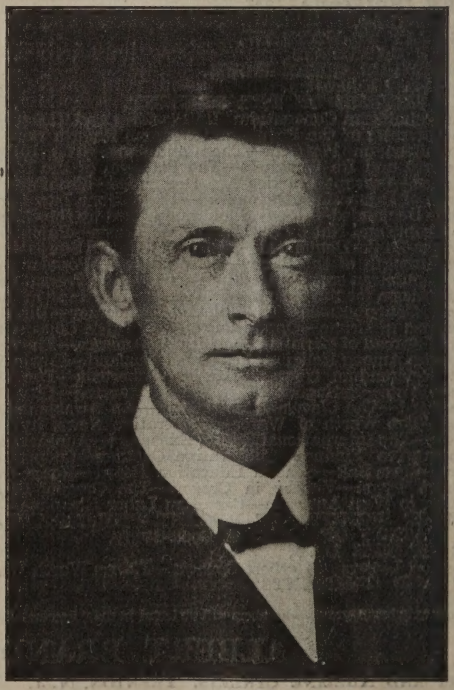

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*Second*—If no organization can be interested, then ascertain if an accessible and desirable lodge hall or lecture-room of a church seating about 200 can be obtained for about $5.00 per night, and advise us of the open dates. Satisfactory dates can doubtless be given you.

*Third*—Immediately organize a committee of ten or fifteen men and women of progressive trend to be known as the Good Government League Lecture Association, or such similar name as may be selected.

*Fourth*—Prepare a selected list of one hundred or more names of readers, students and other wide-awake persons of the city. Such a list if reached by interviews and correspondence will form the basis for a lecture attendance of two hundred or more.

*Fifth*—Secure one or more persons to thoroughly canvass the city and secure guarantors for season tickets. Season tickets for the five lectures usually sell at $1.50. The agents can be paid a commission to be agreed upon, out of the proceeds. Do not forget that to secure a constituency of 100, 200, or 300 ticket-buyers who will purchase season tickets to a course of economic lectures, is practically developing a due-paying membership to what can readily become a very useful organization.

*Sixth*—If personally unable to participate in organizing the course kindly supply us the following information: The names and addresses of several of the most progressive clergymen, as complete a record as possible of the secretaries of the men's clubs of churches, reform clubs and such other organizations as might be interested. Supply us a list of ten or fifteen progressive men who are interested in economic, civic or social questions. With this information we will endeavor to obtain results by correspondence. Your personal work, however, will greatly facilitate our efforts.

*Final Suggestion*—We desire to place your city in our circuit. With your coöperation and that of our many friends we will gradually add to our present circuit until we will be placing economic courses in the principal cities from Winnipeg to the Gulf and from Ocean to Ocean—the results will be worth the effort. Never in our time has there been so opportune a moment for vigorous action as now.

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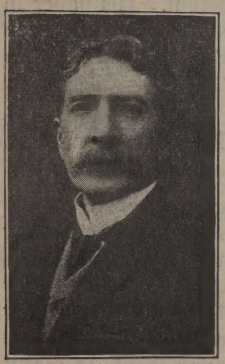
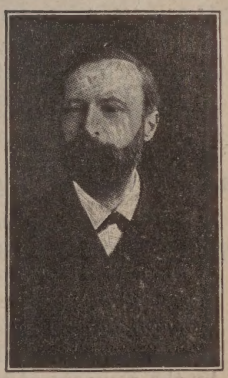
# Special Notice to All Subscribers of "The Arena"

## The CONSOLIDATED AUGUST-SEPTEMBER "ARENA"

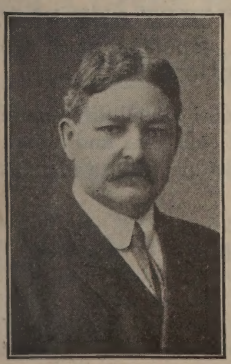


HON. EDWARD TREGEAR

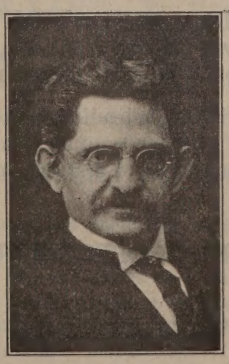
IN ORDER to advance the date of publication of THE ARENA to the twentieth of the month preceding its date of issue, we have consolidated the August and September ARENA, adding a number of extra pages of reading matter and making one of the strongest and most attractive issues in the history of this review; but, in order that our subscribers shall be treated with the utmost fairness, we have advanced every subscription one month beyond the present date of expiration, so that all subscribers will receive their full twelve numbers and, in addition to this, they will have the additional matter in the present number. In ability, variety and timeliness the content-matter of the present issue will compare most favorably with that of any of the leading reviews of the English-speaking world, and will, we are confident, appeal to all the more thoughtful, broad-visioned and earnest-minded thinkers concerned in the vital thought and problems of the hour. We especially call the attention of our readers to the following features:



PROF. FRANK PARSONS



FRANK VROOMAN



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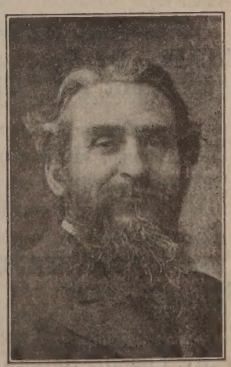


GEORGE WHARTON JAMES

## WORLD POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

### I. COMPULSORY ARBITRATION UNDER STORM SAILS. By Edward Tregear, Secretary of Labor of the Dominion of New Zealand.

Mr. Tregear has long been one of the leading liberal statesmen of the most progressive and, in many respects, democratic government in the world. He was one of the most intimate and confidential advisors of the late Prime Minister Richard Seddon, and has been a leading spirit in drafting many of the most progressive laws of New Zealand. He is also an author of international distinction. His paper in this issue will do very much to counteract the wild and absurd stories that have been so freely circulated of late throughout the reactionary press of England and America in regard to the question discussed.

### II. RAILROAD NATIONALIZATION IN FRANCE. By Carl Vrooman, Formerly Regent of the Agricultural College of Kansas.

Mr. Vrooman has spent about two years in Europe making an exhaustive study of the railroads of the Old World and, next to Professor Parsons, is unquestionably the best-equipped economic writer on the subject of European railways among the friends of progressive democracy in America. His papers in THE ARENA, *McClure's Magazine* and *Van Norden's Magazine* have been widely noticed and extensively commented upon. The recent taking over of the great Western Railway of France by the government is one of the most important politico-economic events of recent months in Europe. Mr. Vrooman describes at length the history of the railway agitation, which has resulted in this important step on the part of our sister republic.

### III. SOME FALLACIES OF CAPTAIN MAHAN. By Lucia Ames Mead.

One of the most important and genuinely statesmanlike contributions to the peace propaganda to be found in contemporaneous magazine literature will be a feature of the August ARENA. It has been contributed by Lucia Ames Mead, and in it this brilliant and distinguished advocate of peace, who justly enjoys an international reputation, has completely answered the vicious and pernicious militarism advanced by Captain Mahan. This is a paper that every thoughtful American should carefully consider.

## AMERICAN POLITICS: FOUR NOTABLE PAPERS.

### IV. THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION: ITS TICKET AND PLATFORM. By Professor Edwin Maxey, LL.D., M. Dip., Special Staff Correspondent for "The Arena" to the Denver Convention.

Professor Maxey is recognized as a leading authority on political and diplomatic questions. He is a member of the faculty of the University of Nebraska and a man admirably equipped for the furnishing of a strong, authoritative paper on the great Democratic convention.

### V. THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM UNMASKED. By W. B. Fleming.

Readers of THE ARENA who enjoyed the discriminating paper contributed by Mr. Fleming to the December ARENA of last year on "The Good and the Bad of the

President's Policies," will be prepared to enjoy this admirable satirical contribution in which the attempt to deceive the people in the interests of the real masters of the Republican machine is admirably exposed. The article might be entitled "The Honest Confessions of the Masters of the Republican Convention," as they might report them to their Wall-Street and trust masters. It is an admirable unmasking of one of the most offensive exhibitions of hypocrisy that has been offered the American public.

**VI. THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION: ITS PLATFORM AND TICKET. By the Editor of "The Arena."**

An extended editorial in which Mr. Flower discusses the so-called Roosevelt Convention, in which the "my policies" of the President, the interests of the people and general reform were ruthlessly slaughtered. Here the spirit of the convention is shown to have been admirably expressed in the permanent chairman, the committee on platform, and in the ticket nominated.

**VII. THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY: ITS PLATFORM AND TICKET, ITS STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS.**

An extended editorial by Mr. Flower dealing with the above subjects.

## IMPORTANT PAPERS ON PROBLEMS VITAL TO NATIONAL, STATE AND MUNICIPAL PROGRESS.

**VIII. THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN PRACTICAL OPERATION. By George H. Shibley, President of the American People's Rule League.**

This is a clear and authentic historical review of all the popular legislation which has been enacted in Oregon since Direct-Legislation was imbedded in the Constitution of the State. A characterization of each law is made and the exact vote for and against on the various questions is given. This is an extremely important historical paper which should be read and preserved by all friends of free government and popular rule.

**IX. HOW THE SEWAGE OF SAN ANTONIO IS USED TO ENRICH A LARGE TRACT OF LAND. By George Wharton James.**

A highly suggestive and brief paper by one of the most gifted and popular American essayists, showing how the refuse of San Antonio is being so used as to transform a comparatively barren region into a fertile valley.

**X. MODERN INDIVIDUALISM. By Rev. Lewis J. Duncan.**

This luminous paper is one of the most interesting and inspiring politico-economic essays of the year. The author represents a growing band of brilliant clergymen who place the welfare of the people above all personal considerations and who insist on voicing the lofty moral idealism which gave meaning and worth to the gospel of the Nazarene. His politico-economic position is not unlike that of the Rev. R. J. Campbell of the City Temple, London.

**XI. THE VOCATION BUREAU. By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D.**

This issue will contain the second part of Professor Parsons' notable contribution to the literature of social reconstruction and dealing with the Vocation Bureau which was recently established in Boston with Professor Parsons at the head.

**XII. POSTAL POLLS. By Herbert Constable.**

A brief but highly suggestive discussion of an important reform that will probably rapidly grow in popular interest.

**XIII. THE ALL-CANADIAN FALLS QUESTION. By Frank Vrooman.**

A handsomely-illustrated paper dealing with the imminent peril that confronts the great and magnificent feature of American scenery, Niagara Falls, through the unbridled avarice of certain great corporations. Mr. Vrooman sounds a note of warning which should appeal to every patriotic American in both the United States and Canada.

## BIOGRAPHY AND ART.

**XIV. A MAN AND A BOOK. By Helen Campbell. A Vivid Pen-Picture of Horace Traubel and His Literary Work.**

Mrs. Campbell is one of the ablest essayists and magazine writers of our day, and Mr. Traubel is one of the most unique and interesting of our conscience-guided workers. This essay is a fascinating description of the friend and biographer of Walt Whitman and a man who is a strong and unique figure in the New World; not unlike, in many respects, Edward Carpenter in England and Count Tolstoi in Russia.

**XV. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH. By Elmer Grey. Illustrated.**

In this issue an interesting illustrated feature is a paper contributed especially to THE ARENA by one of the most successful architects of the Pacific coast, Elmer Grey. The author is not only one of the most original and brilliant of the younger American architects, but he is a finished essayist and a contributor to leading architectural journals.

## PHILOSOPHY.

**XVI. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT RECENT PHILOSOPHICAL INTERPRETATION OF LIFE. A Book-Study of Dr. Mars' New Work.**

In this paper Mr. Flower furnishes another of his striking and brilliant Book-Reviews which have long been one of the most attractive features of THE ARENA for book-lovers.

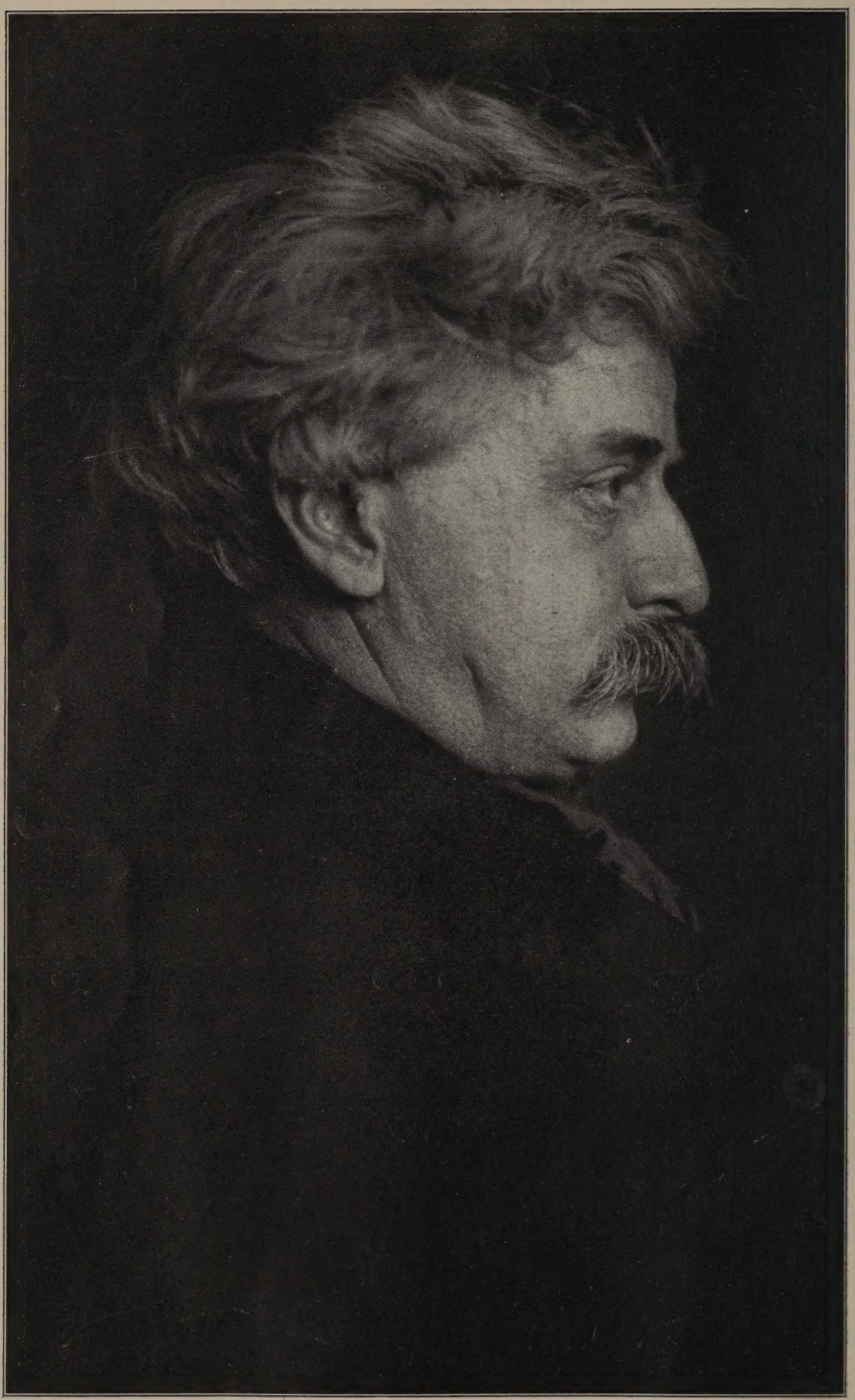


Photo. by Paul Fournier.

HORACE TRAUBEL.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.*—HEINE.

# The Arena

VOL. 40 AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1908 NO. 225

## THE ALL-CANADIAN FALLS QUESTION.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

THE QUESTION as to whether the American Falls of Niagara shall be utterly and immediately destroyed has been recently raised by the Canadian government. A monumental work has just been published by the Canadian Geological Survey, written by the eminent scientist, Dr. J. W. W. Spencer, presenting some succinct and startling data in which every American is vitally interested.

Incontrovertible evidence of the most rigidly scientific character has been marshaled in by far the most important work ever published on the subject, which is bound to figure in the future international adjustments between the two countries. The American people more than the people of Canada owe a debt to the Hon. William Templeman, Minister of Mines of Canada, who has not allowed the power interests to suppress facts vital to them, contained in a work projected by Dr. Bell when Director of the Geological Survey, and under the administrative foresight of the Hon. Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior of Canada.

We are told on a technical authority, which a layman will neither dispute nor elucidate, that the falls are 39,000 years old; that at first they were only thirty-five feet high, with less than one-sixth the present volume of water, owing to the fact discovered by Dr. Spencer in 1888 that the Huron waters only lately turned into the Erie drainage, when the St. Clair river flowed the other way and the drainage was to the northeast through Georgian Bay.

While flour mills were established on both sides of the Falls at the close of the eighteenth century (even as early as 1750), the real power question was first raised by the incorporation of the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Company in 1853, with priority of use of water. The Niagara Falls Power Company followed in 1886. At this time the water was thought to be unlimited, and there was no suspicion of a possibility of necessary curtailment. Both companies together were allowed 27,200 cubic feet per second, which would yield approximately 200,000 net electrical horse-power for each company. The Hydraulic Company takes its water by surface canal from a point above the Upper Rapids (one and one-half miles above the Falls) and conveys it to a point

below the American Falls, where the water falls in the river below, where the least amount of power may be lost. The Niagara Falls Power Company takes its water from near the same point, and conveys it directly to its wheel-pit, from the bottom of which there is a waste weir tunnel about one and a quarter miles long, where the water re-enters the river. The mean discharge of the entire Niagara Falls is about 204,000 cubic feet per second.

The first company's franchise allowed 10,000 cubic feet a second, which, on account of more economical construction of the works, permits a development of 240,000 gross horse-power, or 180,000 net horse-power.

The New York company had 17,200 cubic feet per second, developing (multiplying by 24) a gross horse-power of about 400,000, a net electrical horse-power of about 200,000, the loss being due to method of construction.

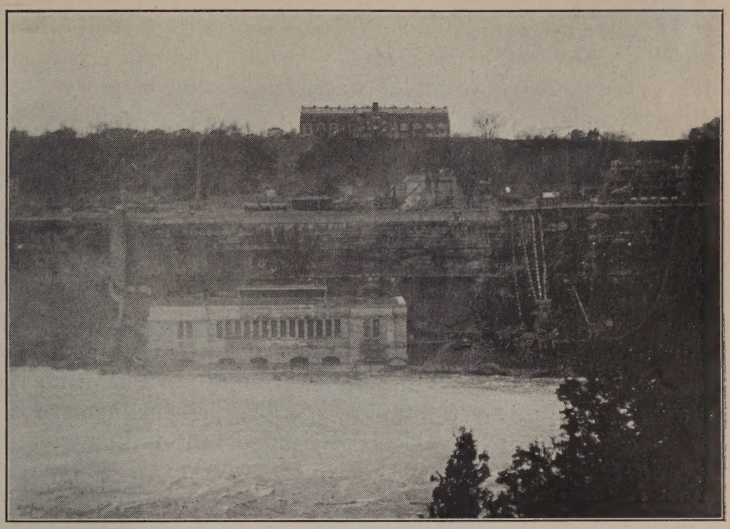
Since alarm was felt in the United States at the impending destruction of the Falls, the Burton Bill was passed, prohibiting the temporary use of more power than was actually developed, although additional works were commenced, so that at present the two companies have 6,000 and 8,500 cubic feet per second, about 200,000 horse-power, net.

After the New York power companies began operations, at the instigation of Lord Dufferin, when Governor-General of Canada, it was proposed to make an international park at Niagara Falls, and through his influence the Ontario government secured the property on the western side of the falls. At the same time, certain New York gentlemen, with Hon. Andrew H. Green as moving spirit, secured the passage of a law by the New York legislature for making expropriations on the New York side. This is the Mr. Green known as the father of Greater New York, who at his untimely death in 1903, was president of the New York Niagara Commission, and whose administration was marked by constant battles for the preservation of Niagara. So powerful were the influences in favor of the spoliation of the Falls, that these obtained from the Governor of New York a dismissal of all the Park Commissioners. But a friend of the Falls, finding this out, telegraphed Senator Platt, and Mr. Green was restored to his charge. Subsequently Mr. Green, observing the destruction of the Falls progressing on the Canadian side, drew up the bill for the present International Waterway Commission, but unfortunately his death prevented his taking charge of the movement he created for the express purpose of saving the Falls.

Some time after the construction of Niagara Falls Power Company a New York concern was again in Canada to operate. This company obtained from the Ontario government an exclusive franchise for power on the Canadian side, paying a rental of $10,000 per year. The object was to keep any other company out of the field. This New York concern would tell Canada that they could have $10,000 a year and have the Falls also. Later, however, the Ontario Power Company desired to acquire power rights, and methods were adopted to create a political furor, and the Canadian papers attacked the franchise not used, though no one seemed to want to use the power. This developed political conditions, so that the Ontario government broke the contract with the New York company, allowing, however, 110,000 horse-power and giving to the Ontario company about 250,000 horse-power. This led to the simultaneous construction of the works of the companies, so that the power could be turned on about 1905. In the meantime the Toronto interests wanted to use power, but there was no transmission line. So they obtained a charter for such a line, and tried to get power under satisfactory conditions from either the Canadian-Niagara or Ontario power companies, and at one time an agreement was almost reached

between the Toronto people and the Canadian-Niagara Company, which is a subsidiary company to the Niagara Falls Company of New York.

This falling through, they organized and built the Electrical Development Company of Ontario for their own use, and power has been used since the end of 1906.



VIEW OF POWER-HOUSE OF ONTARIO COMPANY IMMEDIATELY BELOW THE HORSESHOE FALLS. (ABOUT ONE-THIRD PROPOSED SIZE.)

Meanwhile there was a change of government in Ontario, and in the course of time the slogan taken up by the Conservative government was "Cheap Power," with commission organized under Mr. Adam Beck, a manufacturer of cigar-boxes of London, Ontario. Since that time there has been an acrimonious contest wherein the government seemed to be determined to destroy the Electrical Development Company at all hazards, though the power was being conveyed to Toronto, the ostensible reason being that the Ontario Power Company offered to deliver to the government power at about $10.40 per horse-power at Niagara, which was a slight reduction below the offer of the Electrical Development Company at Niagara. In this event, the government would have to build transmission lines. The Electrical Development Company was under contract with the government of Ontario, in consideration of building the works and paying rental amounting to about $100,000 per year, that the government should not enter into competition in the development of power. In short, in the government's proposal to build transmission lines is that they are doing it for the Ontario Power Company, which had not provided transmission lines for themselves, while the Electrical Company had provided them. This practically means competition and a broken contract for the benefit of the Ontario Power Company. This policy of the company would have wrecked the Electrical Development Company, and amounted to confiscation, had it not been taken over by the interests of the Canadian Northern Railway Company, which is electrifying their railway, and will thus make a greater demand on Niagara than the manufacturing interests. This will not benefit the manufacturing interests of Canada or New York, but will make further demands on Niagara for more railway purposes.

*What does all this mean?*

Before exploiting the Ontario Power Company, did the Premier of Ontario investigate the results? From what Dr. Spencer has shown, it is manifest that Premier Whitney did not take into account the effects on the Falls.

The Ontario Power Company is taking their water from the basin above the upper rapids, while the Electrical Development Company takes its water at a

point, after the rapids have fallen about fifty feet below the level of the basin. Let us see the effect of taking water from different points.

As Dr. Spencer points out, the real rock rim of Lake Erie is not at the outlet of the lake, but at the head of the Upper Rapids. The taking of the supply from the smooth water above the rapids has the same effect as the two New York companies taking their water through deep canals beside the same basin. This results in withdrawing the water from the shallower parts of the rapids, and also in lowering the level of Lake Erie and subsequently the higher lakes. Since 1890 the water has fallen a foot on the upper rapids, thus rendering very shallow the waters on the eastern side of the main cataract known as Canadian Horseshoe, and also reducing the depth of the American Falls a foot, so that during times of mean water in Lake Erie the water of the American Falls and on the eastern side of the Horseshoe Falls is in many places less than a foot in depth, and now great boulders appear above the surface, which were lately covered by water.

The distribution of the water on the Falls is entirely dependent on the inflow of the river of the Upper Rapids, where the depth is found to have diminished to a foot and a half even at high stages of water. Now, unfortunately for the friends of the Falls, there has been high water in the lakes from incessant rainfall during the last three or four years, which last year was extraordinarily high, so as to partly conceal the effects of lowering the water of the Falls. This has kept us from seeing a good deal of the harm being done. In fact, the water has risen so as to compare only with the high water of the summer of 1838.

If we turn to the table of fluctuations it is found that during the whole year of 1901, the mean level of Lake Erie was actually seventeen inches lower than it was last year. This would leave the water over a considerable portion of the rim of the basin only a few inches deep, and consequently under the present division of power, would lower the Falls so that the shallower parts covering some hundreds of feet would be broken up into separate strings of water. This would actually occur with Lake Erie at the stages of 1901 or even higher; so that a person would dare walk near the edge of the Falls or on the present bed of the river, for some hundreds of feet from Goat Island.

We have no right to suppose that the recent increase of rainfall, not merely in the Lake region, but even as far south as Texas, is a permanent feature, and that the lake level will not again fall to the mean of that of the fifteen years from 1891 to 1905, inclusive, or occasionally to extreme low water.

We need not expect to wait for the full use of all the franchise power already granted. For even the restricted amount, under the Burton Bill, will cause the damage during the mean stages of water of 1891–1905 and still more the low water of 1901 referred to, since the present unused part under the "Burton Bill" and provincial agreement will cause a lowering of the water of the Falls more than that which has already occurred from the present power uses. In other words, it will double the loss, and this doubling of loss *will practically destroy the sheet of water over the entire American Falls and* 800 *feet on the eastern side of the Canadian Horseshoe Falls.*

It should be noted here that the Canadian (Niagara) Falls of Ontario have already been shortened by over 400 feet, mostly due to the Canadian Niagara Power Company. The effects of this shortening has already impaired the appearance of the Falls, when viewed from a point looking up the river, so that from a distance the diameter appears smaller than the American Falls, although two and a half times the circumference. Certain people have been wont to compare Niagara with Victoria Falls on the Zambesi in Africa, which reaches a mile

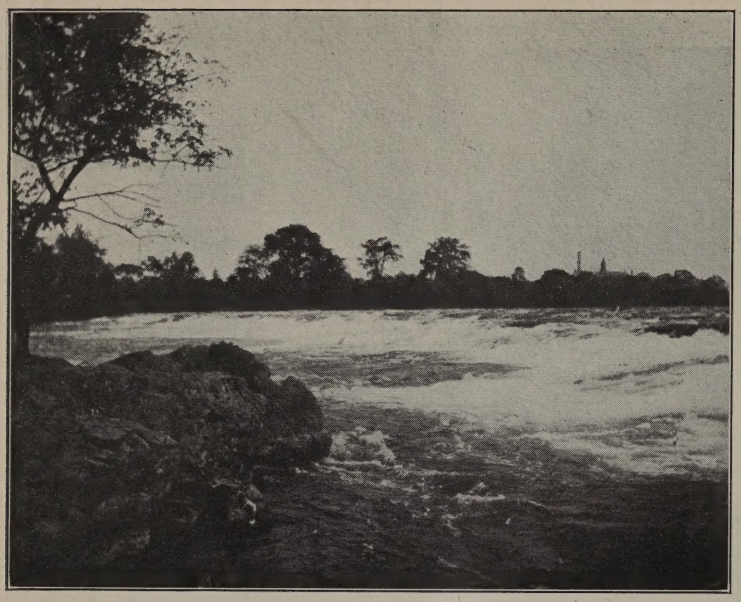
NIAGARA FALLS FROM ARCH BRIDGE.
The Canadian Falls lately extended to line A A, but now curtailed by power companies.

in length. These African falls are broken up by a very large number of small islands at the very edge, while the Niagara Falls are obstructed only by the little island of Luna and the larger Goat Island. But, including these, Niagara Falls had a breadth of a mile along the crest line before the curtailment of four hundred and fifteen feet for one of the present power companies. With the impending destruction of the Falls the total breadth will be reduced from over a mile to 1,600 feet in circumference, and a diameter of from 1,200 feet to 800 feet and what remains of the Falls will be all Canadian.

Are we to give our Falls away to Ontario and New York? Have we a right to do this, and have the Canadians a right, should they decide to lower the Falls, to dispossess American people?

And should the Canadians be able to divert the waters from Goat Island shore so as to destroy the riparian rights of the island?

But the chief forthcoming mischief herein outlined will not be entirely due to all the Canadian companies, for the Electrical Development Company and the Canadian Niagara take their water from points far below the Upper Rapids, so that they will not be responsible for the additional damage. But the responsibility will rest with the companies which take their water from the upper Rapids, Niagara Falls Hydraulic and Niagara Falls Power Company, the Ontario Power Company of Canada, and the Chicago, Welland & Erie Canals, which last drain but a small amount of water. As has been stated above, by the Burton Act, the two New York companies have had



VIEW SHOWING SHEET OF WATER NEXT TO GOAT ISLAND.

their privileges reduced nearly one-half, but not so the Ontario Company, which as yet has developed but one-third of its franchise capacity.

The development of all the power under the unrestricted franchises of various companies incorporated and now using power (and they are, of course, trying to recover their restricted rights) will absolutely drain the eastern side of the Greater Falls and leave a few little miserable streams of water in the American Falls, and will also cause a further contraction of 200 feet on the Canadian side of the Horseshoe Falls as shown by Dr. Spencer's work.

No account is taken in this paper of the cost to navigation in lowering lake levels, harbors and canals. In this matter alone, leaving wholly out of the question the destruction of the American Falls, and the curtailment of those on the Canadian side, this diversion of power to five corporations, four of which are American companies (though operating in Ontario), will cost the United States and Canada upwards of $25,000,000 in the mere matter of deepening the harbors and canals to repair the damage to the present navigation, not to speak of its improvement.

Again, the number of visitors to the Falls varies greatly from year to year, but it ranges from 600,000 to 1,250,000, and the estimated expenditure in going and while at the Falls is taken at the modest sum of twenty dollars, which thus reaches a disbursement of $25,000,000 in some years. The Falls are not the rich people's property, but it is the masses who go there on excursions. Just think of closing Central Park, New York, although land there is not obtainable, while many other falls of little repute may be found.

In a recent Associated Press despatch the statement is made in an interview with Dr. Spencer that already Lake Erie has been lowered ten inches, although in his book which contains data down to two years ago he recorded the lowering of the lake then as eight inches. This loss of ten inches of water over the area of Lake Erie in a time of extraordinarily high water is insignificant, as at the present time, but not so during mean and low water. The author shows that the whole effect of this use of water which is being continually increased, will not be seen for some time afterwards. Now the quantity under permission is about two and a half times that resulting in use so that even with the restricted consumption the lowering of the lake will be such that the levels will sink two feet or more and, of course, in time Lakes Huron and Michigan will recede to the same

By permission of Baker Art Gallery, Columbus, Ohio.

VIEW OF NIAGARA FALLS (CANADIAN FALLS), LOW WATER, 1899.

Now shortened by 415 feet to A A, on Canadian side, due to power diversion. Future shortening will extend from Goat Island to B B. Cataract remaining will be located between A and B.

subsiding levels, seriously damaging all the harbors and canals. This point is of great political importance. On the ground of interference with navigable waters the whole matter may be taken up by the State Department, and Dr. Spencer furnishes the ground for an International arbitration.

The United States Engineers have estimated the lowering of the lakes by the Chicago Drainage Canal to the extent of six inches will require an outlay of $12,000,000 to recoup the damages resulting to harbors and canals besides affecting smaller canals on which the government will not spend money. Thus it will be seen that the allowance of the present provisional quantities of diversion will cost at least $25,000,000 and perhaps vastly more owing to the cost rapidly increasing in geometrical ratio to the sinking levels. The two New York companies have already been restricted, and their works are fully developed to their present allowance. On the Canadian side the Ontario company has its developments completed to about one-third of its franchise only, so that here curtailment could be best affected with proper pecuniary allowance. This company is now the adopted child of Premier Whitney, of Ontario.

On the other hand, the two lower power companies in Canada cannot affect the American Falls nor the lowering of the later lake levels, though somewhat impairing the deeper waters of the Falls. Here the Canadians can get their share of power without destruction to the Falls. Dr. Spencer shows that as a simple power question the Canadian has the larger share of power at the falls, but the question arises how can this be used if it is going to damage the navigation of the upper waters. I am able to see no reason why the Dominion Government should countenance the spoliation of the Falls and all for the benefit of five power companies, beyond its disinclination for political reasons to interfere with matters of Provincial concern. But when it becomes a matter not merely of Provincial interest, and affects Canada and all the shipping passing in and out of the Great Lakes, it becomes a question concerning the interstate commerce of the United States as well as West Canada, and on this ground the United States Government can make strong and effective representations to the government at Ottawa over the head of Premier Whitney, of Ontario, who seems to be heedless of the scientific warnings contained in Dr. Spencer's classic work.

Referring to the reports of the Canadian section of the International Waterways Commission one finds a protest against the vandalism of destroying the Falls, but it is intimated that so much water can be safely used without giving grounds for the opinion. In the report of the American section of the Commission it is admitted that the amount recommended is perilous, but an allowance is agreed upon, which was subsequently cut down under the Burton Act and the Taft rulings. Now Dr. Spencer's report differs from these and from all other reports accessible to me in that he gives quantitative measurements of the results which form the foundations of his conclusions. His opinions are, therefore, more convincing than those of any engineer or specialist whose opinions are not supported by the incontrovertible evidence of concrete fact. In fact, one engineer, of responsible position, says: "Yes, we are in high water; but we have no means of saying that low water will recur—although the high water of 1838 suddenly rose that year to subside in a year or two." In short, we have been too long at the mercy of mere opinions thrown in the limelight with the facts enveloped in the gloom of guess-work.

From the date of Dr. Spencer's book, it appears that it was nearly completed two years ago, and should have been published a year ago. But, unfortunately, it was held back. Why? It would be difficult to ascertain but easy to guess. The first public notice of the obstruction appears in a mining journal in Toronto, November 15, 1907, containing a violent attack upon the forthcoming book, *as yet unpublished*, with apparently an effort to suppress it. Since the appearance of the book last January there has been a similar onslaught in a Western mining journal, apparently inspired by the same author. Both of these facts have been used in an attempt to suppress the book in Parliament since its publication. That the published work should have been attacked by any interest to whom its damning facts meant destruciton is easy to understand as part of the game. But why the unpublished manuscript of an official of the scientific department of a nation should be publicly attacked is quite a different matter. I am reliably informed that there were only three people who had the right of access to an unpublished official manuscript; the author, who would hardly be disposed to criticize his own work; the Director of the Survey, who was very ill, and the editor, who has since been summarily dismissed by the Canadian Government.*

FRANK VROOMAN.

*Washington, D. C.*

*For the basis of this paper see Spencer's *Falls of Niagara, their evolution and varying relations to the Great Lakes: Characteristics of the Power and the Effects of Its Diversion.* By J. W. W. Spencer, Geological Survey of Canada, 1907. Also the Reports of the International Waterway Commission, and the Toronto papers during the last year.

# COMPULSORY ARBITRATION UNDER STORM-SAILS.

By Edward Tregear,
Secretary for Labor of New Zealand.

THE POSITION of the Arbitration Act in New Zealand has shifted from the anchorage to which it held some years ago. Recent visitors from the United States have expressed their regretful recognition of the fact that the results of our Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act when regarded from the standpoint of local public opinion do not fulfil the expectations our guests were led to form from the accounts given by the late Mr. H. Demarest Lloyd and other writers, so the conclusion too quickly arrived at is that those writers viewed this economic experiment through very rose-colored spectacles. That disenchantment, however to be deplored, should cause no insinuation as to intentional misrepresentation on the part of the author of *A Land Without Strikes* and his *confrères*. They viewed the situation as it then appeared. At that time the Arbitration Act seemed firmly set in the affections of the colonial workers, and although the representatives of employers might have appeared skeptical of its advantages (or even adverse to the measure entirely) the great weight of the opinion of the numerical majority of the people was cast in favor of industrial arbitration. New Zealand was for some years in reality as in name "A Land Without Strikes," and if it has lost that happy preëminence in some slight degree it may be profitable to inquire into the reasons for the loss, ascertain the extent of the failure, and (after searching to find if it is owing to fallacious principle or faulty administration) prove, if possible, whether the damage is vital or may with advantage be repaired.

First, then, let it be granted that if during the halcyon period referred to no strikes occurred it was not that we had the actual power to prevent them. Strikes were long conspicuous by their absence because the general consensus of opinion was against their employment as weapons. It was practically accepted that we had a fairer and more legitimate procedure through industrial courts than we could attain by the arbitrament of open force. We could by legislation no more prevent strikes and lockouts than the United States can prevent murders or burglaries by passing laws for their prevention. So long as the working classes believed that they held in the Arbitration Act a more honest and logical way of arriving at a successful result than by striking, so long was the Act observed and respected even when the result was far from being as favorable to them as they expected when they applied to the court for an award. When, however, the workers began to consider that the ends they strove for were seldom gained, discontent began to appear, especially in the particular trades which had to work under the awards regarded as unsatisfactory. The great majority of the workers are (I believe) still in favor of industrial arbitration, but to deny that many are disaffected would be a futile following of the proverbial ostrich.

The employers say that the evolution of working-class discontent has proceeded on natural and inevitable lines. At first there were undoubted grievances to be redressed under the Act. Old points of friction concerning hours, wages, holidays, payment for overtime, preference to unionists, etc., were removed by the court as awards affecting trade after trade were delivered and became law. This, however, could not last forever. If wages were advanced and hours shortened so that the workers became satisfied and even elated with the success of their new ally, still, it is asserted, a point has been reached when further concession is impos-

sible and could not be decreed by any court without bringing disaster on those supplying capital and paying wages. The profits of employers are undoubtedly bounded by other considerations than those relating to the earnings of those whom they employ. Markets have to be considered, and the prices at which similar products can be imported from abroad. In spite of the tariff-wall which protection builds for local industries employers in many industries state that the limit of concession in wages has been reached, and it is evident that in several trade disputes of late this view of the position has been accepted by the Arbitration Court and the plea of "no advance" upheld.

On the other hand the workers deny that the boundary of wage-increase has been reached, or that a due share of profit reaches their hands. They point to the growth in numbers of the persons employed, to the high prices of industrial products, to the huge additions made to the buildings, plant, output and value of business establishments, and especially to the enormous increase of private wealth in the colony, wealth of which little indeed falls to the share of the wage-earners. They say that the small advance of wages during the last fifteen years is in no degree commensurate with the ratio of the increase in the cost of living, particularly in the prices of goods which they themselves produce and then have to pay for at disproportionate rates. They complain that the court has lately afforded them little redress against exploitation, and apparently is wanting in sympathy with those who toil. In brief, that the Act, the chief of our "Labor Laws," is proving itself no friend of workers, but has been of incalculable advantage to those whose avarice or unbounded "enterprise" it was projected to limit and control.

This complaint culminated in a judgment of the court given two years ago in regard to the Federated Seamen. The sailors had asked the court again and again for the restoration of ten shillings a month per man which they had lost in 1891 after the great maritime strike which preceded our "advanced legislation." They contend that the evidence adduced fairly established the claim that the Union Shipping Company (our almost monopolistic but admirably effective coastal service) had lately made such profits that the sailors in its employment should in fairness share to some small extent in the success of the shareholders. The president of the Arbitration Court in delivering his award declared that he found no direction in the Act as to the basis of wage-rates being dependent or contingent on the profits made by the employers, so refused the ten shillings advance. The decision met with loud disapprobation, the sailors retorting that theirs was evidently a case in which the motto of their employers was, "Heads, I win; tails, you lose"—since in bad times the men's wages were cut down, but in good times they were not to be increased or even restored to their old level. This was a notable case, but other judgments on similar lines further incensed industrial unions of workers.

Soon after that time followed the first movement that could be called a strike which New Zealand has known for seventeen years. The slaughtermen employed in three or four establishments of the frozen-meat trade struck work for an increase on the killing-rates. This industry is recurrent or temporary, only having existence during the summer months; many wanderers from Australia and elsewhere come to us for its short season of activity. On this occasion these visitors brought from over-seas ideas of individualistic and independent action, and they incited our own men in the trade to set aside the slow process of recourse to arbitration and to strike suddenly while the yards were full of sheep for slaughter. The strike lasted for two or three weeks, then, under pressure, the masters yielded up considerable advantages in the killing-rates. The court was applied to, and in

several cases fined the men heavily for breach of awards. Many of the men paid their fines, but some of them slipped away out of the colony scatheless.

Since then we have had another strike, that of the Blackball Coal Mine, on the West Coast of the South Island. It arose from several causes of irritation fretting the miners, and culminated in a strike on the discharge of several men without reason being given, but (as the miners allege) because these men were the executive of a new society disliked by the mining manager. The men have not at the time of the writing of this article returned to work. They and their families are being supported by contributions from industrial unions and other societies in sympathy with men whom they believe to have been unfairly treated for union reasons.

In both these strikes the movement did not spread beyond the small body of persons locally interested. Others in the same trade or in other trades have only aided them by moral or financial support. The butchers of the colony did not strike in sympathy with the export slaughterers, nor did the miners in any other coal mine than the Blackball throw down their tools or leave their employment. Indeed from other and powerful unions came loud expressions of annoyance with the workers who chose to defy the Act, and these objectors passed resolutions of refusal to contribute to the support of the strikers. Numerically the two strikes have been petty and of small importance, but from the view-point of economics and of social regulation they are significant and worthy of consideration, since they disclose by their existence the little rift within the lute which was in tune and without a discord but ten years ago.

What causes the discord? Is it in the instrument itself, or is it the mind of the player which causes the noise of "sweet bells jangled"? I believe the cause is in the mind of the performers, and is deeper seated than any local or industrial cause peculiar to the Dominion.

It is easy, of course, to repeat the old formula that "The interests of Capital and Labor are identical." That is believed by those whose interest it is to hold such a creed, but rightly or wrongly it is not accepted by the vast multitude of the working classes all over the world. Even the softened form of the phrase, viz.: "The interests of Capital and Labor are parallel" will not receive recognition as an article of faith. The latter phrase would gain and hold many supporters, perhaps, if anything like the position assumed by the defenders of individualistic industrialism is or can be the rule of life in production and distribution. An ideal employer, who considers the interests of the men and women who furnish labor to his enterprise as important and as worthy of reward as his own interests measured by his own profits, may honestly arrange that his emoluments and theirs should move along parallel lines. There are, perchance, some who believe they do so consider such united interests, but in the vast majority even of these cases the line which marks the employer's profits is very strong and distinct while the worker's parallel line is faint and wavering. In most cases there is no parallel whatever: the lines are divergent from the start. It is in the very nature of our modern financial system that it should be so; in production for profit the less paid for the two items of cost-of-material and cost-of-workmanship the greater the gain resulting as the share of capital or superintendence. This has given birth to the world-wide belief among the workers that "Industrialism is War!" We who move in a human and not in an angelic world have to accept firmly-established beliefs as actual forces to encounter, and we find that a dogma like that concerning the identity of interests between capital and labor is apt to became spectral and illusive when opposed by deep-seated and determined mental rejection of any such phrase as bearing on hard facts. The workingman, who is not half such a fool as it pleases the ordinary business man to represent him, has an

argument difficult to refute when he says: "In spite of clever sophistries, in spite of webs of cunning words, let us judge by results. After life-long partnership Capital retires from business with steam-yachts, motor-cars, country estates and invested wealth on the mere interest of which his descendants can live in affluence (on the labor of others) forever. Labor, after having obtained from business day-by-day enough to keep its representative in food and clothes just sufficient to enable him to go on working for another's benefit, also retires from the partnership—to the work-house or the scrap-heap. This kind of result of the partnership is the almost undeviating rule all over the world (even in that land of opportunities, the United States) and shows that "identity of interest" is only a sugared lie. No. "Industrialism is War!"

Because of this belief in the impossibility of equitable relations between the employer for profit and the human machine he uses, some of the workers in New Zealand have given utterance to the expression that no Arbitration Court can possibly be of permanent benefit to the working classes. They say that it has certainly proved favorable to employers or else those employers, at first so bitter against it, would not now support it, "Therefore, because it is supported by employers it must be bad for us, since what they gain we lose." They also plead that a court which fixes their wages or earnings and does not fix the profits which can be set by the employers on the goods the workers produce and consume is unfair and lop-sided. The latter plea could, of course, be met by further legislation, but such legislation is still "on the knees of the gods."

In spite of such arguments I affirm that the Arbitration Act in New Zealand is not the real source and origin of the trouble it has lately attracted around it. That trouble arises from the deep feeling of resentment against social and economic conditions which induces the present unrest and sullen discontent among workers all over the world. New Zealand feels the heavy ground-swell presaging the coming storm and pulsing against her shores both from the Old and New Worlds. It breaks in foam against our Arbitration Act because that is the most important and prominent measure of our "advanced legislation," but if that Act were non-existent the surge would expend itself in some other direction on the position of Capital and Labor. That industrial arbitration *per se* has little to do with the question is apparent if we look elsewhere, and note that in countries like the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and others where there is no compulsory arbitration the spirit of revolt is existent in far greater degree than in this colony. Compulsory arbitration has not evolved the three and a half million Social-Democrats of Germany, nor caused English statesmen to declare that Tory and Liberal must unite in common to stem the Socialist advance.

I very earnestly believe that our Arbitration Act will survive its infantile disorders and come to a glorious maturity of usefulness. This creed of mine has its foundation on the solid rock of Nature's facts, deep below all the rubbish of obsolete economic systems of which men have grown tired. One of the best ascertained of these facts in nature is "the survival of the fittest." The strongest of all forces in human society is that which makes the collective force of the whole greater than that of any of its units. Here and there under temporary and abnormal conditions of life a Napoleon in the military class or a trust magnate in the financial class may dominate unduly the mass of society for his individual ends, but a very short time suffices to work out that "freak" in the evolution of the scheme of things. The eddies close over the drowned head, and the human race sweeps on to its destiny. So, the law of compulsory arbitration when it obtains the united approbation of a people has behind it the force which will prove it "the fittest to survive," when individual expressions of determination

to "run my own business in my own way" (whatever the cost to others) will be among the withered leaves of the earth's dead autumns.

Let me recapitulate very briefly what compulsory arbitration stands for. Unfortunately, such repetition is sometimes necessary because as the new years appear and fresh generations of youths and scholars emerge from the schools and universities we ignore or forget the arguments considered weighty when an idea was first born into practical life. Compulsory arbitration meant the emergence of "the third party," the community, into industrial existence. We, the general public, said to master and man, "You shall no longer annoy and ruin us wth your continual petty strifes and disturbances. Your strikes and lockouts, your picketings and boycotts, your blacklisting and crippling of important industries affect the safety and prosperity of thousands besides those who are directly concerned. You shall take your quarrels as to wages and hours of work before an impartial court for settlement, and continue to work under the old conditions till the new are established. If our judges are competent to deal with millions of money in such matters as legacies, land transfers, salvage, etc.; if they can affect our most intimate domestic relations through probate and divorce; if they hold the safety of our lives and our property under the criminal law, then they are quite qualified to decide whether carpenters and brick-layers are entitled to get an increase of twenty-five cents a day on their wages or not. Anyway, we are not going to let you settle your disputes by club-law to our peril and annoyance. Our collective interest is greater than that of any individual, and what that individual has to do is to obey."

That was what was said in New Zealand in 1894. Is there any reason for doubting the sanity and wholesomeness of that principle now? None that I can see. If the administration of the Act has been faulty, then the people who grumble must see that the administration is improved. The principle of industrial conciliation and arbitration is unassailed and unassailable. It is part of the legislation the future has in trust for us, legislation having its birth in equity and consideration for the rights of the whole of the people. As a solitary and unique example of that future legislation it is (because not yet properly supported by sister-acts) passing through a time of trial, but it will emerge "purified as by fire." Arbitration will one day eliminate injustice from industrial strife, as arbitration will some day sweep away that other form of war which now bases its arguments on the method of rending tender and beautiful human bodies with the eloquent shell and the logical bayonet.

EDWARD TREGEAR.
*Wellington, New Zealand.*

# INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN PRACTICAL OPERATION.

By George H. Shibley,
President American People's Rule League.

THE OFFICIAL count of the referendum vote in Oregon on nineteen state questions has been announced and should be carefully studied. Before presenting the figures it will be well to review the history of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon.

In 1902 the people of the state adopted a constitutional amendment for the system, the vote being practically unanimous, namely, eleven to one. Early in 1903 the legislature installed the details.

That year the legislature's conduct was such that no petitions were filed referring any of its acts to the people. But the legislature refused to initiate all the reforms demanded, and two initiative petitions of more than eight per cent. each were filed with the secretary of state, one for direct nominations and the other for a local option law on the liquor question. Up to that time, 1904, the voters were not allowed to control the liquor traffic. The liquor interests were the ruling power in their particular field. They put in a saloon wherever it was profitable. But on election day, 1904, the voters took to themselves the power to ballot directly on the liquor question, and to-day, only four years later, seventy-five per cent. of the state is "dry." Sixty per cent. of the population have banished the saloon. A total of 270 saloons have been closed. But throughout the so-called prohibition territory the United States Government issues licenses and the interstate carriers conduct a jug trade. Thus the party in power nationally is largely nullifying the state prohibition system.

The vote to establish local option on the saloon question was only 2,000 majority in a total vote of about 750,000. Had the proposal been for local option on all local questions the affirmative vote would have been overwhelming.

The vote on the initiative proposal to establish direct nomination in place of the machine-ruled state nominating conventions was in the affirmative and three to one. There was no open opposition. The campaign against it by the special-privilege interests and their political representatives was a still-hunt.

Thus the first year's use of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon was highly successful.

Two years later the legislature appropriated an unusually large sum for the state university and the act was referred to the people. The petition was started by the State Grange. The filing of the petition held up the entire appropriation bill for educational institutions. At election time the people accepted the legislature's proposals, at the same time adopting a constitutional amendment authorizing themselves to file a referendum petition against any part of an appropriation bill.

A non-partisan organization, known as the People's Power League, headed by Hon. W. S. U'Ren and other leading citizens, proposed five initiative measures to more effectually restore the people's rule. These measures were adopted and with the rousing majority hereinafter stated.

The people took to themselves a veto power and power of direct-legislation in local affairs, the vote being: Yes, 47,778; No, 16,755, or nearly three to one.

The citizens conferred upon themselves through their local governments, the exclusive power to enact and amend the system of local government, subject only to the limitations in the constitution and the criminal laws. The vote was:

Yes, 52,567; No, 19,942, or two and one-half to one.

The citizens authorized one legislature to propose to them constitutional amendments, and they provided that no constitutional convention should be called without their approval. Up to that time the few men in the legislature could call a constitutional convention, and it required the consent of two consecutive legislatures before a constitutional amendment could be submitted. The vote on the change was: Yes, 47,661; No, 18,751, or nearly three to one.

The regulations concerning state printing were in the constitution, and were favorable to excessive prices and machine-rule domination. An initiative petition suggested that the state printing should be controlled by statute law. The vote was: Yes, 63,749; No, 9,571, or six and one-half to one.

The fifth measure proposed by Mr. U'Ren and his fellow-patriots was that free passes to members of the legislature by the railroads and other forms of discrimination by public-service corporations should be abolished. The people's vote was: Yes, 57,281; No, 16,779, or three and four-tenths to one.

Two measures were initiated by the State Grange and adopted. It was enacted that sleeping-car companies, refrigerator-car companies, oil companies and express companies, which had been escaping taxation, should thenceforth pay three per cent. of their gross earnings within the state. The people's affirmative vote was 69,536, to 6,440 in the negative, or nearly eleven to one. The legislature had refused to levy a two per cent. tax. This demonstrates the power of the monopoly corporations. After the legislature had adjourned the legislative committee of the State Grange took the bill and appended an initiative petition but increased the tax rate fifty per cent., and the people adopted it. The legislative committee of the State Grange also took a bill for a one-per-cent. tax on the gross earnings of telegraph and telephone companies, which the legislature had refused to enact, doubled the rate of tax and put it to a vote of the people, who adopted it. The vote was: Yes, 70,872; No, 6,360, or eleven to one. Thus the monopolists met their Waterloo. Since then they have been trying to cripple the system by amending it, at the same time they are asking the courts to declare that direct voting by the people on state questions is in violation of the Federal Constitution which prescribes that "The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government." (Article IV., Section IV.) In 1903 the Oregon Supreme Court in Kadderly *versus* Portland, 74 Pacific Reporter, upheld the Initiative and Referendum system. Before that time the National House and Senate had seated the representatives from Oregon and South Dakota and, during 1907 President Roosevelt in his proclamation announcing the admission of Oklahoma declared that its system of government is republican.

Returning to the questions presented in the Oregon campaign of 1906 it is to be noted that a constitutional amendment for the enfranchisement of women was defeated. A vigorous campaign was conducted on both sides and the vote was: No, 46,971; Yes, 36,928, a total of 83,899. This was the largest vote on any measure. The vote for Governor was 96,715.

The Liquor Dealers' Association initiated a local-option bill to change the one which the Prohibitionists had instituted. The people voted against it: No, 45,144; Yes, 35,397.

A toll-road company endeavored to sell its property to the state at a big figure and failed. It secured the circulation of an initiative bill which the voters rejected: No, 44,525; Yes, 31,525.

Thus eleven measures were voted upon in 1906, of which three were vetoed and eight adopted. This acceptance of part and rejection of others demonstrates that the voters discriminated, and not one bad measure was adopted.

Two years later, 1908, the people voted upon nineteen measures and the official returns have been published. Of these nineteen measures twelve were adopted and seven were rejected. Thus for the second time the people accepted part of the measures and vetoed the rest.

They vetoed the legislature's proposal that railway corporations should furnish free passes to the members of the legislature and other state officers, county judges and sheriffs. It will be remembered that two years before the people directly outlawed free passes, which action the next legislature attempted to set aside, as we have shown, but through the existence of the referendum the people stopped it. Their vote on the legislature's proposal was: No, 59,406; Yes, 28,856, or two to one.

The direct-nomination law of 1904 had provided for direct nominations for candidates for the United States Senate and that the nominees of the several parties should be voted upon by the people at the general election. To make the people's will effective each candidate for the legislature was to announce whether or not, if elected, he would vote to elect the people's choice. This worked but with considerable friction, so in 1908 an initiative bill proposed "That we, the people of the State of Oregon, hereby instruct our representatives and senators in our legislative assembly, as such officers, to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senator from this state who receive the highest number of votes at our general elections." This was adopted: Yes, 69,668; No, 21,162, or more than three to one.

The people's constitutional right to instruct for the United States Senate is the Ninth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which declares:

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

Thus the people retained the right to instruct. Proof that in 1789 the people possessed the right are the provisions in the Bill of Rights in four of the state constitutions, namely, in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In these states the Bill of Rights specifically reserved to the people the right to assemble to instruct their representatives. In the other states the people instructed at will. This is admitted in a debate in the first Congress, August 15, 1789.

The foregoing initiative measure for an unqualified instruction to members of the legislature was proposed by Mr. U'Ren and the other leading people's-rule advocates. They proposed three other measures, as follows, which the people adopted.

They installed a constitutional amendment providing that "Every public officer in Oregon is subject, as herein provided, to recall by the legal voters of the state or of the electoral district from which he is elected." The vote was: Yes, 58,381; No, 30,002, or nearly two to one. This, too, in the face of a recommendation to the people by the state convention of the dominant party that they ought not to accept the proposed change. Previous to this the legislature had refused to propose the amendment. The legislature also refused to propose the two following amendments and the Republican State Convention of this year specifically declared against the first one.

In place of the election of members of the legislature, one from each small district, the U'Ren initiative petition proposed that the constitution be amended so as to authorize proportional representation; that is, the election of ten, fifteen or more members from a large district and in such manner that each voter's ballot should help elect some one. Thus each voter would actually be represented.

The initiative measure further specified that "Provision may be made by law for the voters' direct or indirect expression of his first, second or additional choices among the candidates for any office. For an office which is filled by the election of one person it may be required by law

that the person elected shall be the final choice of a majority of the electors voting for candidates for that office. The principles may be applied by law to nominations by political parties and organizations." In other words, the plan is that the progressive voters can get together and without any fusion nominations.

The people's ballot on these combined proposals for preferential voting and proportional representation was: Yes, 48,868; No, 34,128. The incoming legislature will be called upon to frame the systems and if the progressive group is not satisfied they will use initiative petitions to propose the best systems. Experience demonstrates that Proportional Representation cuts out political corruption and special privileges, and with scarcely any referring of measures to the people, for each interest is represented by its trusted leaders.

The fourth of the far-reaching measures proposed by the U'Ren group is a nineteen-page law which the legislature refused to enact. Its purpose is "To limit candidates' election expenses; to define, prevent and punish corrupt and illegal practices in nominations and elections; to secure and protect the purity of the ballot; to amend Section 2,775 of Bellinger and Cotton's annotated codes and statutes of Oregon; to provide for furnishing information to the electors and to provide the manner of conducting contests for nominations and elections in certain cases." Among other things a new crime is created, that of political libel. Henceforth the reputation of one who becomes a candidate will be somewhat protected from unfair vilification. The favorable vote on the entire proposal was: Yes, 54,042; No, 30,301.

To further emphasize the people's contempt for their so-called representatives they refused to approve their recommendation that their pay shall henceforth be $400 for each regular session of the legislature and $10 per day for each extra session instead of $3 per day and mileage. The vote was: No, 68,892; Yes, 19,691.

The voters also rejected the legislature's proposal to change the constitutional provisions concerning the power of the judges and to increase their number. The vote was: No, 50,591; Yes, 30,243, or nearly two to one. At the same time the people adopted an initiative proposal abolishing the district-attorney's power to file a criminal charge against a citizen and reëstablish the grand jury system. Henceforth no person in Oregon "can be charged in the circuit courts with the commission of a crime or a misdemeanor except upon indictment found by a grand jury of five, except that when a court holds an indictment to be defective the district-attorney may file an amended indictment." The only argument urged against this amendment was that the other plan is cheaper. In answer it was said: "If the citizens of Oregon prefer a few dollars to a great fundamental principle of personal liberty, then they certainly do not deserve their liberties and they might as well be left open to the whims, vengeance, mistakes or political intrigues of any district-attorney. The citizens of this country will make a great mistake if they let go that part of the administration of the law which belongs to them through the grand jury and the petty jury, and we repeat that this present arbitrary power lodged in one man is un-American and dangerous." The vote was: Yes, 52,214; No, 28,487.

The legislature proposed an appropriation of $25,000 annually for four years, "To be used in purchasing grounds, and building armories for the use of the Oregon National Guard." Rejected by a vote of 54,848 against 33,507. At the same time the voters approved an unusually large appropriation for the state university. The vote was: Yes, 44,115; No, 40,535.

The voters accepted the legislature's suggestion that the date of the general election be changed from June to November. The vote was: Yes, 65,728; No, 18,590, or nearly three to one, as against a three-to-one negative vote for the raising of salaries for members of the legisla-

ture. This large vote in favor of some measures and against others demonstrates that the voters discriminated. The people adopted, also, the legislature's proposal that state institutions can be located elsewhere than at the state capital. The vote was: Yes, 41,975; No, 40,868.

A complete revision of the tax laws in Oregon is inevitable. The State Grange is considering a system but some of the Single-Taxers got in ahead with an initiative proposal providing for the exemption from taxation in addition to exemptions now authorized by the constitution of "All dwelling-houses, barns, sheds, outhouses, and all other appurtenances thereto; all machinery and buildings used exclusively for manufaturing purposes, and appurtenances thereto; all fences, farm machinery, and appliances used as such; all fruit trees, vines, shrubs, and all other improvements on farms, all live stock; all household furniture in use; and all tools owned by workmen and in use." This is not a complete single-tax measure and it does not allow for local option, and it was severely defeated. The vote was: No, 60,871; Yes, 32,066.

A proposal for a woman suffrage was defeated. The vote was: No, 58,670; Yes, 36,858. The unfavorable majority was more than twice as large as two years before.

At the same time the voters turned down a proposal for the possibility of wide-open towns and cities. An initiative petition proposed a constitutional amendment "Giving additional and exclusive power to cities and towns, within their corporate limits, to license, regulate, control and tax, or to suppress or prohibit theaters, race-tracks, pool-rooms, bowling-alleys, billiard-halls, and the sale of liquors, subject to the provisions of the local-option law of the state of Oregon." The unfavorable vote was: No, 52,346; Yes, 39,442. But a proposal for the better care and custody of prisoners in jails was adopted: Yes, 60,443; No, 30,033.

The legislature had refused to protect the salmon and sturgeon fisheries in the Columbia river. The fishermen along the upper part of the river filed an initiative petition and then the fishermen at the mouth of the river proposed a bill, but neither was in conflict with the other and the voters adopted both. The vote on the first named was: Yes, 46,582; No, 40,720. On the second measure the vote was: Yes, 56,130; No, 30,280.

A new county, that of Hood River, was proposed by initiative petition and adopted: Yes, 43,948; No, 26,778.

This year for the second time the Oregonians voted directly for a representative in the United States Senate and chose their Governor, George E. Chamberlain, who is a Democrat. In 1904, when President Roosevelt carried the state by a plurality of 43,000, in a vote of only 90,154, Governor Chamberlain captured the Governorship by a plurality of 246.

Two years earlier he had received the office by a plurality of 276. Now he is elected to the United States Senate by a plurality of 1,900. The principal reason why he has received this phenomenal vote is that he has ably championed the Initiative and Referendum and other measures to increase the people's power. When the overwhelmingly Republican legislature high-handedly set aside the referendum by declaring bills to be emergency measures Governor Chamberlain promptly vetoed them. This year when the machine Republicans planned to prevent the election of the people's choice for United States Senator Governor Chamberlain announced his candidacy for the United States Senate, and won.

Reviewing the nineteen questions of legislative and constitutional policy which the people of Oregon voted upon this year the question naturally arises, How was it that the voters were able to reach the manifestly intelligent decisions on these various issues? First, they largely depended upon the advice of their trusted leaders. Secondly, each voter was supplied with a campaign text-book issued by the secretary of state, setting forth the

measures to be voted upon and the arguments for and against that were filed in his office. The expense of printing the arguments and distributing them was partially borne by those who presented them.

Under the direct-vote system the ignorant and careless voters who went to the polls failed to mark the referendum questions. They did not know whether to place a cross in the square containing "Yes'" or "No." Even in Oregon with its unusually intelligent population, almost wholly American, from seven to thirty per cent. of those who voted for candidates for the United States Senate did not vote on the referendum questions,* though thoroughly presented, as we have shown. But two years before the percentage who did not vote was considerably higher, being thirteen to twenty-four per cent.† The automatic disfranchisement of the ignorant and careless is one of the best features of the Initiative and Referendum. In the city of Wilmington, June, 1907, the negroes did not mark the referendum questions. The comparatively small vote on referendum measures is a demonstration that there is no purchasing of votes.

Many of the advantages to the people of Oregon from their possession of the sovereign power are clearly apparent. But the deep-seated changes that are in operation are not yet comprehended. Only the fulness of time will completely disclose them. A new civilization is building. The citizens are self-governing, instead of being ruled by the few, which stimulates them tremendously, and the distinctly moral issues are coming more and more to the front. Under Proportional Representation few measures will be put to a popular vote, for all the voters will be proportionately represented and by their greatest leaders, and every aid to the people's advancement that science can give will be used. The possibilities for human development are beyond our comprehension, for each advance may make possible that which we of to-day have not even dreamed.

The clearly evident changes in Oregon since the Initiative and Referendum were established, five years ago, are as follows: The rule of the few has been abolished by installing the people's rule. The rule of the few was through deception, corruption and graft, the people's rule is open and above board. The ruling few granted to themselves special privileges, which the people's rule is eliminating. Special privileges resulted in concentration of wealth, which the people's rule is decentralizing and in two ways: By discontinuing the special privileges and by readjusting public taxes. When the few were in power they partially exempted themselves from law enforcement, but the people's rule is resulting in rigorous enforcement of the law. Under the rule of the few there probably was a considerable loss of jury trial—government by injunction, but the mere restoration of the people's rule in Oregon is preventing injunction abuses. Not an anti-injunction bill has been introduced in the Oregon legislature. Under the rule of the few the public-school facilities for the people's children were inadequate, but under the people's rule they are abundant. The Swiss, for example, are noted for their public schools, colleges and universities. In Geneva, a city of 118,000, there is maintained at public expense, a university with a faculty of 100 professors.‡

The Swiss have possessed their freedom for a number of years and therefore the changes are farther along. Following is an excellent description by Professor A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University, in the closing paragraph of his two-

*The total vote for the nominees for the United States Senate at the Oregon general election, 1908, was 102,000, while the vote on the question of woman suffrage was 95,528, and on the establishment of Hood River county, 70,726.

†In the 1907 general election the vote for Governor was 96,715 and the vote on the woman suffrage amendment was 83,855, while the lowest referendum vote was 63,155, on the proposition to levy a state tax on the gross receipts of sleeping-car companies, refrigerator companies and oil companies.

‡*Government in Switzerland*, by John Martin Vincent, p. 171.

volume work, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe:*

"The Swiss Confederation is, on the whole, the most successful democracy in the world. Unlike almost every other state in Europe, it has no irreconcilables —the only persons in its territory who could, in any sense, be classed under that name being a mere handful of anarchists, and those, as in our own land, are foreigners. The people are contented. The government is patriotic, far-sighted, efficient and economical, steady in its policy, not changing its course with party fluctuations. Corruption in public life is almost unknown, the appointments to office are not made for political purposes, by the federal authorities, or by those of most of the cantons. Officials are selected on their merits, and retained as long as they can do their work; and yet the evils of a bureaucracy scarcely exist. . . . Wealth is comparatively evenly distributed."

Passing to a general description of Oregon's system of government, the reader should note that it is representative; that is, the government is one in which the voters employ representatives while retaining a veto power, through the Referendum, which is compulsory for proposed changes in the written constitution and optional for such other measures as the legislature may pass except urgency measures—measures immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health or safety. The voters have also retained the power to legislate directly through the Initiative. It is clear that the system as a whole is Representative Government, in which the people's interests are better protected than when they were without a veto power and without the power of direct-legislation.

But as yet the Oregon legislature does not fully represent the people, for the people have vetoed some of its acts and have directly enacted several measures. And the state convention of the largest party in the state did not represent the people, as we have shown. The principle remedy, so the Oregonians think, is Proportional Representation; namely, the election of ten, fifteen or twenty members to the legislature from a large district, each voter's ballot to help elect some one. Thus if ten members are to be elected then each one-tenth of the voters will elect a representative. The farmers will elect their share, the business men theirs, the fishermen theirs, and the wage-earners will elect their own representatives. At present each member of the legislature is elected from a small district, and his nomination and election are more or less influenced by the party machine and by the funds contributed by the special interests. Then, too, in each district a small number of voters hold the balance of power. This tends toward vote-purchasing in the election of candidates. All will be changed when the large districts are used, for each interest will nominate its leaders and will elect them. Thus each interest will be represented by its very best men. In short, real representative government will be restored. Representative government started with a representation of interests—the commons, barons, clergy and king, and the restoration of representation by interests will result in representative government.

Proportional Representation in the city councils will probably be a better system than the Des Moines plan. Under the Des Moines plan the city council is limited to five members each of whom is elected by the majority, but under Proportional Representation the people in all the various walks of life will be fully and fairly represented by their most eminent leaders.

After Proportional Representation is in working order in Oregon the Initiative petition and Referendum petition will seldom be used. But it was only through the initiative (or advisory initiative) that Proportional Representation could be installed, and then only after various other reforms had been accomplished. At two general elections preceding the last one the people voted on initiative measures.

It also should be noted that the initiative system is much better for the people than the securing of a constitutional convention, because there is no monopoly of the power to propose amendments. Any eight-per-cent. group of voters in Oregon are able to suggest improvements. In a constitutional convention this power is limited to the few delegates.

They possess a monopoly of the power to propose amendments and, with the exception of Oklahoma, have been able to prevent a return to the people's rule. In Oklahoma the people captured the constitutional convention through the questioning of candidates by a committee representing the organized farmers and organized wage-earners. In this way the people's rule issue was squarely raised, and the people protected their interests. Seventy of the 112 delegates were pledged to twenty-six people's-rule measures. In the recent constitutional convention in Michigan the proposal that twenty per cent. of the voters may suggest constitutional amendments is loaded down with a proviso that the legislature by majority vote may refuse to submit them.

Oregon was one of the pioneers in establishing direct-legislation for state questions, and her system is somewhat crude as compared with Oklahoma's, adopted during the past few months. Oklahoma's system is a duplicate of the one proposed for the nation. In Oklahoma the law provides that a copy of each initiative measure shall be filed with the Senate and another with the House, so that the usual committee hearings may be had and a competing measure framed, after which there will be an opportunity for debate. After each measure is finally disposed of, an argument for and against it is to be prepared in writing by two committees, one representing the petitioners and the other the legislature. For each measure the argument is not to exceed 2,000 words for each side, of which one-fourth may be in answer to opponent's argument. Then the joint arguments, together with the full text of the measure and a sample ballot, are to be printed by the government and a copy delivered to each voter. This is the only way that the principal facts can reach the voters. Furthermore, it is the least expensve method, and each voter will pay his share, for it will be at government expense. The other alternative, according to President Roosevelt and others, is for the government to grant a subsidy to each political party. Bills and constitutional amendments submitted through the Oklahoma system will be open for further discussion by the people for at least three months before election day, and then the ignorant and careless voters will, as usual, fail to mark their referendum ballots. This will leave the decision with the intelligent voters.

Compare this system with that in New York state or Massachusetts. There the party platforms submit issues, but there is no way whereby the people can vote on them separately; indeed they cannot vote on them at all except to support one party machine or the other. This crude method cannot continue, for a better one is developed, and the evolutionary forces are irresistible.

Among the lessons to be drawn from a study of social evolution are the following, summarized by Sir Thomas Erskine May, K.C.B., D.C.L., in the introduction to his two-volume work, *Democracy in Europe:*

"This constant development of popular influence, as the result of the intellectual and material progress of nations, *must therefore be accepted as a natural law.*

"Such a law, like other laws which shape the destinies of man, is to be reverently studied, and accepted without prejudice, as a beneficent influence designed for the general benefit of society. Let us not be too prone to condemn, or to dread it, as a social danger. Rather let us learn to interpret it rightly, and to apply it, with careful discernment, to the government of free states. If it be a law that the progressive civilization of a nation increases the power of the people, let that power be welcomed, and grad-

ually associated with the state. The same cause which creates the power also qualifies the people to exercise it. In a country half-civilized, popular power is wielded by a mob; in a civilized community it is exercised by the legitimate agencies of freedom—by the press, by public discussion, by association, and by electoral contests. If ignored, distrusted, defied, or resisted by rulers, it provokes popular discontents, disorders and revolution; if welcomed and propitiated, it is a source of strength and national union. To discern rightly the progress of society, and to meet its legitimale claims to political influence, has become one of the highest functions of modern statesmanship."

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.
*Washington, D. C.*

## THE DENVER CONVENTION.

BY EDWIN MAXEY, LL.D., M. DIP.,
Special Staff Correspondent for THE ARENA.

WHETHER or not it was felt at the time that Denver was selected as the place for the Democratic National Convention of this year that the West would be the political battleground in the present campaign, or whether it was selected unconsciously in obedience to the law that "Westward the course of Empire takes its way," I will not attempt to determine. Whatever may have been the cause, the place chosen for the Democratic Convention is several hundred miles further west than any at which national conventions have previously been held. I am inclined to think that it was a happy selection in more ways than one. It made it evident that no section has a monopoly upon civic pride. At great expense, half a million dollars, the city provided a convention hall which for the purpose has few, if any, equals in the world. It was also made clear that no other city of equal size in the United States could care for the immense crowd with as little strain—for Denver is a city of tourists. The bracing air from the Rockies was a pleasant and really helpful tonic, but more invigorating and more stimulating for the work in hand was the political atmosphere characteristic of the western temperament.

It was my good fortune to arrive in Denver in advance of the vanguard of the political army, and to watch the trend of sentiment with the opening of each new headquarters, the "claims" of each political manager, and the arrival of each trainload of camp-followers. From the very beginning to the grand finale it became increasingly evident that the issue as to the choice of a standard-bearer was clearly drawn—it was a question of whether the wishes of the ninety per cent. or of the ten per cent. of the party should govern. If the wishes of the ninety per cent. were to govern, then it was clear that Bryan would be nominated; if the ten per cent., then some one else—either Gray or Johnson. Now, it may be that the ninety per cent. were wrong and the ten per cent. right, but if the ninety per cent. are not more likely to be right than the ten per cent., the underlying principle of republican government—the rule of the majority—is radically wrong. I shall not use space here in defense of that principle. Its defense is to be found in the whole history of the United States.

In certain quarters one would hear the half-vehement, half-plaintive cry that the party was dominated by Bryan, that if the party could get rid of Bryan it would stand a chance to succeed. But when I

inquired who in the Democratic party was under obligation to take orders from Bryan, provided his better judgment impelled him to do otherwise, I was answered by silence or vociferation. Neither of these being satisfactory, I called for a bill of particulars, which as yet has not been presented. A calm view of the situation forced me to the conclusion that Bryan's dominancy of the Democratic party is not due to force or fraud, to a subsidized press or political patronage, nor yet to the factitious circumstance of political success. It is due rather to the fact that Bryan best expressed what the vast majority of the party think and feel. To me it is as clear as the noonday beam that the Democratic party could at any time "get rid of" Bryan, if the majority wanted to get rid of him. The Republican party might as well talk of increasing its chances of success by getting rid of Roosevelt, when Roosevelt is the vitalizing force in it, as for the Democratic party to talk of increasing its chances of success by getting rid of Bryan who as an exponent of the thought and feeling of the rank and file of the party is first to such a degree that there is no second.

The bulk of the talk about increasing the chances of Democratic success by eliminating Bryan does not make half good nonsense; it runs counter to past political experience. If I err in this, Judge Parker will correct me—no Democrat can be elected President of the United States without the Bryan following. Like the Rooseveltian following, that of Bryan is not simply an aggregation of partisans—it is a popular, a personal following. Such a following cannot be controlled by party machinery, it is not a commodity which can be delivered to another, even by the will of its leader; the direction in which it will move can be determined only by the individual wills of its members. This may seem strange doctrine to political bosses, but it is nevertheless a factor to be reckoned with.

It may as well be admitted that Bryan's dominancy over the Denver Convention was as complete as that of Roosevelt at Chicago; with this difference, that Bryan did not content himself, as did Roosevelt, with a half-way job. The progress of the campaign is making it increasingly clear that among the mistakes made at the Chicago convention the most costly in its consequences is that of President Roosevelt who, being in complete control, should have contented himself with naming the candidate for the major office and allowed the reactionary element to do the balance of the work. As a result of this, the work of the Democratic convention, contrary to precedent, has far greater consistency and coherency than does that of the Republicans. Put in slightly different language, the steam-roller could have been used to better advantage in paving the way to election than to nomination.

The temporary organization emphasized a fact to which I have already called attention, viz., that the center of political gravity has shifted perceptibly westward. It was no accident that Mr. Bell was made temporary chariman; it was one act in a play, the dominant note in which was to keep as far away from Wall street as possible. Yet, be the motive what it may, the choice was a good one. As presiding officer he was eminently fair in his rulings and his keynote speech was progressive without being radical, practical rather than visionary, possessed of oratory without bombast, vigor without rant, intensely earnest yet free from partisan bitterness. In this last respect it contrasted very favorably with that of the permanent chairman.

It was as unfortunate as it was unnecessary that the tribute of respect due Grover Cleveland by the Democratic party assembled in convention should have been given a partisan tinge. There was no reason in the nature of things why a resolution could not be introduced without stirring up hatred, which would reveal a sense of loss without even the appearance of attempting to convert that

loss into political gain. But somebody's press agent became over-active and it became noised about that the Marc Antony of the occasion might not confine his remarks to the virtues of his dead friend, but might allow his funeral oration to shade off into a political stump-speech. Against the impropriety and possible consequences of such a proceeding, precautions were taken.

Perhaps the most radical, and certainly the most suggestive act of the convention was that of the credentials committee in unseating the Guffey delegates. It was abundantly clear to all that the real question was not which set of delegates should be allowed a vote in the convention, for their votes would produce no appreciable effect upon the work of the body, but the real question was: Should Guffey be allowed to remain at the head of the political machinery of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania? In deciding this question, the committee considered itself called upon to sit not as a court of law but as a board of arbitrators with power to adopt their own rules of evidence and procedure. Having reached the conclusion that the question they were deciding was not one of law or vested rights, but one of political expediency, the committee decided by an emphatic majority that the organization must be freed from control by Guffey and the corrupting influences of which he is the willing agent. Though the minority carried this fight to the floor of the convention, here again the controversy was decided by no five to four majority, but by so decisive a vote as to make it certain that there are other elements besides water with which oil does not mix well. This contest made clear another fact, to wit: if by any means the question of state's rights can be injected into a controversy, many of the Southern leaders can, from that point on, see nothing else in the controversy. Whatever may be said as to the legal technicalities involved in the contest, it is tolerably free from doubt that political expediency, which in this case coincided with political consistency, demanded the decapitation of Guffey; and most of us have comparatively little difficulty in controlling our grief over his sad fate.

As I have already intimated, the choice of permanent chairman was not as happy as that of temporary chairman. Mr. Clayton, by making a personal attack upon President Roosevelt, made what, in my judgment, was the most uncalled-for and most costly mistake that was made during the whole proceeding. There was, so far as could be seen, no excuse for his allowing prejudice to get the better of his judgment and drive him into making an attack which was as unjust as it was impolitic. If his purpose had been to drive as many votes as possible from Bryan to Taft, he could not have accomplished that purpose as effectively in any other way. But it is to be presumed that this was not the purpose and that the attack was a gratuitous blunder.

It is neither possible nor desirable to discuss here in detail the various planks of the platform. Neither would it be at all fitting to omit all reference to the platform. Beginning with the plank about which there was the most controversy, both inside and outside the committee, we find this difference between it and the anti-injunction plank in the Chicago platform—it says something. Neither can it in fairness be said to be anarchistic or even radical. It is simply a protest against a relatively recent and extensive exploitation of the equity powers of the inferior federal courts. If either is an attack upon the courts, then both are, for both alike assert that there is need of legislation limiting the judicial powers as regards injunctions. The difference is that the Democratic plank furnished a much more explicit guide to legislative action.

The tariff plank is so in accord with the traditional attitude of the party upon the tariff question that it furnished no surprise and calls for no comment. The same is true of the income-tax plank, which is the natural concomitant of the tariff plank. It may, however, be well

in this connection to call attention to a difficulty which, so far as I can find, the platform does not meet. The placing of trust-controlled goods upon the free list would result in a large deficit. The time required to get an income tax amendment incorporated into the Constitution would be considerable, if indeed, such an amendment could be passed at all How is the deficit to be provided for in the interim?

The trust plank is as clear and explicit as could be desired. Though after the treatment accorded Guffey, it might be questioned whether any further action was necessary to make clear the attitude of the convention toward trusts. Guffey was told emphatically by the convention that the "twilight zone" for him and his is a political, not a legal one.

The plank providing for publicity in the matter of campaign contributions, upon which great emphasis is sure to be thrown during the campaign, was pronounced shaky timber by the architects of the Chicago platform. Since the Chicago Convention, Mr. Taft and his campaign managers have, however, come to look with much greater favor upon this plank than did the "old guard," but are of opinion that with reference to this subject, as well as the tariff, the time for action is "after election."

It is reasonable to suppose that the plank providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote will come in for a fair share of attention. This is another plank which the "builders rejected." The proposition to make this change is amply supported by logic as well as by popular sentiment. That the people desire it is evidenced by the fact that in many states they have forced this change without waiting for a change in legal forms. The opposition comes mainly from two classes: first, those opposed to change as such, and, second, United States Senators.

The plank providing for a governmental guarantee of bank deposits will, because of its relative newness, be widely discussed and, if I mistake not, will prove an element of strength in the platform. The scare which thousands of depositors received during the past year has placed many of them in a receptive frame of mind, so that sensible discussion of this plank is sure to receive a respectful hearing. By sensible discussion I mean discussion tending to prove its practicability or impracticability and not simply high-temperatured appeals to class prejudice. On the face of it the proposition does not look unreasonable to the average man. It is not apparent that taxing banks to provide a fund to be used in case of accident to one or more of them differs radically from taxing laborers to provide an accident fund. It would be reasonably sure to have one wholesome effect: it would cause bankers to combine in order to enforce a more rigid inspection of banks. There may be conclusive reasons why the plan is impracticable; if so, these reasons will no doubt be set forth during the campaign. Otherwise, many will conclude that the chances of success are sufficient to warrant the experiment.

The plank calling for the exclusion of Asiatics is, in my judgment, unwise. It is evidently intended as a sop to certain classes on the Pacific coast. But throwing such sops at the risk of straining international friendships is a policy of very doubtful expediency. Time was when it was fashionable to cudgel England in political platforms, but England understood the exigencies of party politics better and was less likely to take such political buncombe seriously than is the case with Asiatics.

The planks relating to the navy and the Philippines are, fortunately, more conservative than might have been expected. They are delightfully, and, I think, intentionally vague. Neither these nor the planks regarding internal improvements, irrigation, corporate regulation, preservation of natural resources, and the Panama Canal differ substantially from the corresponding planks in the Chicago platform.

With the platform adopted without

division, the decks were cleared for action; because while the committee on resolutions and platforms were deliberating the nominating speeches for head of the ticket had been made, under suspension of the rules. Up to this time there had been two very marked demonstrations of enthusiasm—one when Mr. Gore, the blind Senator from Oklahoma, referred to the attitudes of Bryan and Taft toward the Oklahoma constitution, and the other when Bryan's name was presented to the Convention as candidate for the Presidency. Though these demonstrations may in part have been made to order, they were in the main spontaneous outbursts of genuine admiration, of which neither the delegates nor the galleries had any monopoly.

By the time a ballot was reached, it did not need any ballot to determine who would be the nominee for head of the ticket. Whether the two-thirds rule or the majority rule was applied made no difference—Bryan was the choice of the convention. It needed no pressure to hold the Bryan following in line, the whole supply of pressure was used up in holding the roof on. The fact that Bryan had been twice defeated did not exercise much influence over the delegates. And indeed it should not, for no one who does much thinking upon the subject will conclude that any Democrat could have been elected President in either 1896 or 1900. During the first of these campaigns the majority had made up their minds that they were going to have a change of administration, and during the second campaign they were equally determined not to have any change; this determination lasted during 1904 and whether or not it still exists is a question which cannot be answered definitely until after the election. I think, however, that it is entirely safe to say that it is not so pronounced as it once was.

If one seeks an explanation of the hold which Bryan has upon his party and upon the American people regardless of party, he will find it in the personality of the man. The abiding factor in his career is the fact that he possesses a remarkably strong and attractive personality. However evanescent may be the prestige due to titles or official position, to wealth or control of political machinery, strength of character is something permanent. It is no mean tribute to his worth as a man that, although for twelve years he has been subjected to criticism and ridicule by the press of the opposing party and to bitter denunciation by a large part of the press of his own party, no specific instances of dishonesty, corruption or lack of manly principle have ever been suggested. Those who know him best are not the ones who think him dangerous. It is now too late in the day to argue that his position at the head of the list of American private citizens is due to cheap methods—cheap methods are always short-lived.

The nominee for the Vice-Presidency is a man of clean record and considerable ability. His nomination will add strength to the ticket in a section where strength is needed; it is comulative evidence that the Middle West is to be made the battle-ground of the campaign. Like Bryan, he has been twice defeated. But in his case also fairness compels the admission that, at the times he ran, no Democrat could have been elected. The fact of his defeats will, therefore, not have great weight with thinking people.

It is too early yet to predict with safety the outcome of the campaign. But this much may be safely predicted—the outcome will depend upon how the Democratic candidates and platform appeal to the small property-holders, for it is reasonably certain that it is the votes of this class, fortunately a large one in the United States, which will decide the election. Neither the millionaire nor the *sans culotte* can control elections in the United States, and it will be unfortunate if the time ever comes when they can.

EDWIN MAXEY.

*Lincoln, Nebraska.*

# THE SEWERAGE SYSTEM OF SAN ANTONIO.

By George Wharton James.

[Note: In Rabbi Schindler's social romance, *Young West*, a sequel to *Looking Backward*, which was published several years ago, the hero was represented as being elected president of the republic as a token of the nation's appreciation of his services in discovering a practical plan by which the sewage of the American towns and cities could be quickly utilized for renewing the exhausted soil. Through this discovery millions upon millions of almost worthless acres of land were brought to the highest state of cultivation. In the following highly suggestive short paper by Mr. George Wharton James we have the story of a practical demonstration of this utilization of a city's waste.—Editor of The Arena.

ONE OF the most interesting examples of the potential value of a city's sewage is found in San Antonio, Texas, where the city's refuse is utilized in a manner that is proving exceedingly profitable to those who control the monopoly.

The sewerage system of this city is fairly complete, the outfall terminating in a sewerage farm, ten miles distant. The city has given a grant for ninety-nine years to an irrigation company which controls the entire output of the outfall for irrigation purposes. Under the terms of the contract the lessee, the San Antonio Irrigation Company, took the sewage six miles out from the city and built five miles of canal. Through this canal the surplus sewage not used in irrigation flows upon an extensive filter-bed, which removes all solids and allows the liquid to enter a storage-basin which covers about a thousand acres. This basin is a natural lake and acts as a septic tank on a large scale. It is very shallow, and the sun's rays, penetrating to the bottom, purify the liquid, so that while at the north end it enters as sewage, the overflow which occurs at times of heavy rains leaves at the south end clear and pure. This has been confirmed again and again by chemical tests and shows how the power of the sun acts as a natural purifier. The overflow finally reaches the Medina river, a small stream which, twenty-two miles below the city, empties into the San Antonio river.

The lands that are irrigated by water from this sewage lake are in the Medina Valley and comprise nine thousand acres. Of these about one thousand are now under cultivation and the results have been so gratifying that the Irrigation Company is improving the remaining eight thousand acres as speedily as it can. Water is drawn from the lake by gravity and the entire system is worked without pumping. The farmers who live along the line of the outfall canal also, seeing the advantages of sewage irrigation, are purchasing water and placing their lands under cultivation. Experiments have demonstrated that forage plants produce the best and most satisfactory crops, though such vegetables as beets, Bermuda onions and the like that grow underground, also thrive abundantly.

As the plant has been in operation since 1903, there has been time enough to come to definite conclusions about some things and Mr. R. H. Russell, the manager of the company, is assured that the sewage contains all the elements needed to perfectly restore the soil without any other fertilizer. So that it provides it not only with the moisture needed for good and constant crops, regardless of the seasons, but is also a constant renovator of the land.

Where possible the sewage is used as it comes from the outfall, but, where the water is used from the "clear end" of the lake, the solids from the beds of the canals, ditches and filters are spread over the land as are any other fertilizers and good results thus obtained. The surplus of solids is sold to nearby farmers who eagerly purchase all they can obtain.

The fall of the sewer from the city to the canal is 4.22 feet per mile, and the main canal is sixty feet above the level of

the lake or sewerage-basin. The filter-bed is a stretch of land about three-quarters of a mile wide, and this will ultimately be used for cultivation. Provision necessarily has to be made for an overflow, owing to a sudden storm. About twelve million gallons a day flow out from the outfall, and of this it is estimated that fully four millions of gallons is of water supplied from gravel beds through which the sewer passes and into which this overflow of water is diverted, and a large percentage of the balance is from artesian wells, thus largely diluting the sewage.

Here, then, is a positive demonstration of the utility of a sewage farm. A city of some 85,000 inhabitants gets rid of its sewage in a safe, reasonable, healthful and economical manner, and, had the council of San Antonio been alive to the possibilities and requirements at an early day, the farm now owned by an individual would have been bought when land was cheap, for the city, and the city would thus have controlled its own sewage farm forever. As it is, the lease expires in ninety-nine years. If at that time the owner of the land has other plans, the city is put to the expense of devising some new way of ridding itself of the sewage.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.
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## RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION IN FRANCE.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

THE RECENT vote of the French Senate on June 27th in favor of the bill providing for the purchase of the Western Railroad, terminates one of the longest and bitterest fights in the annals of French politics.

During the past sixty years a number of measures providing for the purchase of part or all of the French railroads, have been introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies. In 1848 such a proposition was brought forward by M. Duclerc, Minister of Finance; in 1872 another similar proposal was made by Messrs. Gambetta, Rouvier, Brisson and others; in 1873 M. Janzé advocated the purchase of the "Eastern" road; in 1876 M. Lecesne introduced a bill providing for a general purchase of the railroads of the country, and was vigorously supported in his efforts by the eminent statesman and railroad authority, M. Richard Waddington; in 1880 M. Varroy, Minister of Public Works, submitted to the Chamber a plan for enlarging the state line by the purchase of a part of the Orleans road; in 1883 M. Allain-Targé demanded the purchase of this entire road; in 1894 several Deputies urged the purchase of the "Western" road; in 1895 and again in 1899 Messrs. Pelletan and other prominent radicals made a vigorous fight in favor of their proposal to purchase the Western and Southern roads; and in 1902 the bill of Messrs. Bourrat, Sembat and others, embodying this same demand actually passed the Chamber of Deputies, to be defeated in the Senate.

Since this partial success a number of similar proposals have been made, several commissions have been appointed to investigate the matter, and some vigorous discussions of the question have taken place in the Chamber of Deputies. In fact, since 1902 the question of state ownership of railroads has been almost constantly up for discussion both before the bar of French public opinion as well as before the French Parliament.

The Clemenceau Ministry, which came

into power as a result of the elections of May, 1905, was elected on a platform advocating the government ownership of railroads. As many prominent members of the radical party, however, were either lukewarm on the State Railroad proposition, or actually opposed to it, the Prime Minister was obliged to make a hard parliamentary fight before he succeeded in pushing his railroad-purchase bill through the Chamber of Deputies on December 8, 1906. Moreover his troubles did not end here. When his bill reached the Senate, it was referred to a committee which had been packed against it, and a strong report was made in favor of private railroads. Fortunately, however, for the Prime Minister, a peculiar political situation faced the radical party. A majority of its electors, like the Premier, believed in this plank in the platform, and it became apparent that an open, barefaced repudiation of their preëlection pledges in regard to this matter might result in driving a half-million of their voters into the ranks of the Socialists. Therefore when this summer M. Clemenceau gave notice to Parliament and to the country that he would make the railway-purchase bill a question of confidence in the ministry, or in other words that he would stake his official head on the passage of this bill, there was nothing left for the Senate to do but to swallow its prejudices, throw away its abstract *laisser faire* principles, and fall into line.

This measure, while it provides for the purchase of only one important railroad, i. e., the "Western," is, nevertheless, strategically of the very greatest importance. For a long time both friends and enemies of the principle of government ownership realized that, largely on the issue of this conflict, was to be determined the future railway policy of France.

It is true that, since 1878, France has had one line of state railroad, but this line, composed of little bankrupt roads, came into government hands rather by hazard than as a result of deliberate decision of the French people to establish a system of governmental railroads. Never before have the French people, the French Chamber of Deputies and the French Senate, all gone on record in favor of the principle of government ownership. For the past three years the French nation has hesitated and debated at this parting of the ways, until at last under the able leadership of Premier Clemenceau the Rubicon has been crossed and France has joined the ranks of those nations which believe in the public ownership and operation of the chief public highways of the nation.

### STORY OF FRENCH RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT.

France was slow in beginning the construction of her railroads. While about sixty years ago private speculative enterprise already was actively engaged in railroad construction in England, and while Belgium was well under way with a net-work of state railroads connecting its chief industrial centers with the Rhine and the sea, France was investigating, hesitating and discussing. To be sure, France was less developed industrially than either England or Belgium and consequently the financial outlook for the roads was less brilliant. Moreover, the important psychological fact must not be overlooked that in money matters the French by nature are extremely prudent, methodical and logical. They like to have a complete and detailed plan of what they intend to do before they begin operations. Therefore, in 1833, instead of launching out on an era of railroad building, the Chamber of Deputies voted a lump sum of $100,000, together with a yearly allowance of $10,000 to defray the expenses of necessary investigations, and requested the state engineers to prepare plans for a *national system* of French railways.

Subsequent developments have shown this conservative and intelligent method of procedure to have been eminently practical. As a result of it France never has built

a superfluous mile of road, while England, in accordance with her utterly impractical idea of railroad competition, is saddled with hundreds of miles of the most expensively built railroads in the world which never were needed, which were constructed solely for speculative purposes and which, in order to make a reasonable dividend on the capital invested, are forced to-day to charge "the highest rates in Europe."

During this whole preparatory period the French political world was greatly agitated over the question as to whether the construction of the roads should be undertaken by the state or entrusted to private enterprise. The most notable discourse pronounced during this discussion was the speech in favor of government ownership delivered in the Chamber of Deputies May 10, 1838, by the great poet, historian and statesman, Lamartine. Some of his bursts of impassioned eloquence have proven strikingly prophetic.

LAMARTINE'S WARNING.

"Ah, gentlemen!" he cried; "there is a sentiment which has always powerfully moved me while reading history or looking at facts—and that is a horror of corporations, the sense of the incompatibility of sincere and progressive liberty with the existence within a state or a civilization of such bodies. I realize that this is not the prevailing idea, which, on the contrary, attributes to them a sort of correlation with liberty. But without realizing it, in this case, one has in mind aristocratic and not democratic liberty, for if such bodies resist those who are above them they oppress with the same energy those who are underneath. This is the most odious of tyrannies, because it is the most durable —the tyranny with a thousand heads, a thousand lives, a thousand roots, the tyranny which can neither be broken, killed nor extirpated. It is the best form that oppression has ever been able to assume in order to destroy alike individuals and our collective interests. When once you have created them or allowed them to be born, henceforth they are your masters for centuries. Corporations or that which resembles them, combined interests recognized by law and organized, amount to the same thing—the subjugation prompt, inevitable, and perpetual of all other interests. It is no longer possible to touch them or they will utter a cry frightening or unsettling every one about them. They must be counted with; for those interests which are scattered, isolated, without solidarity, without unity of action, always succumb, inevitably succumb, before interests that have consolidated.

"Free governments are no more exempt from these influences than others; they insinuate themselves everywhere, in the press, in public opinion and in the body politic—finding everywhere associates and allies. Their cause has as many supporters as there are people interested therein. Have we not too many deplorable examples of this before our eyes? Do we not see the entire agricultural and commercial interests of the country oppressed by the combination of a small number of iron-workers, of factory-owners, of industrial concerns favored by bounties, by tariffs which protect only themselves and prove ruinous to every one else? We revolt in vain, we are in their hands, they possess us, they oppress us, and France impotently submits to a loss of from three to four hundred millions a year because to certain special interests of this nature she once allowed rights which to-day she cannot, or dare not, take from them. Sixty or eighty iron manufacturers, with impunity, tyrannize over the whole country.

"Great God! What will be our condition when, according to your imprudent system, you shall have constituted into a unified interest with industrial and financial corporations the innumerable stockholders of the five or six billions of securities which the organization of your railroads will place in the hands of these companies?

"You, the partisans of the liberty and the enfranchisement of the masses, you, who have overthrown feudalism and its tolls, its rights of the past and its boundaries, you are about to allow the railroads to fetter the people and divide up the country among a new feudality, a moneyed aristocracy. Never a government, never a nation has constituted outside of itself a more oppressive money power, a more menacing and encroaching political power than you are going to create in delivering up your soil, your administration, and five or six billions of securities to your private railroad companies.

"I prophesy with certainty that, if you do this, they will be masters of the government before ten years!"

All his eloquence, however, seemed in vain for as a result of the discussion, the proposition presented by the Ministry February 18, 1838, providing for the construction by the state of several important lines, was defeated, and a number of immensely valuable franchises were granted to private companies. Not until they had devoted nearly three-quarters of a century to unsatisfactory experimentation with private railroad monopoly, did the French people at last come to see that Lamartine was right and that the highest welfare of France demanded the nationalization of their great iron highways.

### FAILURE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

After this triumph of the corporations in 1838, the railroad history of France is a history of the failure of "private enterprise." Again and again, the companies whose representatives and champions had denounced the incompetence of the state in such matters, and had vaunted their own splendid qualifications for the carrying out of this colossal enterprise, were forced to come cringing before that same state to beg for help. The state, forgiving their former insolence, had compassion on them and granted to some annuities, to others subsidies, and to still others guarantees of interest.

As early as 1840, the government felt called upon to remit certain requirements which had been incorporated into its contract with the "Orleans" line, but which the company seemed unable to live up to. Moreover, as this did not suffice, the government with a truly paternal spirit, again stepped into the breach and guaranteed a minimum rate of interest on the securities of the road. About this same date the government also came to the rescue of several other companies. It loaned the line from Paris to Rouen nearly $3,000,000; it loaned the line from Rouen to Havre $2,500,000, and gave it a subsidy of $1,600,000; it gave the line from Avignon to Marseilles a subsidy of $6,400,000; and it gave the line from Bordeaux to Cette a subsidy of $3,000,000.* In 1874 the government gave to the line from Paris to Lyons a more favorable contract, together with substantial financial support, and as the line got into difficulties again in 1848, the government took back its charter, and magnificently reimbursed its stockholders in government bonds for all losses.†

At last, during the revolution of 1848, the railroads of the country got into such financial straits that the government first proposed to buy them all outright, but in 1849, for reasons best known to itself, gave up this plan in favor of an elaborate scheme of "contracts," in accordance with which the government guaranteed to all holders of railroad securities a minimum of interest on their investments. This arrangement in spite of certain modifications incorporated from time to time, notably in 1863, 1868, 1875, 1879 and 1883—in its essential features has remained the same to this day.

### STRIKING SUCCESS OF THE FRENCH STATE RAILROAD.

The argument which has contributed most toward persuading the French

**Chemins de fer Français*, Grippon La Motte, pp. 84, 85.

†Ibid, p. 116.

people to embark on a policy of railroad nationalization has been the substantial and striking success of the line of railroad which the state now has owned and operated for over a quarter of a century. The history of the French State Road is a very peculiar and interesting one. It was formed in 1878, out of a lot of little bankrupt local roads which had been constructed without any general plan, were badly connected, or not connected at all, and many of which had not been finished. Without any line connecting them with Paris, they were in every way a most chaotic and impossible aggregation of disconnected pieces of lines, which the state, in its paternalistic capacity of receiver, felt called upon to buy up and transform if possible into a reasonably successful system.

At the beginning of this attempt, it was supposed that the state had only taken charge of these roads until the great corporation could be induced to assume this responsibility; but, as the large roads steadily refused to shoulder this burden on the terms offered by the government, the state necessarily had to hold and to manage them as best it could. A law passed in 1879 provided for the construction of new branch lines, connecting the old ones. Unfortunately, however, to make a bad situation worse, when in 1883 the French railroad system was reorganized, the state, in endeavoring to give a little more cohesion to its system, made a rather disastrous trade of certain of these branch lines to the Orleans and Western Roads for some of their local lines which were nearer to it. The exchanges thus negotiated were most advantageous to these two roads, but proved very costly to the state. To the Orleans Company the state agreed to pay an annuity of 2,348,000 francs until the expiration of its charter, and yet, strange as it may seem, the lines conceded by this company to the state, were making a net profit smaller by at least twenty or twenty-five per cent. than the lines which the state conceded to it.

The deal arranged with the Western Company was very much of the same nature. In giving the state lines the right to take its trains into Paris over the tracks of the Western road, all sorts of ruinous restrictions were imposed upon the state, in addition to a provision requiring it to pay forty per cent. of its gross receipts for all traffic carried over the Western's tracks from Chartres to Paris. After this costly and wholly unfair arrangement had been carried out, the friends and champions of "individual initiative" firmly expected to see the state line languish and die. They intended to use this failure, which they had planned carefully, and to which they were looking forward complacently, as an example of what might be expected of railroads managed by "incompetent government officials." To their great surprise and discomfiture, in spite of its unfavorable beginning and this betrayal of its interests by the government which formulated the "contracts of 1883," and in spite of the further fact that it ran through a region industrially very undeveloped, it nevertheless prospered and grew, and, in many important respects, has made of itself an example which the other railroads of France are finding themselves forced to imitate.

In the words of Professor Berthelemy, "From a commercial point of view, the state line, where free in the matter of rate-making, has made some important reductions, without diminishing its net receipts. The rates on the state road are all lower than those of the private companies."*

As to passenger rates: in 1885, the average rate per kilometer for each passenger was .0466 franc for the companies, and only .036 franc for the state; and, in 1900, was .038 for the companies, and .0299 for the state. This difference is clearly a result of better management—a management which, contrary to the expectations of liberal economists, has shown itself more ready to make innovations than has been that of the corporation

*Rapport by M. Marcel Regnier, 1906, p. 14.

roads. One of the most important of these innovations, the lowering of rates, not only has benefited the traveling and shipping public but, by increasing the traffic of the road, has increased its income. It was the State Road which inaugurated the system of selling return-trip tickets from every station to every other station on its lines. The reduction thus made was thirty per cent., and ten per cent. more for each twenty kilometers, until a maximum of forty per cent. was reached. The companies have been forced by public opinion to follow suit, but they have done it slowly and grudgingly; and, up to the present time, have made reductions on round-trip tickets of only twenty-five per cent. first class, and twenty per cent. for the second and third classes. The state line also was the first to put third-class passenger cars on its express trains; and was the first to have its third-class passenger trains heated. Moreover, on the state lines, the rates for workingmen's season tickets are lower than on the company roads. But in spite of all these reductions on the state line, its receipts have continued to increase in a most encouraging way. In 1888 the gross receipts of the state line were 13,386 francs per kilometer; while in 1905, they had risen to 18,457 francs per kilometer, making an increase of thirty-seven per cent. For the company lines, on the other hand, during the same period, the gross receipts per kilometer rose from 36,787 francs to only 42,309 francs per kilometer, an increase of 15.01 per cent.

A comparison of the increase in net receipts makes an even more favorable showing for the state line. The net receipts of the state line in 1889 were 3,139 francs per kilometer, whereas in 1905, they had risen to 5,108 francs, an increase of 62.73 per cent. For the companies the increase during this same time was only from 18,371 francs to 20,793 francs, a net increase of 13.18 per cent.

On looking at these figures one is at once struck by the fact that, whereas the state line increased its net receipts nearly twice as much as its gross receipts the companies were unable to make as large an increase in their net receipts as in their gross receipts. Surely this state of affairs would seem to indicate that the management of the state line was fully as business-like, as economical and as efficient as that of the company lines.

In the light of these facts, one is not surprised, therefore, that even Mr. C. Colson, who ordinarily stands up stoutly for the companies and for private ownership of railroads, has yet been forced to admit that "All those who have given careful and close attention to the management of the state railroad since it has emerged from its first troubled stage, recognize that, from the point of view of expenditures, this management is in no way inferior, either in efficiency or economy, to the management of the great private companies."*

In the face of this, to some people, rather amazing success of the state lines of France, it is interesting to recall the words of the great orthodox *laisser-faire* economist and politician, M. Leon Say. In 1882, he said: "It is very easy to-day to convince oneself that the operation of this line by the state is one of the most colossal errors that one could have committed. The misfortune is absolute and irremediable. The Budget is crippled, that is evident; the people that are being served are not contented; this is certain. There is to be found, then, in this step neither economic nor political advantage. We cannot continue otherwise than for the purpose of trying the most uncertain and the most costly experiments, at the expense of the taxpayers. It is a disaster.

"The maintenance of this institution, without roots and without reason, resembles the prolongation of the existence of certain industrial enterprises that do not dare to settle up their accounts for fear of bringing to light their losses, and that one

**Les Chemin de Fer et le Budget de la France*, p. 175; *Bulletin de la Commission International du Congress des Chemins de Fer*, Vol. 8, 1896.

unites successfully with a series of new enterprises, in order to hand on to others the responsibility of a final settlement. It is a burden; it is a ball, which the Budget drags at its feet, and of which it must cut the chains as soon as possible."*

The following year, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the evening before the discussion of the question in the Chamber of Deputies, wrote as follows:†

"The State Railroad system seems to us to be for the public finances a sort of open sore—or, if you wish a comparison more agreeable, it is a plaything of the most costly sort. When the state shall have arrived at ideas less infantile, and when it shall comprehend better the grave state of our finances, it will place this railroad system on sale. Unquestionably, it will receive as rent, or in the shape of interest on the price for which it is sold, larger profits than it receives to-day."‡

How wild and irrational all this sort of talk sounds to-day, in the face of the *actual results* of state management. Even such strong partisans of private enterprise as M. Plichon and M. Modest Leroy are now forced to admit that, in the words of the former, "The State Road is at present operated in an entirely satisfactory way."§

Perhaps no better *résumé* of the situation has been given than that which was drawn up on March 12, 1900, by the Chamber of Commerce, at La Rochelle. Among other things, this memorial says:

"The state system, as it was constituted in 1878, by the purchase of little bankrupt or unprofitable companies, and then as reconstituted by the contracts of 1883, without any direct connection with Paris, and surrounded on the north and on the east by private companies, of which it is merely a tributary, is not in a condition to permit of any serious comparison between the results of its management and those of the private companies. But, in spite of this unavoidable situation, the state system has been able to make the best of the lines which, simply because otherwise they could not have continued to exist, were confided to its management.

"By a unification of the freight and express rates, by the lowering of the price of transportation, and by increasing the rapidity of the transportation of everything, the state has developed the vitality of the Southwestern region which it serves, and, as a consequence, its receipts have been raised from 25,000,000,000 francs in 1885, to 46,000,000,000 francs in 1898."‖

[FUTURE FRENCH RAILWAY POLICY.

The "state line," which formerly was only 1,812 miles long, henceforth is to be the second longest system in the country, with a length of 5,392 miles, or about one-fifth of the railroad mileage of France. This tripling of the size of the enterprise will give its management a better opportunity than it ever has had before to demonstrate its capacity for successful railway administration. If the enlarged "network" is operated as economically, as honestly and as energetically as the old state line has been, the partisans of the purchase will have no reason to regret their activity in securing the bringing about of this reform. Moreover there is every reason to believe that the new management will prove even more satisfactory than the old. Not only has the enlarged system greater independence and freedom from costly and cramping alliances with other roads, but the government has announced its intention of giving to the new management a greater degree of autonomy and industrial freedom from governmental red tape and routine than it has enjoyed up to the present time.

"The administrative organization," de-

**Journal des Economistes*, October, 1882, pp. 162–165.

†*Journal des Debates*, July 7, 1882.

‡*Journal des Debates*, July 7, 1882.

§*Journal Official-Seance*, du 21 Janvier, 1904, p. 51.

‖*Le Rachat du Chemin de Fer*, by Professor Edgard Milhaud, pp. 146, 147.

clared the government,* "to which will be confided the task of operating the new state line, including the old Western road, must possess the autonomy and the suppleness which are indispensible to the efficient management of a large industry; it must furthermore be provided with financial powers which will enable it, by the issuance of bonds, to raise the funds necessary to provide for all expenditures other than actual "operating expenses."

It is interesting to note that the countries which recently have nationalized their railroads, such as Switzerland, Italy and France, have all incorporated into their administrative *régimes* this important improvement. With the extension of the industrial activities of the state has gradually come about a recognition of the essential distinction to be drawn between the "political state," or the state which governs, and the "industrial state," or the state which operates great business enterprises.

With the introduction of this fundamental reform it has been found that many of the old objections to government ownership have been removed, since to the inherent advantages of this ownership such as management in the public interest, has been added the economic advantage, which for a long time was supposed to be the especial prerogative of private enterprise, i. e., management at the highest possible standard of business efficiency.

CARL S. VROOMAN.

## SOME FALLACIES OF CAPTAIN MAHAN.

BY LUCIA AMES MEAD.

A THOUSAND women in their clubs throughout the country vehemently discuss the ethics involved in giving an overdose of chloral to shorten the death agonies of one's best beloved. A thousand men sign a petition to abolish the execution of convicted murderers. Why is it that perhaps not a hundred in either thousand are making practical and earnest effort to end the killing of myriads of able-bodied, innocent men in war?

There are several reasons for this paradox. The power to put one's self in the other fellow's place, to read statistics with the illumination of imagination and sympathy, is less developed at school than the power to recite exceptions to the rule governing the dative case. A mangled dog in sight compels more tears than the thought of twenty thousand mangled men in Manchuria. Moreover, we are under the obsession of the tradition that the military expert must inevitably best understand the problem of national defense and that the latter implies armaments solely. When, therefore, a distinguished naval expert and exemplary Christian gentleman discourses on this theme and tells us that war is inevitable, the layman is overawed and dumb. How should one who knows nothing of battleships or of the trajectory of projectiles presume to talk on national defense?

Because national defense depends on many other things than armies and navies; because the military man, with his specialized training, is the very last man to be aware of these, and the layman —the tourist, merchant or diplomat— who has come into contact with other nations in normal relations, may know many things about national defense that the man who studies life in abnormal conditions of war misses.

Said a retired United States rear-admiral during the Boer war: "I tell you what England ought to do. She ought to whip France." "What, now, when

*"*Projet de loi sur le régime financier et l' organization administrative des chemins de fer de l'etat,"* p. 2.

her hands are tied in South Africa?" exclaimed his friend, aghast. "Yes, yes; it would do good and clear the air," was the testy response. "But do you mean to have her go to war about nothing?" "Yes, yes; she could do it and clear the air." Ability to manage a squadron implies little knowledge of statesmanship or international ethics; although, of course, the above gross instance was exceptional and would be as readily condemned by Captain Mahan as by a Quaker.

But Captain Mahan's misconceptions and errors regarding the aims and arguments of the new peace party are typical and therefore important to analyze. First, he darkens understanding by defining war to suit his own fancy and uses the term indiscriminately to cover the literal and figurative use of the word as well as civil war, international war, past war and future war. All conflict he considers war, saying: "All organized force is by degrees war." It should be clearly understood that the peace party opposes only organized, deliberate killing of human beings; its members themselves often share in righteous and necessary conflicts which do not involve the deliberate killing of innocent men. Many ludicrous instances of addled ideas on this subject might be adduced to show the danger in thoughtless use of terms which confound war with all forms of force. In a certain city the window of a church bookshop was filled with gay, alluring juvenile books on war. A press comment on the incongruity of such a spectacle instantly elicited a silent answer (?) to the protest: a large picture of Jesus overturning the tables of the money-changers was placed beside the books! A naïve newspaper reporter once assumed that my objection to international war would involve condemnation of football; and another youth based his supposed disagreement from my position upon his having been obliged to threaten to knock down an insulting companion if he repeated his insult. "But you would not kill him, would you?" I inquired. "Of course not," was his horrified response. "But I was talking about killing," I rejoined. "Oh, is that the point? Killing? Yes, yes, I see," was his relieved reply.

The muddle-headedness which discerns only a difference in degree and not in kind between organized killing and an organized boycott, or the wholesome thrashing of a schoolyard bully, or such war of words as was waged by the non-resistant, William Lloyd Garrison, seems to be a weakness of many religious journals as well as of military men. The constant assumption that those who condemn future international war are spineless weaklings, devoid of patriotism and the spirit of struggle and adventure, is due to precisely this careless confounding of a form of contest—war—with those manifold other forms of contest in which all brave men should take a valiant part.

Secondly, Captain Mahan's classing of international war with all other forms of strife leads to his conceiving it impossible to end any one form of violence until all are ended. The cause of universal peace he holds is "nothing more than the cause of universal education." The abolitionists of war are in a measure to blame for the common confusion of thought thus evinced. At the National Peace Congress in New York, I do not recall a speaker who called attention to the sharp distinction to be drawn between international war, which can be ended by proper organization, and civil war, lynchings, murder, which cannot be thus ended. Only one leaflet distributed by the committee in charge made clear that "these are in another category from international war." The failure to make this clear distinction is largely responsible for the widespread assumption that peace advocates are attempting the impossible or what is possible only in the millennium. If international war could end only when other forms of violence cease, the new peace party, which is animated by the

hope of ending it within a century, would indeed be a throng of dreamers and deserving of the amused contempt they so often have received. It is precisely because the end of international war does not require the general education of the world, but only the active coöperation of a slight fraction of the most intelligent, that it may be accomplished a thousand years before other forms of violence have wholly disappeared and before licentiousness, corruption, greed, intemperance, all deeply rooted in existing industrial and social conditions, can cease. The few who will accomplish this are editors, parliamentarians, captains of industry and labor, teachers and preachers in five or six of the great nations of the world—one or two million persons all told. To achieve international peace the bulk of fifteen hundred million people on the globe are negligible. Let the leading nations begin disarmament, and all others will be only too glad to follow their leadership. China's 400,000,000 will be only too thankful to save their taxes for constructive purposes when relieved of the menace of the great powers. Neither Hague Conferences nor Hague Courts will prevent or settle civil strife. Theoretically that may break out indefinitely, though practically it would be less frequent as international war ceased. But the prohibition of war loans, advocated by Richard Cobden and recently by Secretary Straus and Hon. William J. Bryan, might indirectly bring outside influence beneficently to bear on civil as well as on international war.

Eliminate from consideration our two civil wars—the Revolution, "fought between the progressive and retrogressive parties on both sides of the Atlantic,"* and the Rebellion, and the consideration of our own problems becomes much easier and the objector more easily answered. We are seen to have had no wars since the Revolution except those of our own making. The Mexican war, General Grant, who fought in it, justly called iniquitous; and, if Minister Woodford's official letters from Spain fairly state the case, many are justified in the conclusion that, had it not been for yellow journalism and the blowing up of the "Maine" from some still unknown cause, we might, by other methods, have relieved Cuba without war and its subsequent entanglements in the East. In regard to our wars with foreign powers, which, during over ninety years, have lasted only two and a half years and have involved no invasion, there is serious difference of opinion as to their excuse. The consideration of war problems is greatly simplified when clear definitions remove the fog which vague and varied use of terms by even such masters of English as Captain Mahan throw around the difficult subject. When it is seen that abolitionists of war share the general reverence for the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg and, in general, are wasting little time in condemning wars which took place before substitutes for war were provided, much of the hostile criticism towards their efforts is shown to be irrelevant.

Thirdly. Captain Mahan derides the efficacy of organization as a promoter of peace because human nature is not likely to change much for many a century. He writes: "There are no short cuts by which men may be made peaceful. If the world could have been saved by an organization it would have been saved a thousand years ago by the Christian church." The fallacy here is in confounding states with individuals. In 1787, less than one hundred men worked out in our Constitutional Convention the method which has prevented war between any two of our own states ever since. In like manner, a comparatively few, even of the one or two millions above mentioned, will work out the methods of preventing war between any two nations.

All this involves no more change of human nature than that which has made a strong, united Germany out of a score or more of separate units whithin a gen-

*John Fiske.

eration; it involves no better human nature than that which exists in our own country without war *between* one state and another, although we are preëminent in homicides, lynching and *within* our states. Human nature doubtless is improving, and improving faster than fruits and flowers under the magic hand of Luther Burbank; but it is organization, not improved human nature, which prevents such old-time wars as were carried on between Italian cities in the days of Dante and Saint Francis. The Christ of the Andes, which commemorates the pledge of eternal peace between Chili and Argentina when they escaped imminent war by arbitration, is one of many refutations of Captain Mahan's statements, so far as governments are concerned. This does not mean that individuals of the two nations will never commit murder, or that they have not latent the possibility of fiendish conduct upon sufficient provocation. Organization removes the provocation between states, and leaves evil possibilities deeply latent, never to be realized. The reason that most Americans are not throwing bombs at officials, like the oppressed and maddened Russian revolutionist, is because their innate deviltry has no occasion to develop in that direction. It goes without saying that no loose organization of believers like the "Christian church" can ever remove the tariff walls and the political and economic obstructions which create hostility; this, constitutions and and treaties can alone affect.

The United States Supreme Court was the shortest cut to peace that the world ever saw, and, though it could not prevent rebellion of one-half the nation against the Federal government, it has prevented perhaps a dozen interstate conflicts. At this moment Virginia and West Virginia are having a suit over a question involving $15,000,000, which will be settled without strife or ill feeling, and the majority of citizens in both states will hardly know of its existence. Much smaller differences have led to wars between European countries. The average nation, much more than the average man, keeps the peace when this is made easy. International organization of self-governing peoples is the short cut to international peace. Captain Mahan's claim that peace can be attained only by "that same slow process by which we have attained our present civilization" ignores the fact that, in this age of endless forms of organization, rapid communication and widespread education, the progress of past centuries is now being equaled in decades, not merely in material achievements, but in mental and spiritual advance. With one bound, China has advanced intellectually more in ten years than in the previous thousand. Japan and Mexico in fifty years have achieved more than in two hundred previously. International peace no more demands the "slow processes" of the past than does international business. In fact, it is the demand of the constructive business mind that the lack of law and insecurity now evidenced by the existing system of defense shall cease. At present, this system in our own country consumes nearly seventy per cent. of the total national revenue—by which is meant that more than two-thirds of our entire national income are applied to paying for past and possible future wars, leaving less than a bare third for constructive purposes. What is true of us is substantially true of European nations.

Besides failing to draw distinction between international and civil war, Captain Mahan still further darkens understanding by confounding in one category all forms of repressive force. He asserts that the abolitionists of international war are practically saying, "It is wicked for society to organize and utilize force for the control of evil." Now only Tolstoi and his very few followers hold that all use of physical force is wrong. Not one in fifty of the opponents of international war takes that view. But, just as they discriminate between the kind of war which an organized world can speedily

end, and civil war, which it cannot thus prevent, so they distinguish between the use of a minimum of force necessary to achieve a judicial decision and the use of the maximum of force to settle questions irrespective of a judicial decision. The peace party believes in police; the latter's business in common civil society is, so far as it uses force at all, to use the least amount necessary to get a man before twelve disinterested jurymen and a judge, to have his case tried by law, after evidence has been given. The police have no right to execute punishment themselves, nor to beat any man who goes readily to court. The militia is a state police, intimidating lynchers and rioters, but never pursuing and shooting a mob that disperses on the reading of the riot act. Upon occasion, both police and militia may be forced to kill men who defy law and judicial procedure, if there is no way of getting them to court; but they do not set out to do this. Their type of force will remain so long as criminals exist. But a civilized community will permit no other type. Only uncivilized communities will much longer tolerate the international duelling called "war," which never aims to get a judicial decision and never provides for the equal weapons and "fair play" which is always demanded even in the duel between two individual combatants.

War is to be condemned primarily, not because it means death and destruction but because it never aims at justice and never achieves any measures of justice, except accidentally, incidentally and partially. Perhaps no fallacy is more widespread and dangerous than the idea that armies and navies are a "national police." True, they are occasionally called on for police functions, as when California and Jamaica earthquakes render assistance necessary. But food can be sent in vessels without ten inches of armor plate, and this occasional activity of war-vessels no more makes them a police force than the grocer's fighting of a forest fire at the demand of the fire-warden makes him by profession a fireman. A genuine police aims always either at kindly, protective work, like catching runaways and hunting lost children, or at getting a criminal before a court of law. The police of one city never fight the police of another city. A navy is a tool of government which is created for the settlement of difficulties by force, by dint of strategy and explosives, irespective of justice. A navy exists simply that it may fight another navy.

The abolitionists of war stand for justice as the paramount issue. It was with definite purpose that the scales of justice, and not the dove or olive branch, were placed upon the badges of the delegates at the great International Peace Congress in Boston and at the National Peace Congress in New York. The peace party makes no "mollycoddle" plea about hardship and pain; it has no craven fear of death. But it abhors, in this age of enlightenment, the beast's way of settling issues by tooth and claw and the devil's way of blowing up by treacherous mines the innocent victims of a government which votes to settle boundary-lines or questions of "honor" by explosives.

But to Captain Mahan this way is a valuable and revered method of settling "those momentous differences which cannot be settled by arbitration." He finds in arbitration no practicable solution for various new racial and economic problems that are looming up portentously. He is much concerned over questions involving the national conscience, and says: "There is an absolute indisposition, an instinctive revolt against signing away, beforehand, the national conscience by a promise that any other arbitrator than itself shall be accepted in questions of the future." Why, we ask, should there not be an instinctive revolt to the only alternative to this that Captain Mahan can suggest—namely, settlement of questions of conscience by explosives? Which is the more likely to settle any questions justly, the body of judges, fallible to be sure, like all other mortals,

but under oath and the eyes of the world carefully investigating evidence and rendering a verdict, or an admiral who knows nothing of the points at issue, but knows only where to send torpedo-boats to destroy the most life and property? Which settlement, be it absolutely just or not, leaves the least rancor—Bismarck's and Napoleon's method at Sedan, or the commission in London which settled the Alaska boundary? But Captain Mahan does not seem to concern himself about justice in these international affairs. He admits that war does not settle an ethical question. The impossibility of a nation's being an impartial judge in its own case does not appear to affect him when condemning arbitration of the more important international difficulties.

Captain Mahan's references to wars of religion in the past are irrelevant to the future. Such wars as may come will be for markets or territory or privilege. His assumption that questions of honor cannot be arbitrated is not held by the governments of Holland, Denmark, the five Central American states, Chili and Argentina which have all signed treaties to arbitrate every question—rational conduct which it is to be hoped Captain Mahan's own country may speedily emulate. Questions of "conscience" today belong chiefly to domestic politics, like slavery, suffrage, socialism, education and temperance. When the abuse of weaker peoples, like the Armenians, becomes a question of "conscience," a joint conference of Powers and the employment of organized ostracism can accomplish what no single nation can achieve by forcible aggression and dictatorship.

Three powerful adjuncts to arbitration as means of promoting a rational settlement of difficulties are completely ignored by Captain Mahan. One—a peace budget—has not yet been widely broached, but is big with promise for the future. It was one of the recommendations made by the Interparliamentary Union, composed of the statesmen of the world, at their great meeting in London in the summer of 1906. Had one dollar been devoted to peace for every thousand in the annual war budget, it would have given us $200,000 in 1906. This, put into the hands of a commission appointed by the President, would have enabled us to invite here fifty eminent Japanese and to have sent fifty of our distinguished citizens to Japan. It would have provided for an interchange of thought, receptions, lectures, innumerable courtesies, and have led to a vastly better understanding, besides providing for systematic, helpful work in the press and pulpit of the Pacific coast—worth easily the cost of a battleship in assuring hysterical citizens of safety. The enormous value of a common-sense *rapprochement* between England and France, the helpful interchange of visits and courtesies between English and German editors and merchants within the last two years, Secretary Root's friendly visit to South America and his kindly offices in helping towards peace between the states of Central America are but a slight beginning of the great systematic conciliation or work to be done in case of incipient friction, long before arbitration should be employed. This should play an enormous part in the future program of the American government, which makes such loud claims of its pacific purposes. This must be in addition to increased official and diplomatic measures, and largely be entrusted to tactful specialists and journalists. England's Chancellor of the Exchequer has at this very moment given the pledge of his government to the establishment of a peace budget, the value of which he warmly recognizes. It is probable that the price of one battleship, wisely expended in three or four leading nations, could do more for the peace of the world than all its combined navies. There are a score of rich American citizens who could individually accomplish a work of specific education in world organization which would alter the whole future history of the planet in

this regard, had they the foresight, shrewdness and good-will to do it.

A second measure of great promise, which increased organization renders possible, is the neutralization of weak and exposed regions, thus freeing them from danger of aggression, as the Philippines might be, with the consequent reduction of one-half our navy as soon as we grant them the independence which Secretary Taft has definitely promised. An immediate act by Congress making absolute and definite this pledge is the first step towards lowering the demand, now beginning, for sustaining two great navies—one in the Pacific and one in the Atlantic. No nation, of course, could refuse the request of our government to guarantee autonomy and neutrality to the archipelago when we withdraw. A refusal would be tantamount to advertising prospective aggression. The neutralization of Switzerland, Belgium, Honduras and Norway, and the self-renouncing agreement between England and the United States to have the three thousand miles of borderland between the United States and Canada unguarded are some of the notable beginnings in the use of a method which will play a gigantic part in the future in sidetracking jealousy and preventing friction. Who can question that when France, Great Britain, Germany and Russia "agree together to respect her autonomy and to act in concert in her support if she should be menaced by any Power," Norway is now free to spend her meager resources in building herself up, instead of guarding her frontier? The agreements, signed in April in Berlin and St. Petersburg by the Powers bordering on the North Sea and the Baltic, to respect each other's territorialty is a matter of great moment which has received amazingly little attention. What is to prevent every weak spot on the globe from becoming thus guarded as soon as the few influential minds of the world come to realize that there is a force stronger than armor plate—a force of which they are as oblivious to-day as, a dozen years ago, they were oblivious of wireless telegraphy or the gyroscope?

Another force also is ignored by Captain Mahan; it is the force of non-intercourse. China, whom he speaks of as "at the mercy of the so-called Christian nations," was not only the inventor of gunpowder, but the employer of a force which, when adopted by the western world, may prove more efficacious than the explosive which the nations so readily accepted and employed. Even a few unorganized Chinese merchants, unsupported by their government, were able, in a nation without a navy, to bring to some measure of justice our great nation with a navy second only to England's, when their boycott of our goods, a few years ago, wrought havoc in the cotton trade. Their recent boycott of Japanese goods has quietly secured the desired concessions. What would not be the power of 400,000,000 organized Asiatics backed by their government if, twenty-five years from now, they should unite to refuse to deal with any nation that had wronged them and transfer their trade to a more friendly one? Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court well says that the Hague Court will never need an army or navy behind it to enforce its decisions. "If all the civilized nations would say," to a recalcitrant government, "'From this time forward, until you submit your dispute to arbitration, we will withdraw our diplomatic representatives, we will have no official communication with you, we will forbid our citizens having any business transactions with your citizens, we will forbid your citizens coming into our territory, we will make you a Robinson Crusoe on a desert island'—there is no nation, however mighty, that could endure such an isolation. The business interests of the nation would compel the government to recede from its position and no longer remain an outlaw on the face of the earth." The mere threat of non-intercourse with any nation by an organized world would be quite adequate. It would never need to be

carried into execution any more than our militia are ever called on to enforce decisions of our Supreme Court.

If even three friendly nations—the United States, Great Britain and France—should begin, and agree to continue to arbitrate every question with each other, as they have already done for ninety years, and the two others to declare non-intercourse with any nation that refused arbitration and went to war with any one of the three, such an agreement published to the world would secure absolute immunity from attack for all three, and would practically result in the rest of the world joining with them, thus furthering a world organization which alone can bring international peace. This beginning, of course, would involve definite arrangements to reimburse merchants, if an embargo ever became a fact, and it would include an invitation to every other nation to enter this league for promoting peace without armaments. Preparations for war in 1908 are about as costly as actual war in 1898, but preparations for international non-intercourse as a substitute would cost nothing but the cost of international lawyers' fees and the drawing up of treaties. Bombardments affect only coast towns, but a withdrawal of business would affect as well even the hamlets farthest inland where any one bought or sold. At the least cost, the most effectual compulsion towards peace is in the hands of the three Powers that are first willing to arbitrate everything with each other. Ultimately, even the threat of non-intercourse will be needless; but as the next step in providing a substitute for force that aims at bloodshed it seems necessary to have this resource theoretically available, though in all probability it would never be used a single week.

The degree of national defense needed is merely a question of existing danger and bears no necessary relation to population, length of coast line, dignity or wealth. China has a population ten times as great as that of France, but does not therefore need ten times as great a navy. Since the Second Hague Conference the danger of bombardment of unfortified towns is ended, and therefore length of coast line is no measure of degree of danger. As one of our delegates to the Hague Conference has said: "If we want less danger we have but to tear down fortifications." A navy has no more to do with the dignity of a country than have fire-engines or life-saving stations. The degree of danger is largely a psychological question, requiring far more knowledge of human nature than of mechanics. The man whose thought has been for forty years focussed on the question of how to make and use the best instruments for killing enemies is the last man in the world to understand how to prevent making enemies. The health of the world depends not so much on bleeding and blisters and amputation as upon draining swamps and tearing down slums, upon sun and air, upon exercise and courage. The peace of the world depends not so much on steel destroyers as on the constructive, courageous statesmanship that forestalls enmity and turns it into bonded friendship.

Lucia Ames Mead.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

# THE VOCATION BUREAU.

By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D.
Director of the Bureau.

PART II.

IN MANY cases the interests and ambitions of the applicant are important indications of adaptation, and the Counselor often makes them part of the foundation for his suggestions. In other cases the interests and ambitions of the applicant, or what he thinks his interests, and ambitions prove to be ill-founded, and are dissipated in the light of searching investigation and self-revelation. The following is a case in point.

A WOULD-BE DOCTOR.

A boy of 19, said he wanted to be a doctor. He was sickly looking, small, thin, hollow-cheeked, with listless eye and expressionless face. He did not smile once during the interview of more than an hour. He shook hands like a wet stick. His voice was husky and unpleasant, and his conversational power, aside from answering direct questions, seemed practically limited to "ss-uh," an aspirate "Yes, sir," consisting of a prolonged *s* followed by a non-vocal *uh*, made by suddenly dropping the lower jaw and exploding the breath without bringing the vocal cords into action. He used this aspirate yes sir constantly, to indicate assent or that he heard what the Counselor said. He had been through the grammar school and the evening high; was not good in any of his studies, nor especially interested in any. His memory was poor. He fell down on all the tests for mental power. He had read practically nothing outside of school except the newspapers. He had no resources and very few friends. He was not tidy in his appearance, nor in any way attractive. He knew nothing about a doctor's life; not even that he might have to get up any time in the middle of the night, nor that he had to remember books full of symptoms and remedies.

The boy had no enthusiasms, interests or ambitions except the one consuming ambition to be something that people would respect, and he thought he could accomplish that purpose by becoming a physician more easily than in any other way.

When the study was complete and the young man's record was before him, the Counselor said:

"Now we must be very frank with each other. That is the only way such talks can be of any value. You want me to tell you the truth just as I see it, don't you? That's why you came to me, isn't it—not for flattery, but for a frank talk to help you understand yourself and your possibilities?

"Ss-uh."

"Don't you think a doctor should be well and strong? Does n't he need vigorous health to stand the irregular hours, night calls, exposure to contagious diseases, etc.?"

"Ss-uh."

"And you are not strong."

"Ss-uh." (This was repeated after almost every sentence of the Counselor's remarks, but will be omitted here for the sake of condensation.

"And you have n't the pleasant manners a doctor ought to have. You have not smiled nor shown any expressiveness in your face the whole time you have been answering my questions and telling me about your life and record. Your hand was moist and unpleasant when you shook hands. And you put your fingers in my hand without any pressure, or show of interest. I might as well have

shaken hands with a stick." (The Counselor's criticisms were very frank and forceful, but he smiled at the boy as he spoke, and his tones were quite gentle and sympathetic so that the young man was not offended or repelled, but seemed attracted and pleased, on the whole, by the frank and kindly interest of the Counselor in his welfare.)

"You might cultivate a cordial smile, a friendly handshake and winning manners, and you ought to develop good manners no matter what business you follow, but it will take much time and effort, for manners do not come natural to you."

"You should cultivate your voice and use smooth, clear tones with life in them. Your voice is listless, husky and unpleasant now."

"And read good, solid books, history, economics, government, etc., and talk about them. Develop your conversational power. At present you do not even seem able to say, 'Yes, sir,' distinctly.

"You want to win respect, to be something your fellow-men will admire, but it is not necessary to be a doctor in order to be respectable. Any man who lives a useful life, does his work well, takes care of his family, is a good citizen and lives a clean, true, kindly helpful life, will be respected and loved, whether he is a farmer, carpenter, lawyer, doctor, blacksmith, teamster, clerk or factory worker."

"People will respect a carpenter who knows his business and does his work well, a good deal more than they will a doctor who does n't know his business. It is a question of fitness, knowledge, skill and usefulness. A bad doctor is one of the least respectable of men. Think of the blunders he is likely to make, the people he is likely to kill or injure through wrong medicines or lack of skill in diagnosis or treatment."

The Counselor then painted two word pictures substantially as follows:

"Suppose two men are trying to build up a medical practice. One is tall, fine looking, strong and healthy, with a winning smile, a cordial way of shaking hands, a pleasant voice and engaging manners. He is bright, cheery, wholesome. People like to have him visit them. His presence in the sick room is a tonic worth as much as the medicine he gives. He has a good education, has read a lot of good books. Keeps posted in the leading magazines and understands the public questions of the day, so he can talk to all sorts of people about the things that interest them. He has a good memory so he can carry in his mind the volumes of symptoms and medical data a doctor ought to know, and can tell a case of smallpox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, etc., etc., without running back to his offie to study the books. He has friends to help him get patients, and money enough to live in good style three or four years while he is building up a practice.

"The other man is small, thin, hollow-cheeked, sickly looking, with poor memory, little education, practically no reading, no resources, undeveloped manners, husky, unpleasant voice, no conversational ability—nothing to attract people or inspire their confidence, and with mental handicaps that would make it very difficult for him to master the profession. No memory to hold the booksfull of symptoms and remedies—the patient might die while he was going back to the office to study up what was the matter.

"Which of these two men would hav the best chance of success?"

"The first one."

"And which most closely resembles your own case?"

"The second."

"Do you really think, then, that you would have a good chance to make a success of the medical profession?"

"I do n't know as I would. I never thought of it this way before. I just knew it was a good business, highly respected, and that 's what I wanted."

"But there may be other highly respectable lines of work in which you

would not be at so great a disadvantage.

"Suppose a lot of races were to be run. In some of them you would have to run with a heavy iron ball tied round your leg, while others ran free. In other races you could run free as well as the rest of them and have something like a fair chance. Which sort of race would you enter?"

"I 'd rather run free, of course."

"Well, your hands appear to be just as good as anybody's. You can exercise care and industry. You can remember a few things and can be successful if you do n't attempt too much. If you go out into some sort of work where you won't have to meet so many people as a doctor must, nor remember such a vast mass of facts—something where the memory and the personal element will not be such important factors, so that your handicap in those respects will not cripple you—you may run the race on fairly equal terms and have a good chance of success. Some mechanical or manufacturing industry, wholesale trade where you would handle stock, care of poultry, sheep, cows or other outdoor work, would offer you good opportunities and be better for your health than the comparatively sedentary and irregular life of a physician.

"I suggest that you visit stock and dairy farms, carpenter shops, shoe factories, wholesale stores, etc., see a good many industries in the lines I have spoken of, read about them, talk with the workmen and managers, try your hand if you can at various sorts of work, and make up your mind if there is not some business that will interest you and offer you a fairly equal opportunity free from the special handicaps you would have to overcome in professional life."

The Counselor also made specific suggestions about the cultivation of memory and manners, and a systematic course of reading and study to prepare for citizenship, and to develop economic power and social understanding and usefulness that would entitle the young man to the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

As the youth rose to go he wiped his hand so it would be dry as he shook hands with some warmth and thanked the Counselor for his suggestions, which he said he would try to follow. He smiled for the first time as he said this, and the Counselor, noting it, said:

"There! You can smile. You can light up your face if you choose. Now learn to do it often. Practice speaking before the glass till you get your face so it will move and not stay in one position all the evening like a plaster mask. And try to stop saying 'Ss-uh.' When you want to say '*Yes, sir,*' say it distinctly in a clear, manly tone and not under your breath like a steam valve on an engine. A good many times when you say 'Ss-uh' it is n't necessary to say anything, and the rest of the time you should say 'Yes, sir,' or make some definite comment in a clear voice full of life and interest. Watch other people, and imitate those you admire, and avoid the things that repel or displease you in people you do not like."

"Ss-uh—yes, sir," said the boy with another faint smile, "I'll try." And he was gone.

He told another young man a few days later that the Professor said he would go through him with a lantern, and he has certainly done it, and he was glad of it, for he learned more about himself that evening than in all his life before, and though part of it was like taking medicine at the time, it was all right, and he knew it would help him a great deal.

### A CARTOONIST IN THE BUD.

A working boy of 18, graduate of a Boston high school, said he wanted to be a cartoonist. He was strong, healthy, energetic and enthusiastic. He had a fine expressive face, clear, keen eye and pleasing manners He stood the memory test excellently well, showed some imagination and inventiveness and a good deal of skill with his pencil. He had done some good reading on his own

account, solid books of history and science.

The Counselor saw no reason why he should not be aided and encouraged in the pursuit of his ambition to become a cartoonist. The suggestions of the Counselor, therefore, related chiefly to method.

SUGGESTIONS.

(1) Get large scrap-books or make them for yourself out of manila paper.

(2) Get your friends to give you copies of the *Review of Reviews* and other magazines and newspapers that publish the best cartoons. Cut them out. Classify them according to the priciples involved, just as naturalists classify animals and and plants. Paste them in your scrap-books, putting those of each class together. Mark each one with a word or phrase which will be to you the name of that cartoon. Make a list of these words and phrases that you can carry in your pocket.

Turn over the leaves of your scrap-book every day and two or three times a day if you can. Study the best cartoons carefully, and after each study shut your eyes or look at the ceiling and see if you can recall the picture. Sketch the cartoons from memory, taking one at a time, drawing it over and over again, comparing your sketch each time with the original and correcting your work until you can make a good sketch of each of the best cartoons from memory.

When you are in the cars or anywhere else with a few moments of leisure take out your list of words and phrases representing your cartoon specimens and try to flash before your mind rapidly the pictures corresponding to the words and phrases on your list.

In other words *master* your collection of good cartoons; put them in your brain and at your finger's ends. They constitute for you the a, b, c of your profession and you must make them a part of yourself, master them as thoroughly as you did the multiplication table when you studied arithmetic.

(3) Look at the head-lines of the leading papers every day, and every two or three days, or once a week, at least, select some subject that interests you strongly and try to represent your thought of it in cartoon form, using pictures of men and animals, etc., to express your meaning, as the cartoonists do.

If your thought does not readily flow into picture form turn the pages of your cartoon books, looking at each picture with the thought you wish to express clearly in your mind and see if you do not get a suggestion from some of the cartoons in your books.

Draw your cartoon and compare it with those in your books, especially those of the same class, principle or method or work. Then see if you can improve your drawing, and when you get it so that you are satisfied with it or believe it to be the best you can make it at that time, take it to some artist friend and get him to criticise it. Correct it in the light of his suggestions if you think they are well founded and then send it to some newspaper or magazine that prints cartoons and see if they will publish it. If not, send it to another, and another, keeping on until you get it published or are pretty sure you cannot place it.

Do this every week or as often as you conveniently can, and after a while with careful and persistent and well-directed effort you will be practically sure to succeed.

The Counselor will be glad to see your drawings from time to time and make such further suggestions as may seem best; and also to help you get acquaintsd with some artist competent to criticise your works.

(4) While you are studying and working on the direct lines of your intended vocation do not neglect the advantages to be secured by continued reading of the best books, especially those on history, economics and natural science, with Emerson's *Essays* and some good poetry. Such reading will not only help you to develop into a first-class man all round,

a good citizen and respected member of society—which is quite as important as being a good cartoonist—but it will also help you in your profession by filling your mind with vivid images of many kinds and giving you the power to appreciate the significance and relationships of public questions and current events. A man cannot be a first-class workman at any trade or profession unless he knows a good deal more than the special matters involved in his business. He must master the technique of his profession and must also know a good deal about the world in general and human nature in particular, in order that he may understand the relations between his special work and the varied interests of his fellow-men.

THE SECRET OF EFFECTIVE PREACHING.

Fine-looking, healthy young man of 20. Bright, expressive face, engaging smile, pleasant manners, natural, cordial and attractive. Well-shaped head. Memory rather poor. Language fair. Good habits. No specially weak points nor strong ones either, except his pleasing appearance and address. Moderate education, grammar school in West Indies, leaving at the age of 17. Went to business college in Bellevue, Ontario, six months. No reading to speak of. Worked on farm two months. Rest of time bookkeeping; receiving $11 a week. No manual or business skill or experience, nor any decided mental aptitudes, but decided aversion to mechanical, agricultural or commercial lines. Had decided to go to college and prepare for Episcopal ministry. The college was determined upon, and the ultimate location—his former home in the West Indies.

Choice apparently fairly well in harmony with aptitudes, abilities, etc.

Suggestions, therefore, related to method.

1. Cultivate memory. Supplied analysis of method of developing and using memory, with explanations and illustrations. (See Exhibit A.)

2. Study lives and work of great ministers, like Phillips Brooks, Henry Ward Beecher and others, and try to discover the secrets of their success—the essential respects in which they differed from the ordinary humdrum clergyman.

3. High character, broad sympathy, helpfulness, genuine service, love of humanity, devotion to high ideals, characterize the true preacher.

4. Knowledge of human nature, history, government, economics, public questions, is even more essential than knowledge of theology.

5. Learn to preach not only on Biblical matter but on the problems that face men in daily life, and draw your illustrations of spiritual truth from concrete pictures of life. The sermons of the best and most effective preachers always deal with *life;* they apply the principles of Christianity to daily affairs of business, politics, society, home and individual life. No dry doctrinal sermons, but sermons brimful of light, sympathy, inspiration and intelligent helpfulness in relation to the things that fill up the lives of the people; the right and wrong of industry and civic life in city, state and nation as well as the ethics of the home and private conduct.

All these things were preëminently true of Beecher and Brooks and other eminent clergymen of the past. Henry Ward Beecher used to say, "Christianity is not a doctrine, but a life."

After listening to Phillips Brooks two or three times a week for six or eight months, I said to him, "Dr. Brooks, I 've been trying to find out what it is that makes your sermons so attractive, and I 've concluded that aside from your captivating earnestness and literary power, the charm lies in the fact that you always make your thought touch daily life. You illumine common every-day affairs with the light of Christian principle. You constantly apply ethical ideas and inspirations to life in all its phases, so that religion invades the week, stays with the people seven days instead of one, and goes with them into market, factory, street, court-

room and legislative hall—religion becomes a part of life instead of a thing more or less apart from life, a thing to put on once a week like your Sunday hat. That seems to me the secret—your sermons deal with concrete daily life from the religious standpoint."

"Well," said the great divine, "what is preaching for but that?"

It is clear, then, that a first-class minister must know a great deal, more than is taught in theological seminaries. He must be an all-round man.

His field is the ethical and religious interpretation of life and the world, and ministration to the sympathies, ideals and aspirations of his people.

To do his work properly, therefore, he must not only study ethics and religion, but must know life and the world, not only from books, but from personal contact and experience. Man, nature, industry, government, science, literature and art, all have a place in his equipment.

The world is hungry for high-type ministers; men of light and sympathy and power; men who know life as well as the history of the Church; men who can help the people solve the problems of daily life as well as preach a funeral sermon or recite the catechism in sonorous tones.

### MINING ENGINEER OR TEACHER AND ACCOUNTANT.

Boy of 19, height, 5 feet, ½ inch; weight, 137; well built and handsome, winning smile and pleasant manners, well-shaped head, vigorous health. Has not lost 2 weeks in sickness in as many years.

Father a machinist. His father a tin-peddler. Mother's father—do n't know. Has uncles on mother's side; do n't know their occupation.

Education, grammar and one year high; 2 years Bryant and Stratton, bookkeeping and shorthand. Began railroad engineering course International Correspondence School, but did not finish. All studies came easily; best records in mathematics, worst in spelling.

Reading, Cooper, Henty, Elliot, Scott. "Comedy of Errors," "Julius Cæsar," etc. Not much reading in the last 3 years, so busy with work and study.

Experience: "Went to work at 14 in vacation time. Worked in shoe factory helping father, at $10 a week. Father paid more than work was worth. Saved my money, bought my own bicycle, etc. In 1904 went to work steadily for the shoe company at $10 a week. In August, 1904, went to Brazil and Buenos Ayres with father. Worked there nine months teaching natives how to operate shoe machines. Ten dollars and expenses. April, 1905, came back to Boston, went to Bryant & Stratton's, spending summer vacations in factory. In 1907 left school and went to work as bookkeeper and stenographer with a manufacturing firm at $10 a week. November, 1907, employed by an auditor, Professor ———, of the Bryant & Stratton School, to go to New York to audit the books of the F. D. Co., $15 a week and expenses. Afterward audited books of B. F. Co. of Boston for Professor ———, on the same terms. Like the work very much, best job I ever had. Do n't like the routine of steady bookkeeping, but auditing a set of books is fine."

"Was your work satisfactory to Professor ———?"

"Yes, he was pleased with the work we did."

"What did he get from the company for the job?"

"He got $700 from the New York company, and employed two of us boys to check up the books."

"What did it cost him for your pay and expenses?"

"We worked about four weeks and a half. Our pay came to about $135 and expenses for both of us about $75."

"How much time did the auditor, Professor ———, put in on the job?"

"About 10 days, I think."

"He got, then, something like $500 for ten days' work and his responsibility; about $50 a day, which is the sort of pay a

first-class auditor can make. If you persevere until you qualify yourself to take the contract instead of being employed as a helper, you can multiply the $15 a week, you have been getting, by ten or twenty."

January, 1908, went to ——— Academy and started to prepare for the Tech. Left in one week, found they did not give the right course to fit a man for Tech. Then went to Chauncy Hall School to prepare to enter the Tech. in the mining engineering course. Doing stenographic work and teaching two evenings in the ——— School, bookkeeping, commercial arithmetic, correspondence and penmanship.

Likes teaching very much and is successful with the boys, and highly commended by the head of the school.

"How long would it take to perfect yourself to pass the state examination and become a certified accountant?"

"A year or so, perhaps, do not know exactly."

"How long would it take for you to go through the engineering course in the Institute of Technology?"

"Six years."

"What do you know about mining engineering? Have you ever visited a mine or been acquainted with a mining engineer?"

"No."

"It seems that you have two good ways of earning money, one is teaching commercial subjects and the other is bookkeeping and accounting. Why should you not aim to become a teacher in a business high school or college? And take jobs of auditing as your Professor ——— does now? Or you could soon become a certified public accountant and devote yourself entirely to that sort of work."

"You have two houses, one-half or three-quarters built; both in good locations. As a teacher of business subjects you could probably command in a few years from $1,500 to $3,000 a year, and there is a great demand for such teachers. As a public accountant you might hope to grow to an income of anywhere from $5,000 to $15,000 a year. Now when a man has a house half-built in a good location, is it wise for him to abandon that, take a new site and begin to build all over again without some very good reason for leaving the first building? You are planning to leave your work which you know all about and thoroughly like; in which you have proved very efficient and satisfactory and which holds out a promise of excellent remuneration with a little persevering effort on your part. You are planning to leave all this to devote six years of study in preparation for a new line of work, about which you say you know practically nothing. Is it wise to spend all the time and money involved in this plan without first investigating the business of mining engineering sufficiently to be sure that you would like the work better than auditing or teaching, and so have a solid basis for deciding that you had better leave teaching or auditing for the life of an engineer? The question of ability does not rise in this case for you undoubtedly have the ability to fit yourself for an engineer if you conclude that that is the wise thing to do, but you have spent some of your best years in preparation for auditing and business teaching, and preparation and experience in these lines should not be abandoned without excellent reason. You are practically ready to put the roof on the house you have been building. Do n't leave it to begin a new structure from the ground up unless you are sure that the new building will be enough better than the one you have now in process of construction to pay you for the sacrifice of time and effort that will be necessary to make the change."

SUGGESTIONS.

1. House half-built in a good location. Burden of proof is with the proposition to abandon the site, take up another location, dig a new cellar and begin to build all over again.

2. Long, steady pulls win results, not vacillation or flitting from one occupation to another without necessity or adequate reason.

3. Read Fowler's *Starting in Life*, or such parts of it as seem relevant to your problem.

4. Visit mines, factories, stores, farms, etc., and get an actual personal acquaintance with various kinds of industries. See the men at work, talk with them, try your hand at different sorts of work, and get as good an idea of the advantages and disadvantages of each of the main lines of industry which you might enter.

Do this with special care in the case of engineering industries, and get acquainted with some good mining, mechanical and electrical engineers, who will let you see the inside working of the profession, its drawbacks as well as its attractions.

Make a diagram presenting a comparative study somewhat as follows, and then come back for another talk:

| DIAGRAM. | Certified Public Accountant. | Teacher in Business College or School of Commerce, with Auditing Contracts on the Side. | Mining Engineer. |
|---|---|---|---|
| How long will it take to complete your preparation? | | | |
| Cost of preparation. | | | |
| Opportunities and readiness with which you can get into the work. | | | |
| Pay, immediate, prospective. | | | |
| Conditions of work. | | | |
| Location. | | | |
| Kind of life. | | | |
| Human element. | | | |
| Healthfulness, etc. | | | |
| Other elements: | | | |
| Degree of independence. | | | |
| Social consideration. | | | |
| Satisfaction in the work. | | | |
| Its general nature and results, permanence, quality, importance. | | | |

A MECHANICAL BENT APPARENT, BUT MORE STUDY AND EXPERIENCE NEEDED TO FORM BASIS FOR ANY RELIABLE CONCLUSION.

A six-footer, 19 years old, weight 159. Born at Wellesley Hills. Fine physique. Health excellent. Lost no time by sickness last three years. Head large, splendidly shaped; 7 3-8 hat. Good looking, manners and voice "O. K." Memory good. Careful, intelligent, modest, no bad habits. Father a gardener; his father an engineer on a large estate in England. Very inventive and successful. Mother's father also an engineer.

Education, grammar school. Best studies drawing and history; high mark in drawing. Not good in mathematics.

Reading, inventions, mechanical news and ads. in current magazines. A few novels—*Crisis*, *That Lass o' Lowrie's*, etc.

Spare time spent generally in reading and lately 2 or 3 evenings a week in gymnasium.

In list of industries chiefly interested in "Skilled Mechanic," "Steam Railroad," "Inventor," "Architect."

At World's Fair would go first to Machinery Hall; chief interest would be there.

Experience. Worked some at gardening while at school. Left school at 16. Went to work as office boy $2.50 a week. Stayed 3 years, ending as shipping clerk and buyer of office supplies, $9 a week. Left to learn jewelry and engraving. Studied 7 weeks and found it would take 3 or 4 years, so went west and got work as chairman on an irrigation survey, $30 a month and board. Winter came and work stopped. Last fall, 1907, went to Los Angeles, California. Had saved enough to pay fare and some over. No work in Los Angeles. Father sent money for tickets home.

Now working at bookkeeping in an insurance office, $8 a week. Did not study bookkeeping, just picked it up.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

Strong in drawing, loves machinery, reads about it, likes to see and handle it. Heredity points the same way. Ancestors, engineers on both sides, and one of them very inventive.

Mechanical mind and interest. Suggest skilled artisan, machinist or engineer,

in order to unite best ability and enthusiasm with daily work.

Read Fowler's *Starting in Life* and the books on our select list relating to Modern Mechanism and the History of Invention. Visit various mechanical industries, railroad, machine shops, electrical works, shoe factories, foundries, watch factories, engine works, etc. See the men at work. Talk with them. Try your hand at the work if you can. When you have gained a close acquaintance with some of the principal lines of mechanical work by observation, reading and experience, come back and we will go over the courses that are available in or near Boston for day or evening study and practice in preparation for the mechanical business that may then seem best for you.

While studying out your vocation read for citizenship and general culture, taking some of the books on the sheet of Civic Suggestions. It would be a good plan for you, perhaps, to begin with Fiske and Dole, following them with Forman, Bryce and Bridgman.

The more the young man studied himself and his vocational problem the clearer and stronger the tendency to mechanical industry became, and a few weeks after the interview he availed himself of an opportunity to work his way through the Automobile School of the Y. M. C. A., which gives a very thorough and practical course.

CASE INCIDENTS.

Incidental suggestions often occupy an important part in the consultation. For instance a boy who stammered two or three times during the interview, was sent to the Stammerer's Institute for the simple and effective treatment which is almost certain to cure him. A young man who seemed to be very bright and thoroughly competent, complained that he could not get on, could not secure advancement nor any satisfactory reason why he was not advanced. The Counselor called his attention to the fact that his voice in conversation was lifeless and unpleasant—entirely below the standard he attained in other respects, and giving a decided impression, not only of lack of vigor and interest but of want of intelligence. The suggestion made the young man very thoughtful. Finally he said he had often noticed that people would talk with him a little while, then look at him in a curious way and pass on, leaving him sort of hanging in the air. His superintendent had frequently done the same thing. He had not thought about his voice, but these people might be impressed the same way the Counselor was. A few moments experimenting showed that if the voice was kept away from the lower notes, and a little vitality and variety put into it, the effect was pleasant and musical and indicative of energy and intelligence. The youth believed he had found the key to his trouble and reported some time later that the change in his ability to interest people and deal with them successfully was astonishing.

A young man of marked ability who was quite clearly in the right line but was with a house too small to admit of much advancement and did not know how to get into a larger field, was advised to join a club where he would come in touch with the best business men of the city and also to avail himself of the services of such agencies as the Employers and Employés Coöperative Agency, and Hapgoods, the Brain Brokers, of New York.

In another case the usual inquiries in regard to saving and spending money, brought out the fact that the boy wanted very much to get on in the world, but was discouraged about himself because he constantly let his money slip from him in dissipation. He was alone in the city and when evening came he was lonesome, and he would drift into the theater or some worse place nearly every night and his money would go. The Counselor suggested that he should join a boys' club, take up some evening studies that

would bring him every night to the Civic Service House, and make a daily report in writing to the Counselor or some one else he might select as a sort of trustee, showing just how much money he had spent in the last twenty-four hours and what he had spent it for. In a little while if he did this faithfully, new interests and better habits would be formed and he would become strong enough to live rightly without a guardian. He grasped eagerly at the chance of getting out of the mire, and put the method suggested in practice at once with excellent results.

A Scotch-American boy at the second interview seemed listless and inert. On inquiry it appeared that he was troubled with constipation and drugs did not seem to give him any permanent relief. The Counselor gave him a memorandum of some simple hygienic remedies through diet, exercise, kneading, bathing, etc., and two weeks later he came back as bright as a new dollar to say that one of the simplest of the methods suggested had fixed him all right. This may seem a little aside from the functions of a Vocation Bureau, but when it is considered that health is the foundation of industrial efficiency, that constipation with the auto-poisoning that may follow, is a serious handicap, and that very few doctors will apply the simple remedies which are really most effective and beneficial, it is clear that such suggestions are not out of order in the work of helping young men to achieve efficiency and success.

The discussion of special cases could be continued almost indefinitely, but enough has been said to give some notion of the work that is being done and its possibilities for the future. The Civic Suggestions, the library work with its analytic reading and research, and the tabulated courses of study often create an interest that brings the young man back to the Counselor again and again for brief reports or consultations.

The work is constantly growing in extent and utility, but it must always be very inadequate as compared to the need until it becomes a public institution affiliated or incorporated with the public-school system. This we hope will ultimately come to pass as public education is extended and perfected and industrial training is developed.

Society is very short-sighted as yet in its attitude towards the development of its human resources. It trains its horses as a rule better than its men. It spends unlimited money to perfect the inanimate machinery of production, but pays very little attention to the business of perfecting the human machinery, though it is by far the most important factor in production.

Less than 1-16 of the children in the Boston primaries go through a high-school course. In Philadelphia less than 1-30 of the children go through the high school, and in Washington less than 1-18.

Here are the data for these three cities, obtained at the opening of this year. The high-school figures include the pupils in all the schools and courses of high-school grade, commercial and manual training, as well as academic:

PUPILS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

| | Boston. | Philadelphia. | Washington. |
|---|---|---|---|
| First year primaries. | 13,622 | 33,588 | 9,198 |
| First year grammar. | 10,007 | 19,386 | 5,601 |
| Last year grammar. | 4,869 | 5,710 | 3,136 |
| Last year high schools..... | 850 | 1,089 | 663 |

Nearly two-thirds of the children in Boston and Washington and five-sixths in Philadelphia drop out of school even before they finish the grammar grades. There are not seats enough in the grammar schools for much over one-third to one-fifth of the children, nor seats in the high schools for more than one-tenth to one-twentieth. Our cities evidently *do not expect or intend* to educate the bulk of the boys and girls beyond the primaries or lower grammar grades. The mass of children go to work to earn their living as soon as they are old enough to meet the law, and often before that.

Science declares that specialization in early years in place of all-round culture is disastrous both to the individual and to society. There is a clear relation between intelligence and variety of action and experience. A knowledge of each of the great classes of industry by practical contact is the right of every boy. This varied experience should be obtained under a thorough-going scientific plan of educational development and not by the wasteful and imperfect method of drifting from one employment to another in the effort to make a living, running an elevator in one place, marking tags in another, tending a rivet machine in another, etc., etc., spending years of time and energy in narrow specialization, and getting no adequate, comprehensive understanding of any business or industry.

The union of a broad general culture with an industrial education including a practical experience broad enough to form a true foundation for specialization in the proper field, possesses an economic and social value that can hardly be overestimated. Yet practically all our children are subjected to the evil of unbalanced specialization—specialization that is not founded on, nor accompanied by, the broad culture and experience that should form its basis and be continued as coördinate factors in a full development —specialization that is not only unbalanced and ill-founded but also in many cases inherently narrow, inefficient and hurtful in itself.

Most of the children who leave school early specialize on narrow industrial lines, and most of those who remain in school specialize on book learning. Book work should be balanced with industrial education; and working children should spend part time in culture classes and industrial science. Society should make it possible for every boy and girl to secure at least a high-school education and an industrial training at the same time. This can be done by the establishment of Public Half-Work High Schools, in which boys and girls can *study half of each day,* and support themselves by *working the other half-day* for the public water works, lighting or transportation systems, street department or some other department of the public service, or for private employers.

A city or town can easily make arrangements with merchants, manufacturers and other private employers, whereby the high-school pupils may have the opportunity to work half-time in many lines of industry. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston is already carrying on this sort of arrangement with some of the leading merchants of the city, so that the girls in the Union's classes in salesmanship are able to support themselves and get most valuable practical training by working half-time in the stores. Enlightened employers are glad to make such arrangements, realizing the importance to themselves and to the whole community of such advanced industrial and culture training. Some of our agriculutral colleges and state universities, especially in the West, afford opportunities for young men and women to earn their living while getting a college education. All that is necessary is to extend the methods and principles already in use to the public-school system as a whole, so that no boy or girl shall longer be debarred from the training of mind and hand, which is the *rightful heritage of every child* society allows to be born into this complex and difficult world.

Besides the extension of general education and the addition of vocational training, the *methods* of general culture should be materially modified if we are to give our boys and girls an adequate preparation for life and work instead of a preparation for passing an examination to get a degree. We should train for ability and character rather than for examinations. And the principal test should be the successful performance of things that have to be done in daily life rather than the answering of a series of questions about a book or a lecture

course. Systematic and scientific training of body and brain, of memory, reason, imagination, inventiveness, care, thoroughness, truth, promptitude, reliability, sympathy, kindliness, persistent industry, etc., etc., is what we need. Education for power; with actual performance, useful work, as the fundamental test. Power in any direction comes from *exercise* or activity in that direction together with sufficient development in other directions to give symmetry and balance to the whole. Even the power of sympathy and the sense of justice can be developed by daily exercise on the same principle that we develop the biceps or the bicycle muscles. Knowledge is excellent, but a man with *knowledge* only, without the power of original thought and the ability to put his ideas into effective execution is little better than a book—he contains a record of facts but cannot build or execute. He may not be even up to the book standard of life if he has not learned to *express* and *impart* his knowledge. That is why college graduates, even those who stood high in their classes, often fail to make good in business. They are good bookworms, sponges, absorbing machines, but they do not know how to do things and have no taste for doing things. They are really unfitted by their habits of passive absorption for the active life of the business world. We must train our students to full powers of action, not only in foot ball and other athletic sports, but in the various lines of useful work so far as possible according to their aptitudes as brought out by scientific tests and varied experience. And we must give our working boys the powers of thought and verbal expression that come with general culture. And we must do all this in the formative period before the progressive hardening of the system has taken the bloom from development and modifiability.

Youth is the period of plasticity and rapid development in which the foundations should be laid both for an all-round culture and for special vocational power. The fluidity of youth is shown in the fact that practically 75 per cent. of the infant's body is water, while only 58.5 per cent. of the adult's body is liquid. Though some degree of plasticity may be retained to the end, the more fundamental characteristics of a man are generally fixed at 25 and the mental at 35 or 40. If you were molding a statue in plaster of Paris you would not think it wise to neglect the work or let it drag along half-done till the plastic mass had stiffened into rigidity. It is just as unwise to neglect the opportunities afforded by the plasticity of youth. A year of the period from 15 to 25 is worth more than 2 years after 35 for formative purposes and the development of power. Youth is the age of brain and heart. The body of an adult is three times as long, on the average as the infant's body, and the adult's arms are four times and his legs five times as long as the infant's, while his head is only twice the height of the infant's. The brain of the child is so large that it only increases in weight four times in the growth to maturity, while the heart increases 13 times and the body more than 20 times. The weight of the brain at birth is 12.29 per cent. of the total weight, while at 25 the weight of the brain is only 2.16 per cent. of the whole—nearly 6 times as much brain weight for the infant as for the adult in proportion to the total weight. As you leave your youth the rapidity of development diminishes as well as the proportion of brain and the plasticity or capacity for modification and acquirement of new abilities. The infant at birth is 5,000,000 times as large as the original germ cell. In the first year the growth is about 3 fold. Then the rate of development decreases till about the 11th year when a period of rapid growth begins, reaching its maximum speed as a rule somewhere between the 14th and the 19th year, and gradually tapering off to the milder movement of comparative maturity after 25.

In this plastic period of rapid growth, this age of brain and heart, society should guarantee to every child a thorough all-round development of body, mind and character, and a careful planning of and adequate preparation for some occupation, for which, in the light of scientific testing and experiment, the youth seems best adapted, or as well adapted as to any other calling which is reasonably available. If this vital period is allowed to pass without the broad development and special training that belong to it, no amount of education in after years can ever redeem the loss. Not till society wakes up to its responsibilities and its privileges in this relation shall we be able to harvest more than a fraction of our human resources, or develop and utilize the genius and ability that are latent in each new generation. When that time does come, education will become the leading industry, and a vocation bureau in effect will be a part of the public-school system in every community—a bureau provided with every facility that science can devise for the testing of the senses and capacities, and the whole physical, intellectual and emotional make-up of the child, and with experts trained as carefully for the work as men are trained to-day for medicine or the law.

FRANK PARSONS.

*Boston, Mass.*

## A MAN AND A BOOK.

BY HELEN CAMPBELL.

THE SKY-SCRAPER, and in general the thing we call progress, has wiped out most of the landmarks dear to the generation that still clings to landmarks, and that knew good-fellowship on simpler lines than to-day tolerates. But there is yet here and there a survivor of those days, who in reminiscent moments tells the story summed up in "Pfaffs," the center for long for Bohemianism as journalists and literary New York interpreted the product imported from France and its expounders in Gautier, Murger and their followers.

"Pfaff's" was something more than mere importation. There one saw and heard not only the clink of unending schooners of beer and the clouds of smoke going up from pipe or cigar, but men who laid the foundations of New York literary life, and are to-day her priceless possession. No such meeting-ground and no such solid belief in the future of each and every haunter of the place now remains as promise or stimulus to even the humblest worker in such field. Here one could see the veteran author or journalist, those still in their prime who had already attained firm place, and the aspirants who studied both with the certainty that their own conquest would be as sure, for all of them the common ambition to "use the words that walk up and down the hearts o men."

It is Philadelphia that to-day offers a successor to the vanished Pfaff's, though New York might deny it, and Philadelphia is principally unconscious of such fact, the throng found there for lunch and dinner, brought by the fame of certain unsurpassed dishes served by cooks who know every secret of Philadelphia cookery. It is the Market Restaurant at Nineteenth and Market streets, as undecorated, bare and blank an interior as any beer-cellar on the way to the ferry: a hollow square of counters, bordered by lines of stools, a series of huge blackboards on which the menu for the day is chalked, and an eager crowd waiting its turn. At the upper end of one side,

they often wait in vain, for here from day to day, stray artists, musicians, journalists and literary workers in general take their place if may be by the side of a man whose special beliefs they might assail, but whose simple sincerity and fearlessness, his power to command attention, his many-sided view of life, and encyclopedic knowledge of all phases of art and literature, have made him an unconscious authority and referee for all. One notes first the noble head, a mass of waving hair already silvering—the clear-cut aquiline features, the sensitive mouth not hidden by the short moustache, and blue eyes that soften or darken as talk goes on, but are searchers always, reading thought before it comes to spoken word, scorn in them for all shirking of issues, for all meanness—tenderness for all human pain, and a great faith for the future that men are to make noble if they will.

This is Horace Traubel, chiefly unknown to the Philistine world till 1907 saw the first volume of *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, one of the most remarkable biographies America has ever produced, and recognized as such by English and foreign critics alike, a translation already desired in Germany. The second volume has lately appeared, of even more powerful interest than the first, and others are to follow. And because many are asking, "Who is this Horace Traubel, and why do n't we know more about him?" it is in order to answer the question fully as may be in the space at my command.

"The rebellion of the boy is the salvation of the man." That is the beginning of the story for the father of Horace Traubel, a boy of the last generation, thinking his own thoughts in the narrow circle of an orthodox German-Jewish home, questioning at first silently, then openly, at last breaking all bonds and turning his back once for all on orthodoxy of any order either in religion, literature or art.

The dynamite bomb which in its explosion projected the rebel toward that America for which he had longed was the Talmud, its rigid and minute ordering of every detail of life more and more deeply loathed, till the day came when he spoke his full mind.

"Hate the Talmud? Call it a fool book of antiquated fossil restrictions on life and thought? A curse on the blasphemer who scorns the faith of his fathers!" the Rabbi roared, and at this point it was that the detested volume flew from the lad's hands into the fire, and the father aghast at the sacrilege looked his last on the vanishing renegade.

America had long appeared to the boy the only point in the known world which rejected canons old or new and thought for itself, and to America he shortly made his way, landing, like Franklin, at Philadelphia, and like him wandering through the streets for a time, till a "job" showed itself, developing later into his life-long business as printer, engraver and lithographer, to which was added occasional portrait painting of no mean quality.

This was Maurice Henry Traubel, later to become father of another rebel, his equipment for the new conditions, a passionate love of justice which went with him through life, never lessening and shaping every dealing with man, woman and child. There was other equipment—trained faculty which made him a natural student in all directions, an omnivorous reader, a lover of deep philosophy, a scientific student, an art critic of the keenest perception, and a musician of high order, the leader of the Philadelphia Mænnerchor, and later that of Camden where the family home came to be.

On the mother's side was as clearly defined an inheritance. Though born in Philadelphia her family name, Van Gründen, evidences the Dutch descent which gave to her the high courage, the loving soul and gentleness best made known to us in Motley's splendid summary of Dutch characteristics. Each

strain of blood added its quota to the make-up, this union of the races transmitting, as in Whitman's case, "an exquisite sensibility to impressions, and a far-off clear-sightedness, which are often natural gifts, to the children of such marriages."

Into such a home, never knowing riches yet filled always with increasing store of books; fine pictures and prints on the walls and noble music the key-note and undertone of the whole there came December 19, 1858, the child, Horace Logo Traubel, the fifth one of seven brothers and sisters, demonstrating presently his right to handle life as it seemed good to him, yet with full submission to the law of the house—equal justice for all.

"No mine or thine in this house!" the father shouted to the group of boys wrangling as to which should first read a desired book. "From oldest to youngest, each in his turn; that is the way," and this was the family law from grandmother to the latest baby, the mother one with the father in all theories and practices, the tie between them through all their married life, one of singular strength and tenderness.

As to the boy's education, at twelve he had finished the course laid out in the public schools of Camden, the real education, however, in the home itself in which artists, musicians, thinkers and workers of all orders came and went, each the expounder of some live question, social, political, ethical, musical, artistic, pausing often as the father's beautiful baritone voice rolled out some apposite quotation from the poets of his own country, Goethe, Schiller or Lessing.

Religious liberty naturally as might be expected came first in the education of the children. Several of them went from time to time to a Baptist Sunday-school, and discussed gravely the views brought home from it, and later, when the older ones seceded, and flouted the younger sister because she remained faithful, the father said decisively, "Let her alone, children. She must work things out for herself. That is the only way for any of us. We must have freedom." It was to this end that through all their lives neither father nor mother connected themselves with any religious movement, historic or revolutionary, choosing the term Freethinkers as the most comprehensive statement of their attitude, and training their children to give it its noblest significance.

From the hour the boy could read at all he had been a devourer of every order of book, and before he was out of his teens they numbered thousands, critical journals and reviews included, and a set of scrap-books now invaluable is still preserved, holding the best work of critics like George Ripley and the higher school of American journalists and men of letters. Life from earliest childhood up was a serious business, and the boy played far less than the man has learned to do. An older sister's memory of him is as "a beautiful, rather over-sensitive child, his great blue eyes always seeming to be looking a little in advance of the rest of us," and the man's eyes have never lost the fashion of their childhood.

Somewhere in this earlier period the boy Horace remembers walking to the ferry holding Walt Whitman's hand, his small legs keeping such pace as they could with the giant's at his side, a familiar friend, for the poet came and went freely in the house during the frequent visits to Camden while his mother was still living there, and shared in the unceasing talk and discussion which marked the family life. It is this walk, however, that stands out as the first conscious sense of intimate relationship, though years passed before Camden became actually the home of Whitman. Later on both sought to determine actual dates, but never could, and as the younger man questioned one day, "Just how do you suppose it came about—this relation of ours?" Walt, after a pause, said quietly, "It did n't come about, Horace. I think it always was."

Long before this the same order of training that made Whitman an admirable printer, and judge of all that constitutes the best work in all phases of that trade, had become the boy's also, from twelve to sixteen in a printing office, all this preceded while he was still in school by having an evening newspaper route. At this time the father had a stationery store in Camden and the son helped take care of this, sharing later in lithographic work, the father and an elder brother working together in the art-room of the Wells and Hope Company in Philadelphia. For a time the father greatly desired to see this son a portrait painter, and the boy, who had shown some talent, copied pictures and drew from casts and from life, but never with the power demanded by the critical eye of the philosophic parent, to whom it soon became clear that this nature must work out in its own lines unshaped by any direction save that of life itself.

Bookkeeping and its inflexible routine followed, with a period of acting as paymaster in a factory, and later on twelve years in a bank, but in each and all of these occupations every chink of spare time for personal life still given to reading, the scrap-books of most catholic contents still accumulating, the father's tastes and studies repeating themselves in the son.

"Profoundly serious. Looking at life with curiously deep observant eyes," insists one who knew his early manhood best, but the older friends at times look a little incredulous.

"Traubel serious?" said one of the intimates to a questioner. "Why, yes, on one side, certainly—that of his beliefs. No going back on them, but he is about the best comrade, the best exponent of an all-round good fellow, I've ever come across; off on a long tramp, for instance, where he out-tramps us all, strong as an ox and never tired," and the man himself admits, "Why, yes, since I've learned to play a little I dare say I am rather more of a good fellow. It took a good while, though, to find out that I had any right to play."

"How was he when you first began to know him?" one questioned the charming young wife whom he married in 1891 and whose name stands as associate editor of *The Conservator*.

"Horace? Oh, he was as excessively correct in dress as he is lawless now—a long-tailed Prince Albert as the time demanded, Derby hat and all the rest, saying straight out anything and everything he thought with no regard for mere feelings and thinking he owed it to truth to do this. But they all loved him. He has always been loved."

A short period of mourning that he had not had a formal college training had preceded this marriage, and he records at one point in the second volume of *With Whitman in Camden*, Whitman's summary of the advantages of precisely such a training as his to-be biographer received:

"I said to Whitman, 'I used to regret that I missed going to college.' 'You regret it no longer?' 'I see now that I was in luck.' 'Good for you. You were in luck. You made a providential escape. For a fellow with your rebel independence, with your ability to take care of yourself, with your almost nasty resolution to go your own road, a college is not necessary—would, in fact, be a monster mountain of obstruction. As between a university course anyhow, and a struggle of the right sort in the quick of every-day life, the life course would beat the university course every time."

"'So you were four years in a printing office?' he said, questioning, at another time. 'Good! Good! That's better than so many years at the university. There is an indispensable something gathered from such an experience: it lasts out life. After all, the best things escape; skip the universities.'"

"Skipping the universities," never hampered or hindered expression, and first in general work, reviewing, etc., and then special editorials for the Boston *Common-*

*wealth*, a weekly, which Mr. Charles Slack desired to make a daily and made a formal offer to the young writer to take a permanent position as its literary editor with residence there. This at first had seemed the open door to a future that best suited his desires. Then some subtle instinct made him hesitate and at last decline, and this with no regrets. Any other decision would have lost to the world the most vital piece of biography in modern times, for shortly after, Traubel formed the habit of writing out full report of the evening's talk with Whitman, his extraordinary memory, admitting of a record as faithful as a stenographic report: an American Boswell but with eyes that searched the deepest soul of the man he loved, a feat far beyond any power of the smaller soul that chronicled Johnson.

From the beginning Whitman was reader and critic of the younger man's work, and said to him one evening:

"I am watching your pieces as they appear in the papers and magazines, reading them all: you are on the right tack—you will get somewhere. I do n't seem to have any advice to give you except, perhaps, this: Be natural, be natural, be natural. Be a damned fool, be wise if you must (ca n't help it), be anything only be natural. Almost any writer who is willing to be himself will amount to something—because we all amount to something, to about the same thing at the roots. The trouble mostly is that writers become writers and cease to be men; writers reflect writers, writers again reflect writers, until the man is worn thin, worn through. You seem to want to be honest with yourself. I 'm sure I could n't think of a better thing for any one."

It was soon evident to Whitman that in this worshiping yet clear-headed, clear-judging young fellow most of whose evenings and Sundays were for many years given to the invalid's service, he had a coming biographer. The blood-poisoning contracted during the poet's strenuous years of hospital service in handling a specially bad case of gangrene, had brought on the semi-paralytic condition with other equally serious complications, and the free offering of the life and ungrudging services of the younger man, a creature of absolute health, a day's sickness even now unknown, and a superb vitality that seems to emanate from him, was Whitman's greatest gift and solace in the long years of suffering and slow decline. The heavy eyes lighted at his appearance even if no spoken word accented the relief which had voice one evening in the words: "The instant you came into the room and hung your hat on the bed-post I felt better. How do you account for that, Horace?"

It was at almost the beginning of this period that he said on the night of October 29, 1888:

"You will be speaking of me many a time after I am dead; do not be afraid to tell the truth, any sort of truth, good or bad, for or against, only be afraid not to tell the truth," and the reply came, "I promise not to send you down in history wearing another man's clothes." He nodded and said fervently, "That 's all I could ask, Horace."

The extraordinarily vital quality of the two volumes now before the public evidences how faithfully the promise has been kept. Whitman's deep dislike to even ordinary questioning was often in the way, the utmost tact required not to show any undue eagerness, and Whitman well aware of this commented on it one evening:

"Horace, you are the only person in the world whose questions I tolerate. Questions are my *bête noir;* even you at times, damn you, try me, but I answer your questions because you seem to me to have a superior right to ask them, if any one has, which may be doubted. Cross-examinations are not in the terms of our contract, but you do certainly sometimes put me through the fire in great shape." He laughed. "Now, Horace, you see how much I love you. You

have extorted my last secret. You have made me tell you why you are an exceptional person; you have forced from me an avowal of affection." Later he added, "Horace, how happens it you fell to my lot—you being just what you are—now in my need? Who can tell? There certainly was a divinity that shaped this end."

The necessity in his own mind for as absolute truth as words could carry was always with him. "It won't be long, and I will be dead and gone; then they will hale you into court—put you in the witness-box—ply you with questions—try to mix you up with questions; this Walt Whitman—this scamp poet—this arch-pretender—What did you make him out to be? And you will have to answer—and be sure you answer honest, so help you God!"

It is clear there were plenty of difficulties in the way, but it was as Whitman had himself said to a sister of the chronicler: "Agnes, Horace has wonderful intuition; he divines me, perceives me, almost before I divine, perceive myself."

Fullest perception and understanding were there, but there was method also recorded in the first volume:

"My method all along has been not to trespass and not to ply him too closely with questions necessary or unnecessary. When a lull occurs I sometimes get him going again by making a remark that is not a question. Other times we sit together for long periods of silence, neither saying anything. One evening during which we had not done much more than sit together, he on his chair and I on his bed, he said, 'We have had a beautiful talk—a beautiful talk.' I called it a Quaker talk. He smiled quietly. 'That will describe it. But, oh, how precious!' At another time as we parted for the night he said, as he took my hand and pressed it fervently, 'I am in luck. Are you? I guess God just sent us for each other.' Another good night had the words, 'We are growing nearer together. That's all there is in life for people—just to grow near together."

Later on, as helplessness increased, a tacit agreement made Traubel his partner and helper with the books which were to appear in special editions. "I feel somehow as if you had consecrated yourself to me, Horace," he said at this time, and the thought remained with him.

"Horace, I do believe you 're the only one of the fellows—of all, of all—who is willing to let me do as I please." "That 's not because I always agree with you," was the reply. He laughed and replied, "I know, I know, but you never interfere, you never push in, you never take me by the neck and shake the life out of me for disagreeing with you about the use of commas, or the sizes of margins, or the colors of muslins on the backs of books."

Steady helper at every turn for all this later work, Whitman's gratitude finds expression over and over. "How can I pay my debt to you?" he asked often, and as if seeking some method, and the quiet helper, simply asked in return, "How can I pay my debt to you?" and records at this point, "He took my hand, pressed it, then said, 'How can we?' I finally suggested, 'Let 's pair off, and say no more about it on either side.' He nodded a smiling assent. 'You have a way sometimes of settling my difficulties for me. Yes. Let 's pair off. It 's easy for love to pair off,' he said. He added, 'It 's easy for love to do miracles.'"

It was but a little later, that he wrote in a special edition of the *Leaves of Grass*, "TO HORACE TRAUBEL FROM HIS FRIEND THE AUTHOR.

"It is now for fifteen years we have been acquainted, and the last year cements us together by services and faithfulness on your part toward me, in bringing out my books and in personal kindness to me in my obstinate sickness, imprisonment and disablement. Take this book, dear Horace, a special memento of these days in the future, and prayer for you from me.

"*Camden, February 10th*, 1889."

Nothing here of the passive acceptance of all benefits, here and there held to be the poet's habitual attitude. On the contrary, hardly a day passed without some positive recognition not always in words but in a sudden lighting of the eyes, a pressure of the hand or a smile and a nod of pleasure. But the wise young helper knew well that in this unconstrained daily intercourse, he was the gainer hour by hour, though for long it had not occurred to him that the daily record of talk meant more than his own happiness in giving fixed form to the fleeting word. The astonishing mass of material accumulated in this way, forms but one phase of always increasing activities, all of them making for the liberalizing of thought in the city where his work goes on. Founder and one of the officers of the Contemporary Club, and also one of the founders of the Ethical Society he presently became editor of the unique monthly, *The Conservator*, the greater part of the contents his own contribution. His method with words is often criticized, for many who know only the name insist that a man of education and cultivation would choose smoother flow for his periods. But if the abrupt forms sometimes disconcert the reader, the thought carries him on, and soon he is ready to admit that American journalism or even the prominent magazine and review can but seldom compare with it in actual living quality, in power and rugged individuality. His *Chants Communal*, now in German and to be translated into Dutch, is far less known here than abroad, and this is true also of his poems, all holding the same deep quality. It throbs with passionate appeal for the downtrodden of all the earth, the problem of many an age, Capital and Labor, having a handling in which Marx himself would delight. Tenderness, gentleness, deep, wise understanding are all in it, yet no less an indignation so intense and burning that it might well scorch the page that holds it. To thousands he has become not merely torch-bearer but the torch itself, throwing its light into shadowy places, certain that dawn has already come and that the world is on its way to a life that will hold Love the ruler and Justice the law.

*Chants Communal* appeared in Munich in 1907 translated by Otto Lessing, a well-known author and essayist, at one time in this country as college professor, and he writes in a letter, announcing the free sale of the book:

"Whatever you write makes my heart beat and makes me wish to have my Germans know you. Your magnetism, your manly faith, your sincerity, would do so much good here, where even the Socialists are so far from that love your *Chants* call for."

This is the impression produced by one phase of his work, but as book reviewer there is an equally distinct personality in all he does. In those years of constant discussion with Whitman, on men, measures, literature and everything else under the heavens, he came to an unerring judgment of quality, and abides there, adding keen analysis and sympathy as keen, the soul of the book made clear, his business to do the utmost justice to both book and reader. Always he is more interested in causes than in reputations—in talking about the truth than in shining as an artist, preferring to let the artist go any time in favor of the man, a fact of which he himself says it may have delayed but certainly has fortified his literary development.

*The Conservator* in its present form was started in 1890, but was the natural outgrowth of a monthly sent out for nine previous years as the organ not only of the Ethical Society, but of all liberal movements in Philadelphia. As Whitman's partner and now one of his literary executors he had a large share in the editing of the volume, *In Re Walt Whitman*, a quarto including the essays and addresses made at the burial of the poet, and there are other smaller pieces of work to testify to his industry, an industry so untiring that he is a problem to the ordinary worker.

Those who know his life, his overflowing vitality, his boundless energy and activity, find that his day's work nearly doubles the usual time, since he sleeps never more than six, usually but four or five hours, the power of "self-recuperation" as Professor James has called it, absolutely his own. People come and go in the old rooms on Walnut street, where most of his work is done, and where he is compositor, proof-reader and editor in one, a ready ear for even an unwelcome visitor with no definite message, his own marvelous cheer and strength, shared by all who call upon it. A good deal of music, a play now and then, for actors love him and get from him many a hint for their own work—a ball game on Saturday afternoon so long as the ball season lasts, and always the life of the streets, the human faces, the sense of comradeship with all life that Whitman knew to the core, and that this successor of his by divine right will know to the end.

What is the motive power in this life, careless, it seems, of recognition, going its way unperturbed, jesting at difficulties, and rendering unceasing services to all who need? In part, this is temperamental, a natural endowment, but there is a deeper reason and in it is also one secret of the intense sympathy, the kinship between himself and Whitman. A generation ago the experience might come under the head of "mere mysticism, mostly delusion." But those who have watched the broadening outlook in all psychological study, and who are familiar especially with the work of our leading psychologist, Professor William James, of Harvard, will recall his summary of *Cosmic Consciousness* as defined and illustrated in a unique volume by the late Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, long a special authority in these directions, and quoted from freely in James' remarkable series of lectures given in 1906 at Edinburgh, known as the Gifford Lectures, and now in book form under the title, *Varieties in Religious Experience.*

Some fifty illustrative cases are given in the second part of Dr. Bucke's remarkable book; Whitman's in full, and that of Horace Traubel following later on. In Whitman's case all future thought and expression were saturated with the faith born in him, but illumined and strengthened by this experience, its sum in the lines in *Leaves of Grass:*

"Swiftly arose and spread around me the peace and joy and knowledge that pass all the art and argument of the earth,
And I know that the hand of God is the elder hand of my own,
And I know that the spirit of God is the eldest brother of my own,
And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, . . . and the women my sisters and lovers,
And that a kelson of creation is love."

In the same fashion and with much the same results the younger man came into the same possession, his own words, as written to Dr. Bucke, best giving the heart of the experience.

"That overwhelming night (May, 1889), as I leaned over the railing of the ferry-boat, lost this world for another, and in the anguish and joy of a few minutes saw things heretofore withheld from me revealed. Those who have had such an encounter will understand what this means; others will not, or will, perhaps, only realize it by intimation. I could not separate the physical and spiritual of that moment. My physical body went through the experience of a disappearance in spiritual light. All severe lines in the front of phenomena relaxed. I was one with God, Love, the Universe, arrived at last face to face with myself. I was sensible of peculiar moral and mental disturbances and readjustments. There was an immediateness to it all—an indissoluble unity of the several energies of my being in one force. I was no more boating it on a river than winging it in space or taking star leaps, a traveler from one to another on the peopled orbs. While I stood there the boat had got into the slip and was almost ready to go out

again. A deck-hand who knew me came up and tapped me on the shoulder. . . . 'Do n't you intend going off the boat?' he asked. And he added when I faced him and said, 'Yes': 'You look wonderfully well and happy to-night, Mr. Traubel.' I did not see Walt till the next day, evening. In the meantime I had lived through twenty-four hours of ecstacy mixed with some doubt as to whether I had not a crack in my skull and gone mad rather than have fallen under some light and made a discovery. But the first words Walt addressed to me when I sallied into his room were reassuring: 'Horace, you have the look of great happiness on your face to-night. Have you had a run of good luck?' I sat down and tried in a few words to indicate that I had had a run of good luck, though not perhaps the good luck he had in mind for me at the moment. He did not seem at all surprised at what I told him, merely remarking as he put his hand on my shoulder and looked into my eyes: 'I knew it would come to you.' I suggested, 'I have been wondering all day if I am not crazy.' He laughed gravely. 'No, sane. Now at last you are sane.' . . . If you take my verse, *Illumination*, and try to get it statistically languaged, you will find that I have expressed a series of profound significance to all who have been similarly blessed. I find that my members are no more at war with each other. When I was a youngster I read my way vigorously and sympathetically back especially into Oriental literature of the religious class—blazed a path for the spirit. After 1889 (a hiatus in such reading having intervened) I found myself driven into that old world again to review my original impressions. The new light had made my voyage easier and more richly endowed its fruits. Once I felt that religions were all of them religions of despair: now I saw that no religion despairs—that all religion before it becomes and as soon as it ceases to be an affair of intuitions, resolves itself essentially into light and immortality."

This is part of the record, and a poem written later holds, like Whitman's already quoted, the same white flame of conviction, and ecstacy:

"God! I am circled—I am drunk with the influx of life—
Wheeled in your orbit—given the word I would speak yet must withhold,
Leaving you, O my brother, each one to say it for yourself.

"Brothers, worlds I greet you!
The wheel turns, the boundless prospect opens:
All, all complicate—the light bearing limitlessly the burdens of all.
Do you think that you are missed—that the large heart beats not for you?
That somewhere on the road you must faint and die?
Strength will be given for all your need,
And the weakest, when the night comes which is the day,
Will greet the King, a giant in stature and grace."

HELEN CAMPBELL.

*New York City.*

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH.

BY ELMER GREY.

THE RAPID growth of Christian Science during the last few years and the chance of its equally rapid growth in the future, make the question of the character of its church edifices one that should attract all lovers of good architecture whether they are interested in Christian Science of not. Any one who has been observant must realize that the architectural aspect of our cities is being continually influenced by the rapid multiplication of the churches of

this denomination. Many of these structures are very commendable in design, a few are unusually fine examples of church architecture, while it should be admitted that many might have been better. A truism is, that the healthful progress of any art is furthered by intelligent criticism, by discussion between those who have acquired a more or less reliable judgment in such matters. Though tastes will differ even among critics, without the standard which the consensus of their intelligent critical opinions create, there would be no stable basis upon which to appraise the values of art.

Christian Scientists are slow to criticise, and architectural discussion does not enter into the text of their religious periodicals. Very little on the subject of their architecture has so far appeared in print. This article will attempt to discuss some points which heretofore seem either to have been misstated or not covered.

In order properly to consider the style in which these edifices should be built, it should first be borne in thought that Christian Science is, or at least claims to be the type of Christianity taught by Jesus. Ever since the formation of the first Christian Church there have been religions making a similar claim and it is no part of the present purpose to decide whether they were or were not what they claimed to be, or whether Christian Science is such. The pertinent fact here is that the latter faith does not pretend to be anything better than the religion of Jesus and that every Christian religion has also at least striven to be the same thing.

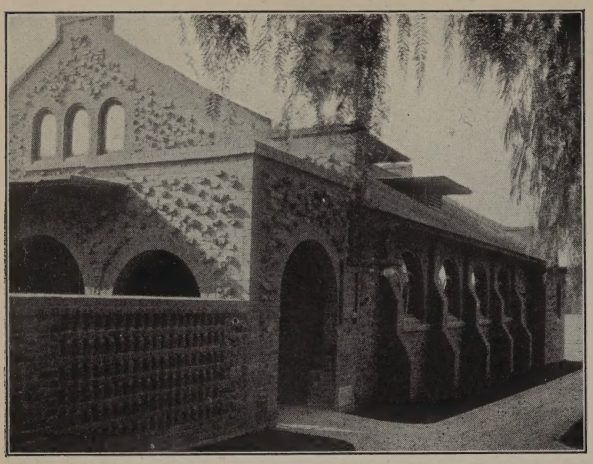
In the year 1 A. D. most of the world was pagan in its belief. and this belief found its most conspicuous architectural expression in the temples of ancient Greece. Jesus' followers first worshiped in cellars, in attics, in any places where they could safely congregate; but finally they became strong enough to erect houses of worship of their own, the first Christian church edifices. These early Christian churches followed the Roman basilicas in form and these basilicas were not churches but halls of justice. This borrowed form for a church had, in the course of centuries of development, several noteworthy culminations in style, which distinctly showed that its buildings were to be used as churches and not as law courts. One of these styles was the Renaissance, a revival of old Roman and Greek architecture which reached its highest perfection in such churches as St. Peter's in Rome, or Santa Maria della Saluté in Venice. Another was the Romanesque, which is distinguishable by its liberal use of the round arch and the vault. Later on the Romanesque merged into the Gothic. The Gothic, almost losing sight of the motifs of Greek or pagan architecture, developed the arch and the vault to a high state of perfection, and reached its culminating glory in the cathedrals of France and England.

Nothing that has been done in church architecture since has equaled some of these original Renaissance, Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals and churches in point of beauty. They may well be taken as models, therefore, so far as their style is concerned, in designing Christian churches of to-day. This is not, however, what has always been done with Christian Science churches. Many of them have attempted the Greek idea in their designs, various reasons being given for it. An objection commonly raised to the Gothic style is that it stands for the form and ceremony of the Orthodox church. It is contended that Christtian Science is a considerable remove from Orthodox thought, and that this difference should show in the style of its church edifices. But the Renaissance stands for orthodox thought as truly as does the Gothic, as witness St. Peter's in Rome and numberless other Renaissance churches that have been built and are used to-day by one or another of the orthodox church forms. It is also said that the idealism of Socrates, preached

CHURCH OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE SOCIETY, MILWAUKEE. ELMER GREY, ARCHITECT.

in pagan temple days, was nearer to the Christian idealism of Christian Science than is much of the later religion calling itself Christian, and that for this reason the Greek temples might appropriately be used as motifs for Christian Science architecture. But Greek historians tell us that the rank and file of the ancient Greeks were not at all the kind of people who were likely to have been followers of Socrates. They worshiped the gods and the oracles and participated in obscene rites. It is a question whether Socrates ever used the Greek temples for the purpose of promulgating his philosophy. And even if he did, even if we assume that the Greek temples stand for the thought of a few exceptional Greeks, a return from orthodox Christian thought to theirs would as a recent writer in the *Christian Science Journal* (May, 1908, p. 75) made clear, be no advance.

Notwithstanding this fact at least one article has appeared stating that the Greek type of edifice is symbolical of Christian Science. We are glad to be able to give the opinion of a prominent Christian Scientist that there is absolutely no authority for such statement. He writes: "Mrs. Eddy has not, to my knowledge, even suggested that such a type be considered Christian Science architecture. The original Mother Church, built in 1894, upon Mrs. Eddy's suggestion and upon which she devoted much time and energy is Romanesque. The church in Concord, her gift, erected in her home city, dedicated in 1904, is a Gothic edifice. The immense new edifice of the Mother Church, dedicated in June, 1906, is of Italian Renaissance. These three buildings, one her gift and the other two suggested by her, seem to show that she has preferred the type of building which, when seen at such a



FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA. HIBBARD & GILL, ARCHITECTS.

distance that no inscription or title can be observed upon its face, is known immediately as a church edifice.

"Arguing the question from the point of the reflection of religion upon architecture it can truly be said that the Greek style of architecture is no more the interpretation of Christian Science into architecture than is the New England meeting-house. If the Greek type for Christian churches had not appeared in this country or in Europe, and Christian Scientists were the first to erect such edifices then there might be some excuse for stating that they feel it to be typical of their religious belief. But scattered over this country and over Europe are hundreds of churches of other denominations built after the Greek style.

One writer has objected to the Gothic style because of its "symbolism." But all forms of art are symbolic, anything that expresses thought: language, music, all styles of architecture. The Bible is full of it, the Book of Revelations is almost entirely made up of it. It is not a question of symbolism, but of the kind of thought expressed by it. The Gothic, for centuries stood for the only form of Christianity then existing. True, it was not Christian Science; but much of it was sincere reaching out for the Christ truth, earnest clinging to all of that truth then discerned; and were it not for those earnest efforts toward perpetuating Christianity, Christian Science might not be known to-day. Symbolism has been used by Christian Scientists in places, and with a freedom which should go far toward warranting its further use. In the original Mother Church the "Director's Rose Window" is almost entirely symbolic. In Mrs. Eddy's room is another window of that nature. "Instead of symbolism declining with the growth of Christian Science," writes one Christian Scientist, "I feel that the case will be exactly the reverse; that there will be other symbols added to those that have accumulated during the last nineteen hundred years, for Christian Science will find new expressions and will take from those of the past the ones which appeal to it as higher types by their suggestiveness of spirituality."

The whole subject of style for Christian Science churches rests upon the question of how much Christian Science is allied to other Christian denominations. On this point Mrs. Eddy has said: "As the ages advance in spirituality Christian Science will be seen to depart from the trend of other Christian denominations in no wise except by increase of spirituality." (Miscellaneous Writings, p. 21.) Since Christian Scientists will be the last to question this statement, does it not seem that their edifices should follow the styles of other Christian churches? More than that, should they not, if possible, be an improvement upon, a perfection, of the beauty of those styles? Surely they should show that Christian Scientists as a class sympathize with the Christian history of the past, should impress outsiders as being the buildings of a great and permanent Christian church organization rather than those of a society having limited sympathies

and hence limited capacities for good. Unless they do plainly tell this it should be easy to see how even the religion they represent might often be misjudged in consequence.

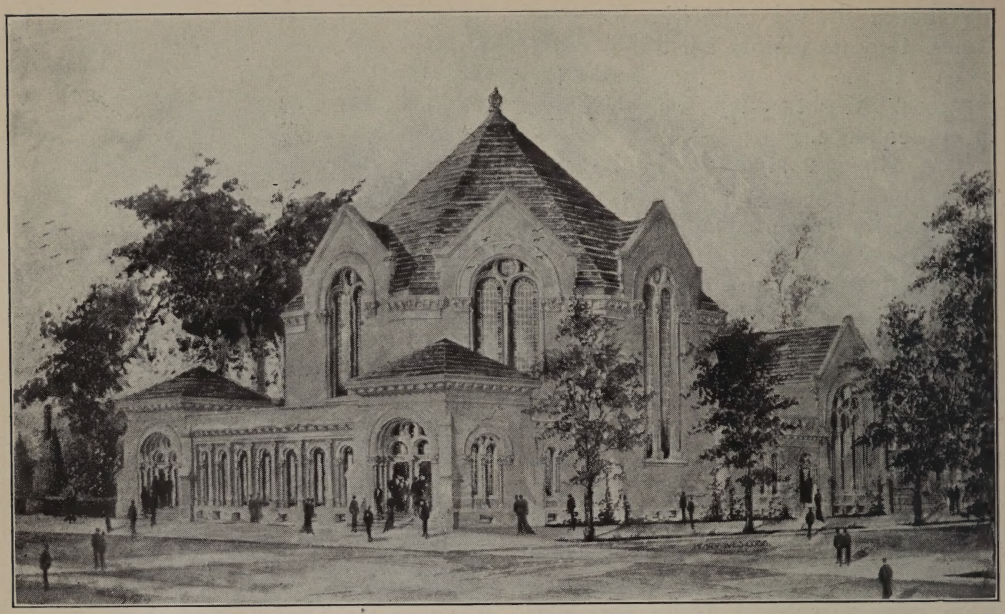
The Grecian style would be more acceptable with many for the purpose if it lent itself more readily to modern churchly expression. But the plan of a Greek temple was so entirely different from that of a Christian Science church plan that it cannot consistently be used as a model for the latter. The arch, the vault and the dome, for instance, were unknown to the Greeks. Their columns and in fact, their entire buildings were enormous in scale compared with what are required nowadays. They did not superimpose one story upon another as is now done, and their temple halls were always entered from the level. What has resulted when the Grecian style has been attempted for Science

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST,
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.
JOHN GALEN HOWARD, ARCHITECT.

FIFTH CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST,
228-230 W. 45th STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

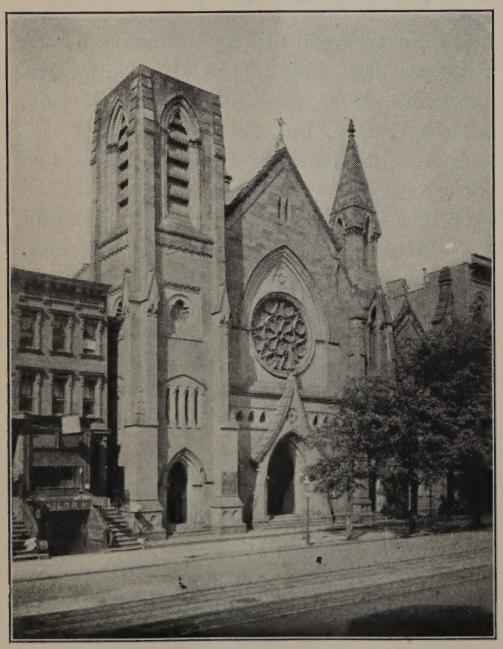
churches is really a nondescript, much more nearly resembling the work of the Romans than that of the Greeks. Some examples of it, skilfully handled, have been effective, but few are readily distinguishable as Christian churches and some are travesties on Greek architecture. (See Encyclopedia Americana, "Architecture," by Russell Sturgis.)

Just where the Renaissance, the Gothic, or some other appropriate style should be used is, perhaps, often a matter of taste, but it also should frequently be governed by environment. The style of most of our business buildings is of either Roman or Greek origin (commonly grouped together under the term "Classic"). Such surroundings, and especially if they include tall office-buildings are apt to overpower the more delicate beauty of Gothic design; and often, in such cases, the Classic would be more appropriate. In New York, for



FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, BROOKLYN, N. Y. HENRY IVES COBB, ARCHITECT.

example, we know how Trinity has been dwarfed by the tall buildings of Broadway, while the new Madison Square Presbyterian Church, amidst similar surroundings, appears quite at home. On the other hand the Gothic seems peculiarly fitted for suburban localities, where its spires may rise clearly above surrounding objects. No one, for instance, would wish to see Salisbury Cathedral removed from the green fields and spreading trees that surround it to the crowded thoroughfares of that part of London where St. Paul's stands. In such a locality as Salisbury's site, or even in the residence district of a large city where the surrounding buildings are not high, and where there are gardens, trees and lawns, the formal Classic is apt to appear, as compared with Gothic, cold, inhospitable, severe.



THIRD CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, NEW YORK CITY.

Another consideration is geographical location. Some localities have historic traditions or climatic characteristics which not only is it good taste to respect, but skilfully recognizing them often results in buildings that harmonize far better with their environments than do others that have slavishly followed the architecture of dissimilar localities. In warm countries, for instance, no matter what style is followed, because roofs are not

required to shed snow they may be made less steep than those of colder climates and because in such countries protection from the sun's rays is often desirable, cornices should project further. In California, suggestions of the architecture of Spain, Italy and Mexico (where similar climatic conditions prevail) have been so successfully interwoven with some architectural work as to have excited widespread admiration, and even to have given rise to the idea that there is being created there a distinctly local style.

There is a practical side to Christian Science, which finds expression in its church edifices. They are to some extent, not alone places of worship, but also places where its healing work is often discussed. That is, Christian Scientists seem to have more reason than do most people for the informal chat after church meetings. These conditions have been met in many cases by the adoption of a vestibule or foyer enlarged over that usually provided in Christian churches. Oftentimes the basement or ground floor has been used for the purpose, the main auditorium above being approached through it by means of a stair-well or wells, cut through the center of the seating space. A better way of accomplishing the same result is to have the stairways lead into a vestibule above, from which vestibule the auditorium is entered; the object being to have the auditorium and its approach both on the same level. The most effective way is to have the entrance, the foyer, and the auditorium all on the same floor, but it requires more room, and consequently, sometimes a larger lot and increased expenditure. At least the arrangement by which the stair-wells are cut up through the auditorium floor, should be avoided, as it is an undignified way of entering a large audience room and especially a church.

The church at Concord is a good waymark. It is distinctly a Christian church. That it was done by one of the best firms in the country is attested by their recently winning against several distinguished competitors the commission for planning the Union Theological Seminary of New York. Many other cities also have Science churches that are a credit to them and to Christian Science. Recently there seems to be a desire to return to first principles. Many Scientists, as well as many others who are interested in Christian Science, have not been altogether proud of some of its architecture, and feel that its edifices should look less like library buildings, lecture-halls or banks than many of them do.

Brooklyn is soon to have a good Romanesque church. San Francisco has had plans drawn for a large Gothic edifice, which promises well. It is to be hoped that as Christian Science continues to grow, its architecture, by expressing more clearly a broad Christian character may also grow—in truth and hence in real beauty.

ELMER GREY.

*Los Angeles, California.*

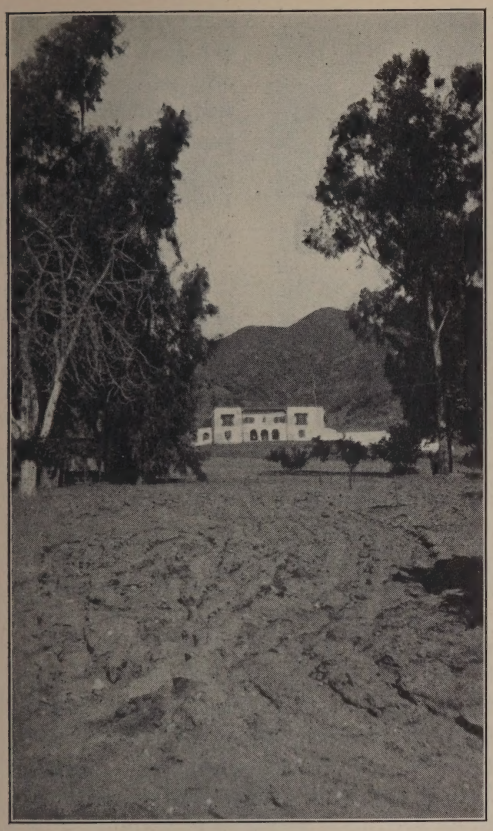
BACK-YARD GARDEN OF G. W. WATTLES, HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA.

# ELMER GREY AND HIS DREAM OF A NEW-WORLD ARCHITECTURE.

## AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

I.

AMERICANS as a rule little realize the upward-impelling influence of noble art on man and nation. Indeed, we as a people have been so concerned in subduing the primeval forest, in cultivating the virgin prairie, in wresting from nature her hoarded wealth buried deep in earth or hidden in mountain recesses, and in harnessing the subtle elements that they might do the bidding of commerce and manufacture, that not only our artistic appreciation but our very sense of moral proportion has been dulled. It is only of late that a considerable number of the more thoughtful of our people have come to realize that permanent greatness or enduring civilization demands that excessive devotion to material acquisition or the sordid spirit of money-getting shall give place to the higher demands of life. While there was a time when the thought of the people necessarily had to be given chiefly to the provision of creature comforts and the acquiring of material means, that day has passed and the hour has arrived when, if the Republic is to take its place among the peoples who build on solid foundations, the material demands must yield to those things which nourish man on the higher plane of his being—to the culture and development of the ethical, esthetic and rational sides of life; to spiritual, artistic and philosophical or scientific advance. Utility is vital to progress, but utility, if made a be-all and end-all, is fatal to true greatness; and the time has come in this great and rich young land when the ideal of justice or the concept of the Golden Rule, with its creed of "all for all," or the greatest good for all, must take the place of the ideal of war or victory at the expense of others' ruin—the creed of "every man



G. W. WATTLES' RESIDENCE,
HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA.
MYRON HUNT & ELMER GREY, ARCHITECTS.

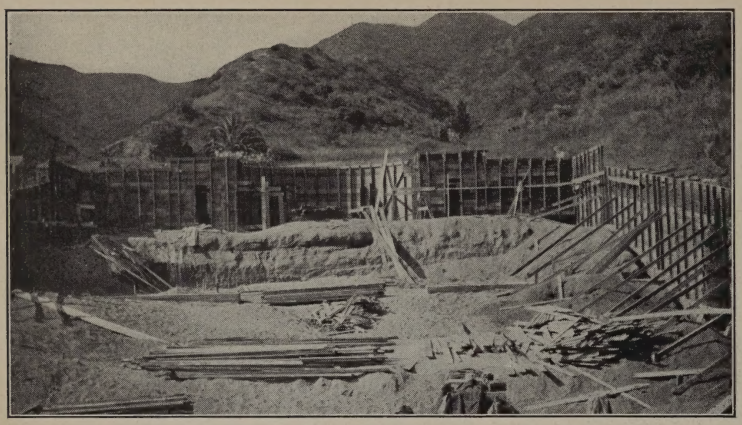
GILBERT E. PERKINS' RESIDENCE,
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA.
MYRON HUNT & ELMER GREY, ARCHITECTS.

for himself"; and this noble ethical concept must be companioned by the cultivation of art or appreciation for the beautiful, in order to satisfy the profound yearnings of man's nature for satisfaction in such a way that the soul shall be nourished.

There is a beauty that exalts and refines, and there is a counterfeit beauty that ministers to the lower side of life, educating men downward rather than upward. The new demand is that we have a noble art for America that shall be instinct with moral idealism; an art that first of all is sincere and true and whose atmosphere shall be wholesome and uplifting as are the glories of nature and the great masters' works of a Phidias, a Michael Angelo, a Raphael, a Bach, or a Wagner; an art that shall be worthy of the masters of other days who wrought the greatest creations in architecture, in sculpture, in painting and in poetry.

II.

For a score of years the editor of THE ARENA has striven to awaken the people to a recognition of the importance of an all-comprehensive and worthy art for the New World; and from time to time we have called attention to the work of typical representatives of the new spirit—men who, like St. Gaudens, Elwell and Partridge in sculpture; J. J. Enneking in painting; Edwin Markham in poetry; and Professor S. S. Curry in oratory or the science of the spoken word, are blazing the way for a greater America.



WATTLES' GARDEN UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

This month we wish to call attention to one of our architects who in like manner is doing an important pioneer work—a man who not only enjoys an enviable eminence on the Pacific coast, but whose strong, original and artistic designs have already won for him a national reputation.

In Elmer Grey, of the firm of Myron Hunt and Elmer Grey, of Los Angeles, we have a fine example of the younger American architect under the compulsion of moral idealism. He is a typical son of the New World. His early architectural training was largely acquired in the offices of Ferry and Class, the well-known architects of Milwaukee. Twelve years were spent with this house, and here Mr. Grey's aptitude and enthusiasm were soon in evidence, and when the firm received the commission for the designing of two of the largest library buildings in the country—the library of Milwaukee and the building of the State Historical Society in Madison, Elmer Grey assisted in designing these noble structures of which the people of Wisconsin are so justly proud. Both these buildings are in the Italian Renaissance style. While in Wisconsin the young architect gained a considerable reputation for his fine taste exhibited in original designs for residences. Grace, style and fitness for environment were conspicuous characteristics of all his work.

In 1890 he won the first prize in a competition for a water-tower and pumping station, offered by *The Engineering and Building Record* of New York.

At this time he was still in the offices of Ferry and Class, and during the time with this firm he spent several vacation seasons sketching abroad. Two of his water-color drawings made during these pilgrimages hang in the permanent collection of the Chicago Art Institute.

Finally, in quest of health, Mr. Grey removed to southern California. Here he formed a partnership with Myron Hunt, another brillant young architect, from the Middle West. Mr. Hunt had made a splendid reputation in Chicago before removing to California. As both these architects are men of genuine artistic ability, originality and enthusiasm, with high ideals and a desire to help ennoble the art of the New World, their work has steadily gained in appreciation among the more discerning of the Pacific coast, and recently a number of very important works have been entrusted to their skill.

Among these are designs for the Throop Polytechnic Institute of Pasadena. The buildings of this great educational home when completed it is expected will cost between two and three million dollars, making one of the most beautiful and complete groups of technical buildings in America as a home for an institute that it is expected will rank with the greatest technical schools in the world.

This firm is also at present engaged in the designing of a home, garden and grounds for a wealthy gentleman's residence, which will give a fine opportunity

GILBERT E. PERKINS' RESIDENCE, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA.
MYRON HUNT & ELMER GREY, ARCHITECTS.

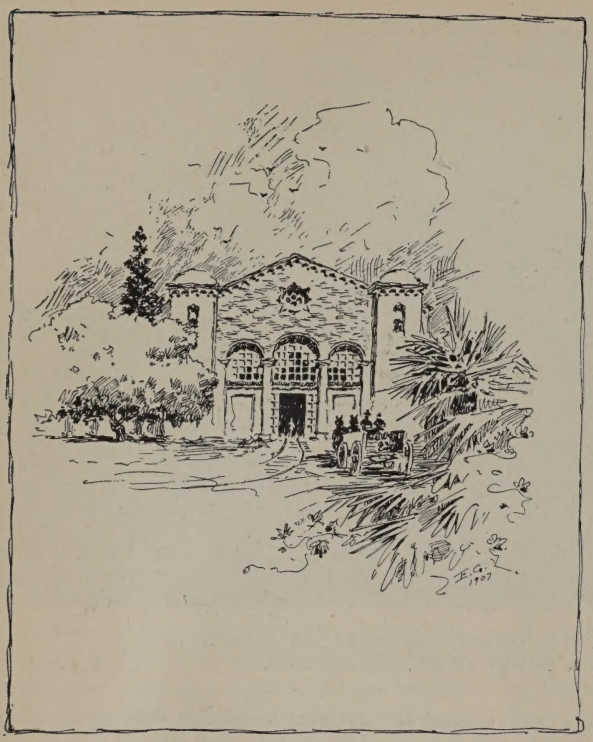
to show what can be done when art finds an ideal stage for its setting. The home is to be in the Greek style and will occupy an imposing site on an estate of five hundred acres, dotted with live oaks and containing nine miles of finished driveway. It overlooks a beautiful valley and is backed by a range of mountains rising six thousand feet.

Another very interesting example of residence work entrusted to Messrs. Hunt and Grey is the home and gardens of Mr. G. W. Wattles, of Hollywood, California. We give views showing this place when the work was commenced, and also views after completion, as furnishing an admirable illustration of the transformation possible when art and the methods of modern civilization are employed to transform arid and unsightly districts into gardens of beauty.

The above designs are but a few of a number of important commissions that have been or are being executed by the firm of Hunt and Grey, which indicate a praiseworthy appreciation on the part of the thoughtful citizens of the Pacific coast for architects of the first rank who have original ideas and the courage to strike out from the beaten path of imitative conventionalism.

III.

Elmer Grey is not only an artist of strength, originality and courage, but he is a man of strong faith in the future. He believes that the New World is destined to enjoy a great architecture that shall be distinctively American, an architecture that shall be sincere and honest, adapted to the life and the varying climatic and other conditions of our great Republic; one that shall be indebted to all the greatness that has gone before, but that shall be nobly free from servile imitation. As yet the new architecture is in its infancy. We have little more than the promise of the coming greatness, but enough progress has been made to encourage us in the conviction that architectural greatness will follow industrial growth and the coming economic freedom and spiritual awakening of the people.



THROOP POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING BUILDING.

Mr. Grey is one of the few American architects who are also finished essayists. He has contributed some exceptionally able papers to leading architectural journals, and in this issue of THE ARENA will be found an able paper from his pen on Christian Science architecture, that cannot fail to prove of deep interest to our readers, though we confess we do not personally share his views. To us the style of a place of worship is of little moment, provided it is nobly simple and artistic as are the Grecian models. There is much associated with all the temples and cathedrals of the past that is beautiful, and also much that one could wish were different. For example, while one may experience profoundly religious feelings in the presence of some of the great cathedrals, others, descendants from grave Huguenots or Dissenters whose ancestors were horribly persecuted and tortured and slain for the glory of God and with the sanction and encouragement of the prelates who officiated in those cathedrals, experience far different emotions.

Jerusalem, Greece and Rome all contributed noble gifts to civilization, and all were responsible for many things that one cannot regard with feelings other than those of sorrow and regret. Judaism, with its noble monotheistic ideal and other lofty religious concepts, was nevertheless not great enough to tolerate the great Prophet of Nazareth or to quench the terrible spirit of intolerance and blind dogmatic bigotry that has been one of the most sinister features of many intense peoples who have cherished dogmatic religions.

Greece gave the world a noble ethical and metaphysical philosophy and a great art, but Greece was not great enough to appreciate Socrates or noble enough to refuse to slay that teacher of exalted ethics.

Rome gave the world concepts of law and order in government, and many other important contributions to civilization and human development, but she was not great enough to be just. She strove after solidarity in government, but failed to recognize the solidarity of human life and the demands it imposes; so she, too, became a persecuting spirit and to intolerance she added despotism, cruelty and sensual excesses which in time destroyed her.

The age that brought forth the great Gothic cathedrals gave us much that was helpfully suggestive and much that did not make for civilization's advance or human happiness.

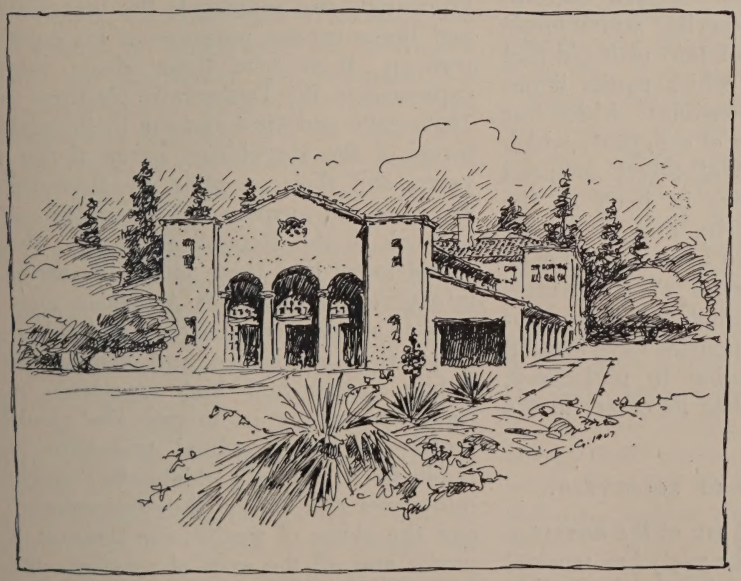
What the world to-day, it seems to us, needs to do is to get away from the bondage of past associations, as they

cling to buildings, and seek to worship God in spirit and in truth. Personally we incline to the Greek type, but we feel that here, as elsewhere, the greatest freedom should obtain in the type of building used for worship. It should be suitable for the need for which it is erected. It should be simple, artistic, pleasing, and as effective as possible for the money expended.

Mr. Grey is not himself a Christian Scientist. In answer to a question from us on this point he wrote:

"I am not a member of the Christian Science Church, but am more than willing to say that to Christian Science I owe all my present health and happiness. The account of my recovery from a long spell of semi-invalidism appeared in the Christian Science *Sentinel* of March 2d, 1907. I have also contributed articles to the same periodical from time to time expressive either of other benefits received or of my regard for the reasonableness of its philosophy as compared with much current theological belief. I have the interests of the cause so much at heart that I hope to some day see a Christian Science architecture, as much better than much current Orthodox church work, as is its system of metaphysics to me above current theological dogma. This quality of architecture it has still to gain, but the indications are promising."

THROOP POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, CAMPUS LOOKING TOWARD ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.



THROOP POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING BUILDING.

It is a good augury for the future of America that along with the tremendous social awakening, the profound and growing interest in economic problems and the ideal of free government based on justice, we find in the various branches of artistic achievement men who are virile and noble-minded idealists who, believe in a great art life for America working for such a consummation. This is true in regard to sculpture, painting, poetry, oratory and architecture. Unless the growing signs belie their promise, America is approaching a full-orbed artistic awakening that cannot fail to exalt and ennoble her children, especially if the awakening is preceded or accompanied by that measure of economic justice that shall banish the fear of uninvited poverty and give to the toilers the measure of freedom that marks emancipated manhood.

# THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM UNMASKED.

By W. B. Fleming.

### SELF-GLORIFICATION.

THE REPUBLICAN party, represented by delegates selected by the great army of office-holders and by the agencies of the syndicates and Trusts, in convention assembled, submit its holy cause to the people. The great historic organization which has freed the blacks (but enslaved the whites); which has centralized power in the National Government and made it imperial; which hopes to survive the panic of 1907 as it did that of 1873 (for both of which panics it has to confess it is responsible); which has entered upon a career of conquest; which has established a Wall-Street financial system; which glories in itself as the source of all prosperity and as having boosted our nation to her seat of honor among the aristocracies of the world: Now meets those problems of government which its own policies have created with the same devotion to plutocracy, which has distinguished its career in the past.

### THE LEADERSHIP OF ROOSEVELT.

In this the greatest era of the advancement of plutocracy, the party has reached its highest service under the leadership of Roosevelt. Never, since Lincoln has any Republican President so won popularity by proclaiming Democratic doctrine and parading in the "stolen clothes" of an adverse party. Never was such tribute paid to those Democratic ideals of government, which make for justice, equality and fair dealing among men. The louder the President proclaims these ideals, the better he voices American aspirations and represents the best aims and the worthiest purposes of his countrymen. It is true these ideals were expressed in the Democratic platform of 1896, 1900 and 1904 and not in the platforms of the Republican party of those years, and their adoption by Roosevelt has come as a surprise to the country and a shock to the Republican party. But as we know that these ideals, if carried into practice, would lift American manhood to a nobler sense of duty and obligation; that conscience and courage in public station and high standards of right and wrong in private life would thereby become cardinal principles of public faith; capital and labor be brought into closer relation and interdependence; and the abuse of wealth, the tyranny of power and all the evils of privilege and favoritism be put to scorn by the simple,

manly views of justice and fair play, we must pretend to applaud them. We must assume the virtue we do not have, in order to continue the reign of Monopoly. The great accomplishments of Roosevelt which we can commend with sincerity, have been, first and foremost, his determination not "to run amuck" and the consequent failure to enforce the criminal law against the trusts, easing them off with fines, which, if ever paid, can be recouped from the consumers by raise in trust prices; second, the honoring of Mr. Morton, a conspicuous violator of the rebate law, with a place in the Cabinet and immunity from punishment; third, his surrender to the Senate of the vital section of the Railroad Rate Law, thus depriving the Interstate Commerce Commission of all power to fix rates; fourth, the retention for years in office of Mr. Knox, the appointee of the Trusts, as Attorney-General, and the appointment of Mr. Root, the chief attorney of the Trusts, to the Cabinet, and Mr. Bacon, the partner of Mr. Morgan, as Assistant Secretary of State; fifth, his affiliation with the Addicks faction in Delaware, the Quay-Penrose faction in Pennsylvania, and his opposition to the Republican reformers, La Follette, in Wisconsin, and Cummins, in Iowa, and his intimacies with the Harrimans, the Morgans, the Carnegies, and Hills and other great Republican patriots; sixth, his selection of a successor, who is entirely acceptable to Wall Street and the Trusts; and, finally, his standing "pat" on the tariff, although a free trader at heart, thus proving that he is for the party first and principle second. We also commend his going to the rescue of Wall Street in the late panic with two hundred and fifty millions of public money, and his recommendation of the "Vreeland-Aldrich Bill," which puts the public measure (money) in the hands of the big financiers. We even favor his course in the matter of arbitration between Capital and Labor, his efforts for a limited control of the railroads, the conservation of the natural resources and improvement of the inland waterways, inasmuch as these efforts help to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people and to enable the party to feel secure in power. Hence we declare our unfaltering adherency to the policies thus inaugurated and pledge their continuance under a Republican administration.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL.

By means of our great natural resources and marvelous inventions and the genius of American labor, together with a series of "fat" years of unprecedented crops, our rich have become the richest in the world. Their wealth exceeds that of all the Princes and aristocrats of England, France and Germany combined. When the Republican party was born, the total wealth of the country was sixteen billions. It has leaped to one hundred and ten billions. While the Lords of Great Britain have gathered less than sixty billions in five hundred years, our industrial barons and money kings now own and control more than that sum, and our millionaires are fast becoming billionaires. While our labor class makes one-third of all manufactured products and live in penury, our plutocrats own or control them all. Coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the staple foundation for all fabrics; wheat, corn and all the agricultural products—these are the sources of the greatness of our civilization, and in all these fields the supremacy of America's plutocracy is undisputed. And yet our great actual wealth has scarcely been touched. We have a great domain of three million square miles, literally burstting with hidden treasures; a country rich in soil and climate, in the unharnessed energy of its rivers, and in all the varied products of the field, the forests and the factories, waiting the magic touch of the wand of labor and machinery to be converted into wealth for our millionaires under Republican rule. With gratitude

for God's bounty, vouchsafed only to the Republican party; with a pride in its splendid achievements of the past; and confidence in our readiness to do even more in the future for our rich, we declare for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign, the favored few should have the usufruct and that to this end there shall be equal opportunity for the rich to grow richer and for the horny hand of toil to learn to labor and to wait.

THE REVIVAL OF BUSINESS.

Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial, industrial and agricultural interests are founded and the necessity of promoting present conditions and the prosperity of the privileged classes under the operation of Republican policies as the recent panic brought on by Rockefeller, Morgan & Company by which the Steel Trust was enabled to absorb its only rival, the Tennessee Coal & Iron Company, and the big financiers manipulate the stock-gambling market by a change in prices to the extent of ten billions of dollars. So nobly did these big financiers rush to the rescue of the markets, after thus exploiting the public, that they became the idols of the people who proclaimed them as the saviors of their country. Although we are still within the throes of this travail, we declare that the people have had a safe passage and are now, or will soon be, more prosperous than ever.

The Republican party, for twelve years, has been in complete control of the government, and, except at short intervals, has been in such control for more than half a century. It has enacted the tariff, financial and railroad legislation, which has built up the plutocratic oligarchy and at the recent session of Congress has adopted many other wise and progressive measures to buttress the trusts and taken good care that the Democratic measures recommended by our great and good President were sidetracked; and although the Democratic Representatives in Congress stood solidly for those measures recommended by the President, we declare that the failure to pass them is wholly due to those filibustering Democrats. Nevertheless, the Republican party passed an Emergency Bill in the interest of Wall Street.

TARIFF REVISION.

Seeing that the Dingley Law is odorous to the people, we decline to further "stand pat" on the tariff, and declare unequivocally for a revision of the tariff "after the election." We do not deem it expedient at this time to express an opinion whether by such revision we mean to lower or raise the schedule, and we refuse to put ourselves on record as to the charge that the tariff shelters the trusts, or to denounce the captains of industry for selling their products dearer at home than abroad. But the manufacturers have good reason to know that no bill will be approved by the Republican party which is not first approved by them. We declare, however, our continued purpose to mask the iniquities of the tariff behind the plea of protection to labor, whose high standard of living under present laws and prices, if not in fact existing, is nevertheless hereby proclaimed. It must further be made known that the chief end of all Republican tariff is the enrichment of the workingmen and not of the manufacturers. The poverty of the Carnegies and the Fricks and the luxuries enjoyed by the men and women and children who toil in factories sufficiently attest this truth. Between the United States and the Philippines we favor free trade in everything in which the trusts are not implicated.

RECENT CURRENCY BILL.

We approve the Vreeland-Aldrich Bill as the best emergency measure the Republicans in Congress could agree

upon. This measure is highly acceptable for the present, but the Republican party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system responsive to the demands of the captains of high finance. Hence a monetary commission has been appointed by the present Congress to investigate the subject and be ready to propose the most effective measure for this realization. We will call such measures means to provide an "elastic currency." This will enable the money kings to contract and expand the currency at will, and thus still further control prices and add to their millions, and to Republican campaign funds.

TUBS TO THE WHALE.

As a "sop" to the reformers and a text for our spellbinders, we weakly favor a postal savings-banks system.

We favor more effective control of the railroads, in an abstract way, but lest we be taken seriously as to this we decline to give any concrete expression to our views, further than to say that in our opinion all discriminations have been abolished and we see no evidence of extortion anywhere. The railroads have come to be very good. Secret mergers still continue, and these are against the law. We, therefore, favor an amendment to the law expressly authorizing "pooling" contracts.

We have tried to placate the workingman by tinkering at employment liability, safety appliances, protection for engineers and firemen, reduction of hours of labor, arbitration, compensation for injured employés law, which we confess amount to but little, but we promise to do better after the election.

We call attention to our child-labor statute for the District of Columbia, but fearing that the people may get on to the idea, that if this statute is good for the little District of Columbia, it might be a good thing for the whole United States, we have ordered investigation into the condition of working women and children, telephone and telegraph employés, etc. When we do n't want to legislate, but to fool the people, we are great on investigating committees.

THE INJUNCTION PLANK.

The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, especially when they declare an income tax unconstitutional, or set aside the laws of the state, or fix railroad rates, but to placate the labor vote we venture to declare that the courts ought not to issue injunctions unless they choose to do so.

THE AMERICAN FARMER.

All prosperity rests upon the wage-earner and the farmer. The Republican party for the last twelve years has been the special ally of Providence; has made the sun to shine and the rain to fall and the harvest abundant. By the manipulation of the trusts, the wealth thus produced has been diverted from the toiler and producer to the trusts, but the millions should nevertheless be grateful to the Republican party for their great opportunities to make the rich richer and the millionaires billionaires. If the Republican Congress by special favoritism to the railroads has through the Postal Department in its methods of weighing the mail given millions of dollars in the way of unearned profits to the great corporations the farmers should control themselves with grateful reflections upon the benefits conferred on them by the extension of the free mail rural delivery. We are even willing to aid the states in building good roads. We do not think it advisable at the present time to declare for a ship-subsidy bill, but if we carry the next Congress we intend to pass such a bill and give the monopoly of the commerce of the seas to the great captains who now enjoy the monopoly of land commerce, and we shall do this under the plea that it will help the farmer and the toiler to get their products to foreign markets.

SOP TO THE NEGROES.

It is true that there were more Democrats than Republicans in the Union Army which freed the negro, but we claim this glory exclusively for the Republicans. We, therefore, appeal to the voters of the African race to support our ticket whether they like our candidate or not.

NATURAL RESOURCES.

We want the natural resources conserved, the waste of timber prevented, the arid lands reclaimed, the waterways, harbors and Great Lakes improved, so as to safeguard the future exploitation of the country for our wards, the trusts.

THE ARMY AND NAVY.

We favor a great army and navy. This will enable us to protect the trust magnates in their exploitation of foreign countries, and if troubles arise in the conflict between Capital and Labor at home, we can speedily put an end to them. In this connection we have taken the precaution to put the state militia under Federal control.

EXTENSION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Our great foreign commerce, which aggregates three billions annually, enables us to pay not only for our importations including luxuries for the rich, but to meet the enormous tribute we have to pay to the capitalists of Europe—a tribute rendered necessary by our wise financial system.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE.

At a late meeting of the Hague Peace Conference, the highest honors were paid to a plain American citizen who is not a Republican and who is without trust alliance. Nevertheless we endorse the action of that body as a matter of form, although we intend to proceed with our system of militarism.

CIVIL SERVICE.

We have heretofore boasted of our Civil Service Law, and our President has been the High Priest of the Civil Service. But with the late raid of our army of officeholders upon the Republican primaries fresh in the minds of the American people our plank upon Civil Service must be short. We can only say that we are in favor of obeying the Civil Service Laws in the same manner in which they have been obeyed in the selection of the candidate for the Presidency we are about to name.

MISCELLANEOUS.

As we rely upon contributions from the great corporations to carry the next election, we have taken care not to pass a law requiring publicity in the matter of such contributions, and, of course, cannot now favor such a law, however great the clamor among the plain people may be for such action. But we favor the public health and the Bureau of Mines and Mining.

COLONIZATION.

Notwithstanding the fact that the United States was born of a protest against colonization, and although such government is denounced by the Great Declaration and is inconsistent with the genius of our institutions, and despite the fact that the Father of our party declared that "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent," nevertheless we adhere to our colonization schemes in Porto Rico and the Philippines, and recommend the celebration of Lincoln's birthday.

PARTY DIFFERENCES.

The differences between the Republican and Democratic parties are fundamental and irrepressible. The first stands for the few, the latter for the many; the one for the millionaire, the other for the million; the one for a currency controlled by the big financiers, the other by the

government as the agency for the people; the one for gold and the other for silver as well as gold; the one for a no-cent dollar, the other for a fifty-cent dollar; the one for a "telescope" currency, expanding and contracting at the will of the money kings, the other for a stable currency; the one for protection of the manufacturers, the other for the protection of the producer and consumer. On all these issues we declare that the Republican party has been vindicated. We insist that the "dinner-pail" is still full, and that no panic is possible under Republican rule, and that the panic we have proves the prosperity of the country. The Democratic party is weak enough to stand for "equal rights for all" and "special privileges to none." We stand for special privileges for the favored few. The Democratic party stands for obstruction to trust methods; the Republican party for construction of the giant trusts. If the Republican party be kept in power, the Democratic party cannot perform its promises, but the Republicans can.

What we denounce in the Democratic party as Socialistic we pretend to favor, but this is done only for the purpose of winning votes. Everybody can see that Republicanism will give opportunity to the trusts while the Democratic party would only give opportunity to the average man. The Republican party believes that the corporations should govern the people. The Democratic party believes that the people should govern the corporations. We, therefore, appeal to the voters to stand by the Republican party.

Upon this platform we go before the country, asking not only the support of the millionaires, of which we are already assured, but of the millions; not only of those who shear the sheep, but of the sheep who are sheared. We, therefore, demand a unanimous endorsement of our noble principles regardless of all past party affiliations, and ask that the policies of the Republican party and its great achievements for the trusts be made secure and perpetual.

W. B. Fleming.

*Louisville, Kentucky.*

## MODERN INDIVIDUALISM.

By Rev. Lewis J. Duncan.

FOR A LONG time past, covering many generations, there has been a distinct and growing recognition of the individual in human thought, and of his importance in human institutions. Along with this, a distinct and more or less conscious effort on the part of society to give freer and fuller play to the powers of the individual, to safeguard him in the exercise of those powers, and in the attainment of what will make for his personal well-being and enjoyment. We are pretty unanimously agreed that this is right and good. We rejoice not only in the opportunities afforded by modern society for the exercise of our own powers and the development of our own individuality, but also that these opportunities can be enjoyed by other individuals.

We take pleasure in the company of persons of strong individuality. It refreshes and stimulates to meet a man or a woman who is unique and not a mere reflex of the commonplace, a dull echo of conventionality. We admire the way in which such a person throws off the impediments with which mere custom or the thoughts and the doings of other individuals would restrict him. We even admire the way in which our own opposition is unable to thwart him. We may not like the way in which his individuality

opposes our own, or his mastery of circumstances thwarts our cherished schemes; but down in our hearts, beneath all our displeasure and chagrin, we admire him just the same, and though we may hate, we cannot despise him. Our pity and contempt are all for the one who has been overborne by circumstances, or overpowered by the stronger and opposing individuals. It is one of the cardinal doctrines of our individualism that by allowing such full and free play, by giving scope, as we say, to the individual's initiative, keeping our hands off so long as it does not interfere too seriously with other individuals, does not become oppressive and tyrannical, and a social menace, the conduct of affairs and the future destinies of society fall rightfully and naturally into the hands of the strongest, wisest, most capable individuals, whilst mediocrity sinks to its proper level. And this result, we have generally agreed, is altogether the safest, sanest, as well as the happiest that can befall society; inasmuch as what the strongest, wisest and most capable find to their best interests must, necessarily, prove to be for the best interest of the rest of us.

The world of human affairs has been conducted on this and kindred principles for a considerable time, and these individualistic notions have taken deep root in our civilization, in our institutions, in our ways of thinking, and in our estimates of social values. Whether justly or not, it has become the popular notion that in this way, and according to those principles, we have attained most of the things that we prize the highest and the standards of which we are proudest. "See," we say, "what conquest of the earth has been accomplished by this free play of the individual power. Mark the material splendor of those nations in which the widest scope has been allowed to individual initiative; what enormous resources have been developed; what tremendous strides of genius in the way of invention; what facilities of adaption to a rapidly changing environment—each new necessity calling forth the facile wit and skill with which to meet it; how superlatively refined have our faculties for comfort, pleasure and even luxuries become; how widespread is intelligence, and how cultured human appreciations of literature and art have grown!" And much more of the same sort of optimistic rhapsody do we say and hear said nearly every day of our lives.

It seems quite ungracious, even churlish, and sometimes even blasphemous, in the midst of such a chorus of felicitation, for one to remain gravely silent, or to raise his voice in protest or warning against too hasty or too shallow judgment. We mildly reproach such an one by mourning over him as a pessimist. If he persists, we become irritated with him, and avoid him as much as possible. And if he still remains obdurate and continues his Jeremiads, we denounce him as a dangerous disturber, and torture him with every cruelty our refined tastes enable us to invent and use.

You see, there is just enough truth in the individualistic doctrine, and just enough truth also in the popular and superficial statement of some facts of social progress under the individualistic *régime*, to give color to the optimistic view; and, besides, we human beings, as a rule, have the faculty of seeing things as we like to have them look. And we like things to look rosy and inviting. Facts that look otherwise we like to tuck out of sight and to forget. We do not relish having them brought out of their hiding and thrust upon our attention, and we invent all manner of ways in our religion, in our ethics, in our politics, and in our philosophies of life and of government, by which to explain them away and to justify to ourselves the comforting assurance that everything is just about as good as can be, and that, granting evils do exist, there is no use making such a fuss about them; if we only keep quiet and let things work out, they will come around all right bye-and-bye. Such is the characteristic temper of modern

individualism, and it choicely labels that temper optimistic.

But, to be optimistic does not mean to be intellectually obtuse and morally apathetic. It is not optimistic to thrust disagreeable facts into the background and out of sight. It is not optimistic to explain them away when thrust upon our attention. To be optimistic, is, to be both intellectually alert and morally active, to be willing to face every fact and phase of life, and to search out the true meanings of them, and to trust not to chance but to the divine forces of life for the righting of whatever is wrong. And the divine forces, the optimist well knows, are not mere abstractions, not something alien or remote, or miraculously providential, but real, and vital, and very near at hand, and that in human affairs they work infallibly through human thoughts and human choices and human actions. He believes with all his heart and soul that things will work out all right; but not in spite of or without human willing and human doing; but, rather, because of and by reason of those agencies, and his hope for the future, is, just that humanity is teachable; is able to change its ways; is capable of finding out what is wrong in its affairs, and of correcting that, and arriving at truer, juster, kinder, and wiser ways. That faith is the basis of his willingness to face even disagreeable things. It is a faith that is militant and does not know the meaning of fear.

One need not, then, cease being an optimist in order to see that, in the practical working out of the individualistic formula, human society has arrived at some results not foreseen by the early apostles of individualism, and not wholly satisfactory to many people of to-day who, abating not one jot of their devotion to the principles of freedom and the supreme importance of the individual, which were at the core of the old doctrine, still persist in the feeling and belief that something more than dollars and utilities are involved in social progress; that there is still such an old-fashioned thing as ethics involved in it; that superior even to the individual are the demands of the moral ideal; that whatever freedom is to be allowed to the play and the full development of individual faculties, must, in some way, be made conformable with such commands of the moral code as "Thou shalt not kill"; "Thou shalt not steal"; "Thou shalt not swear falsely"; and with such prophetic precepts as "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly" and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." It is being borne in upon some of us, optimists and pessimists alike, that along with increasing populations, increasing wealth, expanding markets, multiplying inventions and comforts and luxuries, refinements of taste, growing intelligence, and all that, we ought to take into consideration the moral and economic issues of civilization that are involved in this *régime* of freedom. To those who feel this way, every new departure of individual enterprise, every fresh evidence of material progress, every new factory, every addition to the comfort, the luxury, the pleasure and the profit of mankind is as much an occasion for rejoicing as it is to the rest of us. But what these people of conscience in this twentieth century are concerned in knowing, is, not how much additional capital and labor, dollars and utilities, these good things stand for; but whether they mean more civilized, enlightened and morally sound men and women, or only more brute force, more folly, more cupidity, more filth, more disease, more lust and crime.

You see, a century of experiment in industrial civilization, according to the principle of non-interference with the individual initiative, has taught these people some instructive lessons which lead them to doubt and question whether the popular doctrine does not require some important modifications. They perceive, indeed, that not only have the

most progressive thinkers and teachers of social economics admitted certain limitations of the doctrine, but that laws and institutions have had to undergo modifications to fit developments not consistent with or provided for by the strict individualistic theories, and they are beginning to ask whether other limitations should not be recognized, and other modifications made, in order to still further educate the popular opinion and the popular conscience so that what liberty and what individuality is still left us may be preserved and uplifted toward the realization of a more perfect and ideal civilization.

They doubt, for instance—no, they do not doubt, they know—that the "economic man" actuated by purely selfish motives, who is so prominent in the classic political economics and who still lingers in the popular theories of the multitude, is a pure abstraction; that no such individual ever did nor ever will exist. They doubt that the best good of the community is realized through the free play of individual cupidities. They doubt that every individual knows his true interest or, if he does, that he will infallibly pursue it. They doubt that the economic advantage of the individual always coincides with that of the whole social body. They are certain that in many cases it does not, and that where it does not, it is not the social advantage that should suffer. They doubt if the free play of individual initiative does bring about the rule of the strongest, wisest and most capable individuals. And they doubt if the popular belief that such is the result, and the popular idolatry of the successful ones, are not corrupting the social conscience and elevating material ends to an importance that is obscuring the moral destinies of mankind.

In justification of these doubts they point to the unquestionable facts and tendencies of present times: to the gigantic proportions of our corporate interests, their growing tendency toward monopolization not only of certain products, which the social development has made and is more and more making common necessities, but monopolization, too, of the opportunities for the individual initiative which, according to the individualistic hypothesis, is so essential a factor in the social well-being. But it is not so much the fact of monopoly, as it is the means by which it has been accomplished and the ways in which it is being carried on that is most significant. Monopoly can be readily and scientifically demonstrated as a natural, and therefore inevitable, social phenomenon, and as not, in and of itself, harmful. It can be demonstrated, indeed, as a positive social benefit. But what these doubters and critics do find significant and socially obnoxious, is that under the "let-alone" policy, and the materialistic interpretation of the principle of individual freedom, the method by which these monopolies have been acquired, the way in which that principle has put superlative power in the hands of a relatively few individuals, and the means that these privileged ones have used to hold and extend that power, and the manner in which they are actually exercising their power, all combine in the making of conditions in the highest degree unsocial, and productive of material, moral and spiritual ills that are felt throughout the whole body of society, and are surely crushing out the ambitions, the abilities, the health and hope and happiness of men and women, and even of little children.

What is it that is being uncovered in all the recent investigations into municipal affairs, into the conduct of our national land and timber bureaus, into the method of our great railroad, coal and oil and food industries, and into the affairs of insurance companies, and even of our great political parties and politicians? Put into one word it is "graft," is it not? This once innocent bucolic word has

taken on meanings in recent years that will make it forever infamous. It has come to mean "getting something for nothing." Not many years ago we used to think that the ability to do that was the mark of a very smart, wise and capable individual. Perhaps some of us still think it is so—in some cases where we do not happen to be the victims. But these municipal grafters, these timberland and placer-ground grafters, these legislative grafters, these transportation oil, and beef-industry grafters—oh, these, we have suddenly discovered to be just plain rascals and thieves, and their methods most reprehensible. Why? If it is only because they have been found out, then there is little I have to say that will interest or instruct you. But if it is because they are shown to be social parasites and plunderers, and because their ubiquity demonstrates that our whole social fabric and life is infected with this disease of advantage and privilege-seeking, this morbid passion for getting something for nothing, then we can reason together. For if, as seems to be the case, this unrestricted individualism is leading to graft, and if parasitism and plunder are sapping our American civilization, interfering with the fullest, freest and most beneficient development of many individuals, and putting the conduct of our industries and our national institutions into the hands and under the direction of the most brutal and unscrupulous members of society, it must be because in some way men's faith in the old moral sanctions has failed, and that, all over the country, great numbers of men have ceased to feel, or, at any rate, to order their conduct under, any sense of accountability either to God or to their fellow-members of the commonwealth. There has come to pass a widespread skepticism concerning any logical or practical relation between honest labor and prosperity, and between personal integrity and happiness. On the contrary, what men do see is enormous fortunes built actually out of nothing and, at the other end of the social scale, hosts of men, who have labored faithfully and long, living in enforced idleness and in need of the commonest comforts, even necessities, of life—both facts not only contrary to the teachings based on the principles of individualism, but also directly opposed to every instinct for justice and social righteousness in the soul of man.

I hear a great deal of fault-finding and condemnation of what is called "labor-graft." I know there is such a thing. I know it is unjust and reprehensible. But you must excuse me from spending much of my too fleeting breath and energy and time about that, because I know so well that labor-graft is only a tardy and relatively feeble copy of the much older and more tempting and devastating commercial graft. The latter was born of subtle conspiracies and secret telegraphic codes, fostered by cultured, cold, calculating greed and nurtured on land monopoly, tariff privileges, unlawful rebates and stealthy bribes. The other was born of the lock-out and the strike, fostered by the ignorance, hunger and fear of great masses of disinherited men, and nurtured by class discontent and conscienceless competition. Personally, I find it difficult to choose between two such products. Craft on the one hand, violence on the other; both sordid, both evidence of the deadly selfishness of modern individualism. But labor-graft is, at any rate, less hypocritical than the graft of high finance, and that judgment, I know, is the faint praise that is damning.

It is all very well to talk of the infractions of the moral law of which the wage-earners are guilty; but does it ever occur to you how little regard for the moral law there is in the other class, in the circles of the successful in high finance, and in monopolistic industry? Here, for instance, is a great corporation which employs thousands of men. A reduction in its working force is made. Half, or even two-thirds, of the workers are

thrown out of employment. In that action no consideration is made of the laborer, or of the length or the quality of his service, of his personal interest and necessities. Only the competitive and financial advantage of the corporation is considered. Some of those men have grown old, others more or less maimed or deformed, in the service of the company. Some have bought homes, and have families depending upon them. How much moral quality, *if you were one of those men*, would you find in the judgment which shuts the gate of the factory in your face, for an indefinite period, and compels you to become a wanderer from your home to seek for a chance to make yourself socially useful, while your wife and little ones suffer poverty, after all those long years of faithful labor? Suppose, now, that you talk to one of those men about the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Suppose you tell him that, if he will be honest and industrious and temperate and frugal, he will attain success and happiness. Will it shock you if he laughs in your face and tells you to be damned? Can 't you understand that all your fervid moralizing is like cold, stale mush to this man, into whose soul the iron of social injustice and industrial wrong has entered?

We hear a great deal of the religious apathy of the working class. They do n't attend the church services. I think that is unfortunate for both the church and the working-man; but I can also understand that it is not wholly his fault. Suppose that one of those unemployed men should enter one of our popular, metropolitan churches in search of religious consolation for his misery, and reassurance for his embittered and discouraged spirit. I can fancy him not feeling very comfortable in that well-fed, well-dressed, prosperously complacent congregation. But, if he should swallow his pride and stay, how much appetite or relish for the "milk of the word" do you suppose he would have as he glanced about him and saw who and what the habitual worshipers are? He would see among them men and women, who have been honored by positions on the board of trustees of the church, or official places in this or that church auxiliary, or by the responsibilities of teachers in its Sunday-school, who live without socially useful labor on dividends from corporations that have stolen franchises, that have bribed city councils and state legislatures, and suborned witnesses and juries and even judges in our courts; that have acquired lands on false affidavits; that have imported foreign laborers, and employed agencies which supply strike-breakers in regiments made up from the scum of the criminal and brutalized residents of city slums; that hire bums and hoboes in preference to self-respecting men, because they are cheaper and do n't kick when they are discharged or make trouble when they are injured; that house these men in camps reeking with filth and vermin, and feed them on refuse unfit for human beings; that derive large incomes from unsanitary tenements, and from real-estate the rents of which come from the wretched women of the under world, who live by selling their own live bodies.

I do not wish to be unfair. I do not mean that all the church congregations are made up of people whose living comes from such foul channels. I do not believe they are. I do not even say that the majority of the church congregations, even in our large and wealthy centers of population, is made up of the non-producing class; but I do say that in the honored membership of a large number of churches, there will be found those who are living socially useless lives upon incomes derived from the profits of business enterprises no more reputable than these I have mentioned. They are people who occupy high financial, industrial and social positions, whose very presence in and support of a church gives it a certain distinction, and some of them have great reputation for piety, for

benevolence and for lives of unimpeachable personal integrity. I do not question this in the least. But, I ask, is it any wonder if the discharged and disheartened working-man, finding himself in such company, fails to get much religious consolation or reinforcement to help him through the period of idleness, or that he fails to recognize in the success and the opulence of these good people, and in the poverty and distress of his own home, any assurance that a beneficient providence rules in the affairs of men, any evidence that the brotherhood of man is more than a beautiful dream due to spiritual intoxication, or any proof, or even basis for the hope, that this world of ours is a moral order, the laws of which are irrefragable?

For more than a generation past, the pulpit, platform and press of our land have united in lauding and heroizing the representatives of a predatory and demoralized individualism in the realms of commerce and industry. This heroizing has actually convinced many of the successful class that they are, in some way, the active partners with Divine Providence in the business of taking care of the country and administering its wealth, and that they are, or ought to be, above the laws. That is bad enough; but what is worse is, that the whole social organism has developed, through the same cause, a commercialized conscience—somebody has aptly called it a "get-rich-quick-conscience"—which is impervious to robbery that is being perpetrated upon the whole people through the various insidious forms of special privilege our laws sanction, and through other forms which secretly evade the letter of the laws, and which, in all their significant ramifications violate the demands of justice and even set at naught the imperative mandates of the moral ideal.

To this, then, has our much admired individualism and its flattering postulates of freedom, and individual initiative, and equality before the law, and the right of private contract, and others o like kind, brought us in these latter days; a world of "Graft," the social apotheosis of the biggest and most successful grafters, a degenerate "get-something-for-nothing" conscience regnant in the common life and thought of the American public, and the swift and certain destruction of the sanctions of the moral law for the youth of our land. An unmoral and unrestricted individualism has, indeed, developed strong, wise, capable men, of a certain type, and the government has fallen into their hands. So far the old doctrine was sound. But now that we have them, we don't like the type. Their strength is brutal, their wisdom that of hell, and their capabilities those of powerful pirates. Naturally the conduct of government and industry, under their guidance, becomes increasingly unsocial and lawless.

When we look at the great mass of disinherited, demoralized, desperate men and women, which is the price we have to pay for our "American Beauties"; when we see their numbers rapidly increasing, poverty and crime increasing, the many crowded down and out, integrity and faithfulness counting for little or nothing; when we see them with calloused hearts and souls, dead to all appeals to righteousness and to patriotism, and becoming the willing constituents of grafting politicians, who, in their turn, are the venal and unpatriotic tools of grafting business men and industrial pirates, does n't it begin to grow into something like moral conviction that we are paying too high a price for a rather useless and exploded theory? Does n't it begin to take hold of you with a sort of religious fervor that our ideas of individualism need some important revisions; that they must become more socialized, more moralized; that our practice of its principles also had better be reformed, and conditions brought about, through the united action of the men and women who have not yet lost all regard for humanity, all veneration for justice, all faith in the moral ideal, all confidence in

the power of an enlightened mind and conscience, all sensitiveness to any social spirit fit to be called patriotism, which shall put a stop to the wicked spoliation of the weak by the strong, through special privileges of every sort, and restore to the individual, even the poorest and the weakest, those opportunities and those necessities on which alone he can rely for the physical strength, the intellectual acumen and culture, and the moral vigor and faith that shall make him truly individual and at the same time truly social; a blessing and not a bane to his fellows—a man, indeed, the measure of whose material gain and social honor is no longer how much and how adeptly he can practice the art of grafting, but the measure of his ability, his industry, his integrity in genuine social service?

LEWIS J. DUNCAN.
*Butte, Montana.*

## POSTAL POLLS.

BY HERBERT CONSTABLE.

A VOTE deliberately made in the privacy of his home, free from excitement or influence, without the annoyance or inconvenience of the polls and with the proposed laws printed in black and white before him, would call forth the highest degree of intelligence and thought the citizen could use.

We have, ready at hand, the necessary material for a national register of voters. The census could give us a list of resident voters for ten years to come We have a register of immigrants as naturalized, and we also have death registers.

It is just as easy and practicable for the *Congressional Record* with proposed laws and ballots printed in it, to be systematically and regularly mailed to every citizen as it is for weekly, daily and monthly publications to be mailed by millions in the aggregate as is done every day. It would be less work handling return envelopes containing votes, all addressed to one point, than to handle the millions of circulars which are mailed every day to different addresses. In fact, the delivery of mail to *every* citizen would increase and improve our mail facilities more than the extra labor would hamper them. (The labor of compiling a city directory is as nothing in comparison to the time it saves in the end. A national directory of voters would be proportionately more valuable.

Postal polls might necessitate the employment of more carriers or clerks in some places, and then by means of clerks at Washington with counting and numbering machines, the counting of the votes and recording and announcing of the results would become clock-like and a mere matter of routine. Our mails are safe and reliable.

The public has no voice in public affairs now. Once in a while they think they select delegates, who select the candidates, who, if elected, select the speaker, who selects the committees who do our national thinking and who really make our laws. For the sake of party policy or because of other influences these committees sometimes allow laws to be dictated by lobbyists or interested parties who are not the choice of the people and are still further removed from the public in opinions and interests. Our "right to vote" does not amount to much under such indirect, cumbersome and complicated methods.

Our laws are always made in ignorance of the wishes of the people because they are not allowed to show their wishes by voting on each of them. They are often made in ignorance of the public interests.

They are sometimes made contrary to the general good, because of selfish or dishonest reasons.

We have tried different parties and different elements in the same parties, but the best results have not been accomplished and never will be under present methods, and it is visionary to hope for it.

There is but one way to be certain of having our laws "of the people, by the people and for the people," and that is to have each fundamental law submitted to the people, the decision of the people to be final, regardless of Congressional or Presidential action.

Congress should have the right to frame laws and submit them to the people. We would then have the benefit of their counsel and advice without the absolute surrender of our rights to a possible betrayal or sacrifice to the wishes of the few.

A petition signed by a certain number of citizens pledging their votes to it, should be sufficient to have a proposed law submitted without alteration to the votes of the people. The number of signers should not be made so large as practically to prevent its use, nor so small as to make it too easy to burden the public with the consideration of unimportant matters which have no material public support.

Postal polls do not call for any exertion or self-denial. Ballots would be delivered and gathered by mail-carriers, or as other mail is handled.

Then hasty legislation would be avoided and no laws could be railroaded through Congress in the last days of the session. Wise laws could not be suppressed.

If the people make the laws, accept or veto them, the President becomes in reality the chief executive of the will of the people; he may advise but he cannot dictate what their laws shall or shall not be.

While still retaining its administrative duties, Congress may propose laws or debate upon those proposed by the people; but while it may plan our destinies, it cannot control nor decide them.

Shorn of its greatest power for possible good or evil, the fate of the country would not be at stake in the election of Congressmen, and instead of the periods of excitement and uncertainty preceding every election and continuing until Congress adjourns, we would have matters quietly decided as they naturally came up, by the vote of the people through the mails.

Then all laws would be more generally known and better understood. No laws could be passed contrary to public sentiment. With wiser laws, better understood, and each backed by the majority of the people, they would be better observed and more easily enforced.

It has at all times been generally conceded that a democracy in which the people rule, is the ideal form of government. Even those opposed to such a form of government grudgingly admit there are but two objections: first, that it could not be carried out in a large country; and, second, that they feel doubtful of the wisdom of the people.

The first objection has been the all-important one because it has been true in the past. The use of postal polls, however, would remove this objection, and time itself has made postal polls possible.

At the time of the adoption of our Constitution, the United States consisted of thirteen remote states composed of distant counties containing a few loosely-connected towns and many isolated and almost inaccessible farms. A census had not been taken. Newspapers were few and of small circulation and it often took many months for news to spread.

But to-day conditions are entirely different. Steam, electricity, telegraph and telephone, with modern printing-presses, mail facilities, education and easy travel, enable us to disseminate information more thoroughly throughout the land in hours than we could then in months, and our improved mail facilities would make it easier to vote through the mails than at the polls.

It seems inconsistent that even a very few should doubt that the American people are capable of deciding their laws, and yet believe that half a thousand Americans selected by modern political methods out of eighty million people should have more wisdom and knowledge of the people's wants and requirements than the eighty million people themselves.

That careful and unbiased authority, Webster's International Dictionary, says of the government of Switzerland:

"Switzerland is a federative republic. The government approaches more nearly the democratic form than does that of any other state of Europe. The advantage of complete local initiative in local affairs is shown in the Swiss system better than in any other government which has existed since the epoch of the Greek democracies. . . . A striking peculiarity of the Swiss constitution is the direct voice of the people in legislative affairs through the initiative and referendum. The demand of 30,000 citizens or of eight cantons obliges the Assembly to submit any one of its acts to a popular vote for revision or annulment. An amendment of the federal constitution must be submitted to the people at the request of 50,000 voters. The different cantons, each having its own Council, apply the same principle in different degrees. Zürich even submits all the acts of its Council to the popular vote at semi-annual elections, while in Zürich every citizen may propose a law to the Council, and if one-third of that body vote favorably it must be submitted to the people. *The results under this plan show a conservative disposition in the people.*"

HERBERT CONSTABLE.

*Everett, Massachusetts.*

## THE GREAT TO-MORROW.

BY MARIA WEED.

TRADITION is the Sovereign of the world, and loyalty to precedent is well nigh universal.

If there be any new "Wine of Life" in Modernism, society demands that it shall be preserved in the old, time-honored bottles, lest historical privilege be curtailed. Hence we have the unique and grotesque attempt to unite the theories of Calvin and Darwin.

Sin is any want of conformity unto or transgression of the law of proverbial tenets, and new ideas—to gain a hearing—must be "tricked out" in the ancient phrasing of times, when in the nature of things, they were unthinkable. Every new discovery is thus hobbled at birth and comes limping into the realm of thought; where Modification and Conformity are the "Angels with drawn swords," who guard the portals of the Mental World.

The glorified saints and heroes of this age were the criminals and outcasts of their day, the martyr's crown being the reward of a later generation. What a pitiful reflection upon human intelligence, that the truth-finders of all ages have fought their battles alone, and have died fearlessly, with their faces toward the setting sun, encouraged and comforted by the rapturous visions of a Great To-morrow.

MARIA WEED.

*New York City.*

# POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.

Post, in the New York Evening Call.

THE LABOR OF CHILDREN.

Johnson, in Wilshire's Magazine.

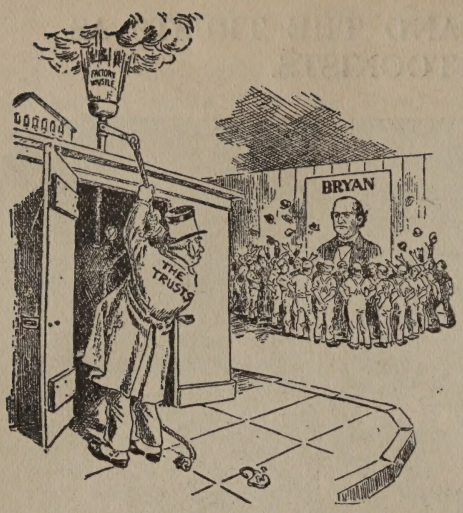
THE NAUGHTY BOY CAUGHT.

"The feeling of restless apprehension with which the workers view the apathy of congress is accentuated by the recent decision of the Supreme Court."—From "Labor's Protest to Congress," Senate Document No. 400.

Opper, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

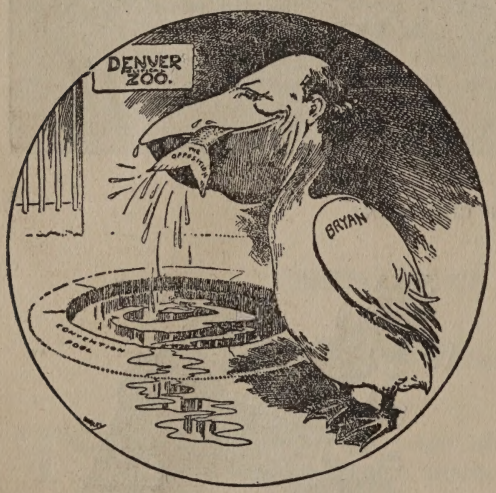
ONE OF THE SEVEN MODERN WONDERS OF THE WORLD!

The other six wonders are, Why-the-Common-People-Stand-It!




De Mar in the Philadelphia Record.
A NEW INCENTIVE FOR CALLING THE WORKMEN BACK TO THE MILLS.

Wellington, in the Knoxville Sentinel.
CONSISTENCY!




Bradley, in the Chicago Daily News.
RE-UNITED DEMOCRACY.

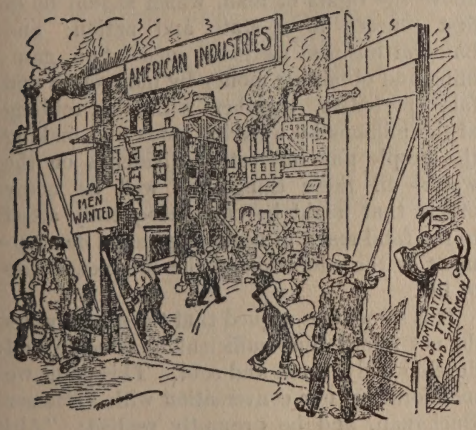
Williams, in the Philadelphia Public Ledger.
"NEVER TOUCHED ME!"

De Mar in the Philadelphia Record.
AN ADVERTISEMENT THAT WOULD N'T STICK.

G.O.P.
YES GENTLEMEN AS LONG AS HE IS WELL FED HE WON'T HURT YOU. BUT BE CAREFUL HE DON'T GO HUNGRY AND GRAB DOWN THAT WAY!
TARIFF PENSION
CAMPAIGN FUND
PAPER TRUST
SUGAR TRUST
BOSSES

Bow, in the Salt Lake Herald.
IN PERIL!

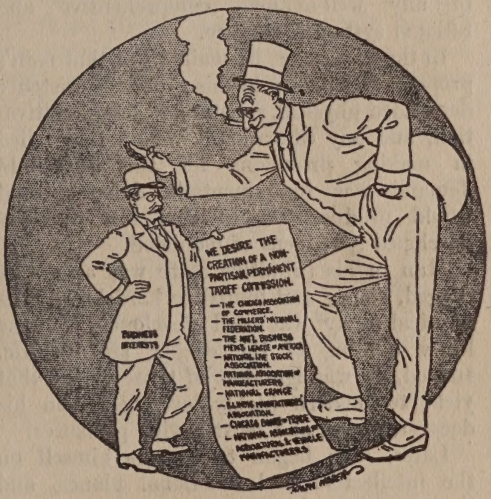
Carter, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)
THE TORCH-BEARER—TOLSTOY.




Thorndike, in the Baltimore American.
CONFIDENCE RESTORED.
The key that opened another period of prosperity.

Savage, in the Chicago Daily Socialist.
DO N'T BE AFRAID, BILL, IT 'S QUITE EMPTY, WE ASSURE YOU!

May, in the Detroit Journal.
THE PRICE OF PEACE.




Wilder, in the Chicago Record-Herald.
THE STANDPAT POLITICIAN—"Tut! Tut! my boy, have you thought of the effect it would have on business?"

Opper, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)
HOW CUTE!

# THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

## FULL-ORBED EDUCATION.

SEVERAL years ago, when in conversation with the late Professor Joseph Rodes Buchanan, the gifted author of *The New Education* and other deeply original and thoughtful volumes, the veteran educator remarked that the slow advance of civilization was chiefly due to the lack of anything like a full-orbed education, and, indeed, to the general neglect on the part of organized society of any well-defined, comprehensive and rational system of culture.

In the first place, he maintained that man's proper development in this sphere of existence demanded physical, mental and moral cultivation, and any educational system that failed in making provisions for this three-fold demand was fundamentally defective and would produce warped and but partially developed specimens of manhood.

Man in his primitive state was as a rule rugged, strong and inured to hardships. His physical body was well developed, but he knew nothing of the deeper joys of life. Indeed, he was ignorant of those things that yield to modern highly-developed man his deepest, purest and most lasting pleasures.

Later, man began to express himself on the intellectual and emotional planes, and the moral sense became more and more developed. In many instances, however, as in Egypt, for example, the priesthood became the custodians of education, and here, as is ever the case when power is given to a class, especially if it holds to dogmatic ideas about subjects upon which in the nature of the case there is bound to be wide divergence of opinion, intellectual development was arrested and art and science were fettered. Dogma, rite and ritual also, as is ever the case, overshadowed ethics, and conformity to religious dogma became of more importance than conduct. Hence moral stagnation supervened.

On the other hand, in lands where mere intellectual training predominated, humanity was warped, and civilization, after a dazzling outburst of apparent glory, rapidly declined, because not nourished by moral idealism which is the well-spring of life for man and civilization.

Greece in the ancient world and America to-day give testimony to the fatal defect of education when the master emphasis is placed on intellectual training. Our schools of to-day have left the religious development and moral culture of the child to church and home. The church has been more concerned with creed, dogma and rite, with denominational aggrandizement and churchly material prosperity, than with the conduct or life of her members. The home has left to church and school the moral development of the young, with the result that material wealth is placed above the sacred rights of childhood, as is seen in the prevalence of child-slavery or work in mine, mill and factory. Money or property rights are placed above the rights of man, which should be of first concern to a state and nation; and immoral business methods, speculation, gambling and obtaining money by indirection and false pretenses, together with the robbing of the millions by watering stock and making the people pay interest or dividends on the water—all these things, as well as many others that might be cited, eloquently attest to the fatal result of neglecting moral development or the education of the conscience side of life.

It is sometimes argued that the school years do not afford time sufficient to educate and develop body, brain and soul. This point we mentioned in our conversation with Professor Buchanan, and he promptly replied: "Ah! it is more difficult to open and shut one finger of your hand than the whole hand; so a three-fold education, by developing all sides of life, prevents over-straining or warping—is, in fact, restful and conducive to healthy and normal growth."

All education should develop the physical man by thorough exercise in certain kinds of practical manual training. Moral or ethical culture should be impressed on the young, but should be entirely divorced from creedal teachings. The Ten Commandments, the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, fundamental truths underlying the ideals of justice, humanity, moral integrity and nobility in conduct, are intimately related to life. They

can be impressed on the plastic mind of the child as easily as the truths of mathematics or the lessons of history.

But leaving out of consideration the vital side of education and coming to consider merely intellectual training, our system, the veteran educator contended, displayed amazing short-sightedness. Indeed, the very meaning of education is often overlooked. We do not seek to draw out or develop the latent greatness of the child so much as to cram his brain with alleged facts, presented usually in a dogmatic manner. Now all educators agree that the child must be taught certain truths, but that teaching should be so conducted as to arouse and stimulate all the faculties of the mind. Dr. Buchanan stated that time and again he had seen bright young children treated in such a way as to blunt their reasoning faculties when the mind was plastic and should have been carefully developed. "Do you suppose you know more than the author of that book?" the teacher has exclaimed when the child sought to question some statement made. Now that child by such treatment was positively injured, and the more sensitive and imaginative he was, the more such treatment tended to mentally cripple him. If, on the other hand, the teacher had replied: "Well, now, let us see who is right. State your objection and we will see if we cannot arrive at the truth," the child would have been helped and all the other children would have felt that their brains were for thought or for reason, and not merely sponges to absorb what others considered to be the truth.

We should at all times seek to develop the reasoning faculties, stimulate the imagination and stir the deeper emotional side of life in a wholesome and normal way. The child should be taught to see the beauty of goodness and the inevitable moral damage attendant on all infractions of the fundamental ethical verities. He should be shown the beauty, the splendor and the utility of nature in all her varied moods, and led to appreciate the worth of art, of music, of the drama and all those things that wholesomely nourish the imagination and brain of man. In a word, with instruction should go stimulation or the calling out process that would aim to touch and quicken into life every well-spring of potential strength and power.

Until these things and kindred truths are realized, civilization will move forward slowly and from time to time suffer periods of depression, during which the nations and peoples that have been most recreant in regard to the higher demands of life will wither and die, because the sources of the vital fountains of life have been allowed to dry up.

B. O. Flower.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION: ITS PLATFORM AND TICKET.

**The Roosevelt Convention, in Which "My Policies," The Interests of The People and Genuine Reform were Ruthlessly Slaughtered.**

UP TO THE hour of the opening of the Republican Convention no single fact was more insistently harped upon by the administration organs than that the convention was to be a Roosevelt triumph; that in spite of the wicked allies—the Forakers, the Knoxes, the Cannons and others who flaunted their love for predatory wealth more or less offensively, and who were supposed to have opposed Mr. Roosevelt's "my policies" as unnecessary concessions to the sheep-like rank and file of American voters, the President had completely captured the convention; that "my policies" were to triumph—"my policies," it should be remarked in parentheses, being those reform measures which President Roosevelt in season and out of season labeled as his own and which he had more or less openly purloined from the Democrats and the People's party. An overwhelming number of delegates had been chosen representing the administration wing of the party. Such was the cry of President Roosevelt's organs. Yet when the convention assembled and we beheld the Republican delegates in action, the most amazing spectacle was presented to the nation in the delegates kowtowing to privileged wealth and the corrupt bosses at every turn, while they not only insulted organized labor but sounded clear and strong the call to retreat, as we shall presently see.

To the on-looker certain things were very noticeable. First, there was the self-glorification, the turgid, vain boasting that is so marked a characteristic of men and parties drunk with power and who feel secure because of the power they believe to be at their command. The Belshazzar-like self-laudation, however, was even less offensive and no more marked than the note of insincerity struck whenever the issue was between the masters of the Republican party and the people. Thus, for example, the platform opens with a eulogy of President Roosevelt, and the people are gravely told that their most exalted servant represents the best aims and worthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted to a nobler sense of duty and obligation. Surely, after such unequivocal sentiments and others just as pronounced, the convention composed of delegates whom the convention had corraled under the pretext that the various reforms that the President had championed in opposition to the political bosses and the masters of the money-controlled machine, embodied the wishes and interests of the people, will give the marching orders to move resolutely forward.

But no. The perfunctory praise is immediately followed by a glorification of the Republican Congress. Think of it! The President is praised for representing the best aims and worthiest purposes of all his countrymen; and Speaker Cannon's House and the Republican Senate, controlled by Aldrich, Lodge, Knox, Penrose, Depew, Platt, Crane and others dear to the plutocracy, which effectively turned down or blocked all the important reforms advocated by the President, who reflected the best aims and worthiest purposes of the country, are also fulsomely praised for keeping "step in the forward march to better government."

In the light of the platform adopted, the permanent chairman chosen for the convention, and the ticket nominated, it is clear that this eulogy of the trust-dominating and people-betraying Congress is as honest as the praise of President Roosevelt was insincere. Never since the era of reaction and monopoly domination reached an openly aggressive stage in the destruction of the old representative character of Congress by Speaker Reed, in order that the once great and powerful deliberative body of representatives might become a registering machine for the masters of the money-controlled political machine acting through the Speaker; never since the aggressive assumption of extra-constitutional power by the judiciary, by which in the interests of corporate wealth the old bulwarks of popular rights and vital freedom of the peo-

ple, the jury, has been practically dispensed with through abuse of the injunction power; and never since the unholy alliance of the Republican national machine with the criminal rich—the great gamblers, high financiers and law-defying railway magnates and heads of the criminal trusts, has the Republican party been so frank in its contempt for popular rights or so open in its reactionary attitude. This was seen in the selection of

**Its Permanent Chairman.**

In choosing Henry Cabot Lodge, the party fixed upon one of the two great political bosses of Massachusetts who are rivals for the favors of corporate wealth. Senator W. Murray Crane, with his telephone interests and with the railroads so beholden to him, is loved by the corporations because he is so astute, so loyal to the big interests and so unostentatious in doing the will of corporate wealth. But the "interests" have no cause to look with anything less than profound affection on the great machine boss, Henry Cabot Lodge. So jealous has this man been of his power and the interests of privileged wealth that he not only insulted every intelligent man and woman in Massachusetts by brazenly declaring that the Initiative and Referendum would foster mob-rule, but he came to Boston when the Public-Opinion Bill was before the Legislature and with all the power at his command succeeded in getting the legislators to break their solemn ante-election pledges which they had made in writing to the electors—pledges that they would support the Public-Opinion Bill, simply because this corporation-beloved machine boss did not propose even to permit the Massachusetts voters—that is, the sovereigns—to express their wishes on important measures. It was altogether appropriate that the Republican convention which was to strike the white flag and capitulate to the corrupt campaign-contributing corporations, should select the open enemy of free government and the most powerful political boss of New England for its permanent chairman.

**Committee on Platform.**

Next we come to the platform committee of this so-called Roosevelt convention. Happily, there was on the committee of fifty-three members one honest reformer who believed in placing the interests of the people before those of campaign-contributing corporations. This man was Congressman Cooper of Wisconsin, a statesman who refused to participate in the conspiracy of his colleagues in their attempt to deceive the people by "keeping the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." He insisted on a few positive unequivocal reforms that were mild and modest enough—reforms that the people clearly desired and which they had a right to confidently expect would be granted by any party whose President had been so loud in promises to the people of relief from the oppressors, corruptors and betrayers. These reforms, although, as we have observed, moderate in character, would yet have shown that the party had not sold its soul and body to the plutocracy for campaign contributions.

Mr. Cooper's few genuine reforms which Senator LaFollette has bravely fought for, were voted down. Fifty-two of the fifty-three members of the committee opposed committing the party even to these moderate and clearly demanded reforms; so the incorruptible statesman brought in a minority report by which it was possible to test the sincerity of the so-called Roosevelt convention. It is not strange that this action created consternation among the delegates who did not dare to betray their real masters and did not wish to go on record as deliberately and palpably wishing to deceive the people. However, Mr. Cooper succeeded in his attempt, with the following result:

The proposed amendment demanding publicity of campaign contributions, a measure clearly in the interests of the people and of clean government, was voted down by more than nine to one, the vote being 880 to 94; yet Mr. Taft had pretended that he wanted such publicity. So had Mr. Roosevelt, and this was the Roosevelt-dominated convention.

Again, Congressman Cooper's platform provision for physical valuation of the railways as a basis for fixing of railway rates—something obviously demanded if honest protection for the producing and consuming millions is to be obtained, received a treatment that as clearly indicated the thorough domination of the Republican party by the railways as it did the brazen hypocrisy of this convention. And yet this proposal, as Mr. Bryan has pointed out, had been advanced by President Roosevelt as something needful for the protection of the people. It was one of the "my policies" which had made friends for the President with America's millions and

made him unpopular with the predatory millionaires. Yet this Roosevelt-dominated convention voted 917 against Congressman Cooper's resolution to only 63 in favor of it—more than fourteen to one.

Another demand made in Mr. Cooper's report was for popular election of United States Senators. This measure is as clearly demanded by the people as it is opposed by the corruptors of government and the oppressors of the people. Five times has the House of Representatives passed a measure providing for this reform by an overwhelming majority. Three of those five times the House was Republican; while almost two-thirds of the states have endorsed the demand. Nobody doubts for a moment that an overwhelming majority of the voters want this reform; yet the Roosevelt-Taft-corporation-controlled convention voted down the reform by 866 to 14.

The treatment of organized labor was quite as marked in its insolent contempt for union toilers as was the convention contemptuous of the people's demand for popular election of United States Senators and their demand for real reform measures that the President had advocated and which Mr. Cooper had incorporated in his report. The committee practically copied the law as it now stands. This was an amazing course under the circumstances, for the President, who is an astute politician, saw the fact that labor had at last become awakened to its deadly peril if the injunction abuse was to continue. He recognized the fact that the leaders of union labor at last understood that if conditions were to continue, organized toil would be bound hand and foot and delivered to the spoilers of toil. President Roosevelt was not alone in appreciating the danger of insulting labor at the present stage. J. P. Morgan saw the peril, so Morgan's handy-man, Perkins, the gentleman of unsavory fame who put his hand into the till of a great insurance company and took out fifty thousand dollars for the Republican campaign, together with the head of the malodorous steel trust that is robbing the American steel consumers by charging from six to eleven dollars a ton more for steel than the English steel users pay the same trust, joined with the President in striving to get the convention to at least give labor some substantial promises that would quiet it until after election. What the convention did is well described by Mr. Bryan in these words:

"The anti-injunction plank of the Republican platform, as finally adopted, is a transparent fraud.

"The plank reads as follows: 'The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, state and federal, and will ever insist that their powers to enforce their processes and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in federal court, with respect to the issuance of a writ of injunction, should be more accurately defined by the statute; that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.'

"It will be seen that the plank begins with an unnecessary eulogy of the courts. Nobody is opposed to upholding at all times the authority and integrity of the courts. Nobody is objecting to the enforcement of their processes or to their exercise of their powers to protect life, liberty and property. The plank assumes that somebody is attacking the courts and that the courts are in danger of losing support or of having their powers weakened. There is no attack upon the courts and there is no thought anywhere of interfering with any legitimate function of the court. The Republican convention puts up a man of straw and then proceeds to demolish it; it suspects an unholy assault upon the judiciary and its righteous indignation at once finds expression in a boastful assertion of its innocence of participation in any such suspected assault. This part of the plank was written to give assurance to the people who are opposed to the laboring man's plea. And now let us proceed to that part of the plank which was intended as a sop to the laboring man. It says: 'We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in the federal court with respect to the issuance of a writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by the statute.' (Just what that definition shall be is not stated.) 'That no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, *except where irreparable injury would result from delay*, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.' Note the words in italics (*except where irreparable injury would result from delay*), and compare this exception with the federal statute on the subject and you will find that under the law *as it now exists* the court is not empowered to grant a

temporary restraining order *except* '*There appears to be danger of irreparable injury from delay.*' It will be seen that the man who wrote the injunction plank copied the statute almost word for word and made the exception as broad as the statute. If the convention had been frank in the statement of its position it would have quoted the present statute and said that it was in favor of enforcing the law *just as it is.* It would have said, 'Whereas, at present, a court or judge may grant a temporary restraining order "if there appears to be danger of irreparable injury from delay," therefore be it resolved that we are opposed to changing it.'

"The men who are responsible for the language of the injunction plank may have fooled the rest of the committee and they may have fooled the convention, but they cannot fool the laboring men or the voters in general. The injunction plank has not even the value of a gold-plated brick for the plating is brass, as well as the interior of the brick."

The platform made it very clear that the Republican party favored revision of tariff by the beneficiaries of the trust campaign-contributors; or, in other words, whatever revision is made will not be in the interests of the people but in the interests of the trusts—in a word, they favor revision by the trusts and for the trusts.

The platform furthermore applauds the passage of the infamous Aldrich-Vreeland Bill that Congress refused to pass until coerced to do so by Speaker Cannon and the whip of Wall Street's high financiers.

Of the trust plank of the platform as a whole Mr. Bryan's observations as expressed in the following reflect the simple truth:

"The trust plank must prove a disappointment to every Republican who has come to understand the iniquity of the trusts. There is no demand for a rigid enforcement of the law; there is no suggestion that the criminal clause—which has not yet brought a trust malefactor within the walls of a penitentiary—should be called into use. The platform says that the law can be strengthened by amendments which will enlarge the supervision of the general government, but these amendments are not mentioned and there is nothing in this plank of the platform that can be appealed to to secure any real improvement in the law. If the President, with all of his strenuosity, has not been able to enforce the criminal law against a single trust, what chance is there of a less strenuous man making progress with such an anti-trust plank as that inserted in the Republican platform?

"The newspaper men, supported by a message from the President, tried to secure the passage of a law putting wood pulp and print paper on the free list. They not only failed, but the platform makes no mention of this specific reform. If the President and all the Republican newspapers cannot get a specific promise of tariff reduction, what hope is there of tariff reform at the hands of the Republican leaders?

"The platform as written is indubitable proof that the Republican party does not expect to give the country any real reform. The platform is, in fact, a contract, signed and sealed, between the Republican party and the exploiting interests, guaranteeing that nothing shall be done to free the people from graft and extortion; it is an admission that the money to carry on the campaign is to be drawn from the 'system' and that means that the 'system' will be in control after the election. The 'system' is run on business principles and when it puts up its money to carry an election, it is sure to be quite careful about the security taken."

If anything further was needed to show the insincerity and hypocrisy of the Republican party as dominated to-day, we need only point to the fact that all of the promises which they make of reforms, provided the people will elect their ticket, they deliberately refused to enact when the President tried to get them to pass them and when they had an overwhelming majority in both the House and the Senate.

The indictment against the party was admirably condensed in a few words by Hon. Theodore A. Bell at Denver. When referring to their promises, he indicted them for not performing these duties when they had the opportunity to do so. Mr. Bell changed the words "we will" as expressed in the promise of the Republican platform, to "we did not" as showing how the party had been recreant when it had everything its own way and when it was being urged by the President and by a long-suffering people to pass these measures.

"'We did not revise the tariff.'

"'We did not amend the anti-trust laws to secure greater effectiveness in the prosecution of criminal monopolies.'

"'We did not add a single line to the inter-state commerce law, giving the Federal government supervision over the issues of stocks and bonds by inter-state carriers.'

"'We did not exact a currency measure that would mitigate the evils of a financial panic such as has recently prostrated the country under a Republican administration.'

"'We did not limit the opportunities for abusing the writ of injunction.'

"'We did not establish postal savings-banks.'

"'We did not establish a bureau of mines and mining.'

"'We did not admit into the Union the territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate states.'"

The dominant note of the convention as expressed in its platform and ticket was subserviency to the feudalism of privileged wealth and an attempt to throw dust in the people's eyes by an amazing display of mendacity in falsely representing the position of the democracy and quite as falsely representing changes that Socialism would inaugurate. At all times there was in evidence that vicious opportunism that subordinates principles to policy and the weal of the people to class interests and party success.

The tremendous enthusiasm exhibited for Senator LaFollette in the twenty-five minutes' applause given him, represents the real aims and aspirations of the rank and file of the Republican party. Unhappily, that once great party of moral ideals is to-day the absolute bond-slave of plutocracy under the complete domination of political bosses and the handy-men of privileged wealth. The national organization is as responsive to Wall-Street high financiers, corporation and trust magnates, which defy laws, plunder the people and corrupt their representatives, as was the judiciary under the Stuarts responsive to the throne.

### The Candidates.

We have already quoted the enthusiastic endorsement of Secretary Taft by the *Financial Chronicle*, the most authoritative organ of the "interests" in Wall Street. We have shown how public-service handy-men and political bosses like Cox of Ohio and Lodge of Massachusetts were among the most strenuous and aggressive advocates of Secretary Taft's nomination. His selection was hailed with delight by the New York *World*, the leading daily of the plutocratic wing of the Democratic party, because it would mean the end, according to the *World*, of the Roosevelt *régime*. It is said that J. P. Morgan, when he heard that Mr. Taft had been nominated, struck his fist on the desk, exclaiming, "Good! Good!" And well he might thus express his heart-felt delight. More than that, Mr. Morgan's "Good! Good!" echoed the sentiments of the great campaign-contributing, government-corrupting and prostituting high finance and trust magnate circle that has in recent years been silently but rapidly, aggressively and persistently destroying representative government and free institutions. Had Mr. Taft even been suspected of being a sincere reformer, like Senator LaFollette in the Republican party or Mr. Bryan in the Democratic party, the plutocracy that controls the Republican machine would never have turned a cold shoulder to the faithful handy-man of the privileged interests, Speaker Cannon, or to Knox, Foraker, Fairbanks or Cortelyou. No, Mr. Taft is altogether satisfactory to the high financiers, the great Wall-Street gamblers, privileged wealth and the public-service corporation interests. He will talk fair to the people, and Mr. Roosevelt will doubtless promise great things for him. But the plutocracy agrees with Mr. Roosevelt when he says that "Words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so"; and they remember Mr. Taft as the injunction Columbus, when he so faithfully served the railway interests while on the bench. They know their man and they also remember how he fought against Direct-Legislation and strove to get the people of Oklahoma to reject their constitution because it placed the power of government in the hands of the people and made the interests of the people paramount rather than the avarice of corporate wealth, and they are quite willing for him to promise fair things.

The tail of the ticket is a further concession to the plutocracy and the money-controlled machine. Mr. Sherman is a New York machine politician. Little more need be said, beyond the fact that he is a reactionary in complete accord with the corporations and trusts. Indeed, he is one of the fraternity.

Taft and Sherman will have all the money the corporations believe necessary to elect them. But is this a year when money can carry an election? We think the Republicans have misread the signs of the times. The people are tired of broken promises, trust extortion and law-defiance on the part of the criminal rich, and of the steady aggressions in the direction of bureaucratic oppression and judicial usurpation in the interests of privileged wealth and class desires.

# THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY: ITS PLATFORM AND NOMINEES, ITS STRENGTH AND ITS WEAKNESS.

## The Platform of The Independence Party.

THE MOST important political event of the closing week of July was the National Convention of the Independence party, held in Chicago, at which a splendid platform was adopted and an exceptionally excellent ticket nominated. The platform is, in our judgment, far superior to that of either the Republican or Democratic parties. It declares unequivocally for popular rule through Direct-Legislation and Right of Recall, and on most other vital issues that are immediately concerned in the present battle between democracy or popular government and class-rule or government by political bosses directed by special-privileged interests, it rings clear and true. Only on the question of public-ownership it is more halting and shifty than we could wish.

The following abstracts of leading demands will show how perfectly it voices the social, political and economic demands which THE ARENA has contended for for almost twenty years.

The platform opens with the following preliminary utterance:

"At a period of unexampled national prosperity and promise, a staggering blow was dealt to legitimate business by the unmolested practice of stock-watering and dishonest financiering. Multitudes of defenseless investors, thousands of honest business men and an army of idle workingmen are paying the penalty. Year by year, fostered by wasteful and reckless governmental extravagance, by the manipulation of trusts and by a privilege-creating tariff, the cost of living mounts higher and higher. Day by day the control of the government drifts further away from the people and more firmly into the grip of machine politicians and party bosses.

. . . . . .

"Our object is not to introduce violent innovations or starting new theories. We of the Independence party look back as Lincoln did, to the Declaration of Independence as the fountain-head of all political inspiration. It is not our purpose to attempt to revolutionize the American system of government, but to restore the action of the government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln.

"It is not our purpose either to effect a radical change in the American system of government, but to conserve for the citizens of the United States their privileges and liberties, won for them by the founders of this government, and to perpetuate the principles and policies upon which the nation's greatness has been built.

"The Independence party is, therefore, a conservative force in American politics, devoted to the preservation of American liberty and independence, to honesty in elections, to opportunity in business and to equality before the law.

"Those who believe in the Independence party and work with it are convinced that a genuine democracy should exist; that a true republican form of government should continue, that the power of government should rest with the majority of the people and that the government should be conducted for the benefit of the whole citizenship rather than for the special advantages of any particular class.

## Direct Legislation and Recall Demanded.

"As of first importance, in order to restore the power of government to the people, to make their will supreme in the primaries, in the elections and in the control of public officials after they have been elected, we declare for direct nominations, the Initiative and Referendum and the Right to Recall.

"It is idle to cry out against the evil of bossism while we perpetuate a system under which the boss is inevitable. The destruction of the individual boss is of little value. The people in their politics must establish a system which will eliminate not only an objectionable boss, but the system of bossism.

"Representative government is made a mockery by the system of modern party convention, dominated by bosses and controlled by cliques. We demand the natural remedy of direct nominations, by which the people not only elect, but, which is far more important, select their representatives.

"We believe in the principles of Initiative and Referendum. We particularly demand that no franchise grant go into operation until

terms and conditions have been approved by popular vote in the locality interested.

"We demand for the people the right to recall public officials in the public service. The power to make public office resides in the people, and in them also should reside the power to make and remove from office any official who demonstrates his unfitness or betrays the public trust.

**Corrupt Practice Act Demanded.**

"Of next importance in destroying the power of selfish special interests and the corrupt political bosses whom they control is to wrest from their hands their main weapon, the corruption fund. We demand severe and effective legislation against forms of corrupt practices at elections and advocate prohibiting the use of any money at elections except for meetings, literature and the necessary traveling expense of candidates.

**Prohibition of Stock-Watering and Other Corporate Frauds.**

"Modern industrial conditions make the corporation and stock company a necessity, but over-capitalization in corporations is as harmful and criminal as is personal dishonesty in an individual.

"Compelling the payment of dividends upon great sums that have never been invested, upon masses of watered stock not justified by the property, over-capitalization prevents the better wages, the better public service and the lower cost that should result from American inventive genius and that wide organization which is replacing costly individual competition.

"The collapse of dishonestly inflated enterprises robs investors, closes banks, destroys confidence and engenders panics. The Independence party advocates as a primary necessity for sounder business conditions and improved public service the enactment of laws, state and national, to prevent watering of stocks, dishonest issues of bonds and other forms of corporate frauds.

**Abuse of Injunction Denounced.**

"The Independence party condemns the arbitrary use of the writ of injunction and contempt proceedings as a violation of the fundamental American right of trial by jury.

"From the foundation of our government down to 1872 the Federal judiciary act prohibited the issue of any injunction without reasonable notice until after a hearing. We assert that in all actions growing out of a dispute between employers and employés concerning terms or conditions of employment, no injunction should issue until after a trial upon the merits, that such trial should be had before a jury, and that in no case of alleged contempt should any person be deprived of liberty without a trial by jury.

**Eight-Hour Law Commended.**

"The Independence party believes that the distribution of wealth is as important as the creation of wealth, and indorses those organizations among farmers and workers which tend to bring about a just distribution of wealth through good wages for workers and good prices for farmers and which protect the employer and the consumer through equality of price for labor and for product.

"We indorse the eight-hour day, favor its application to all government employés and demand the enactment of laws requiring that all work done for the government, whether Federal or state, and whether done directly or indirectly through contractors or sub-contractors, shall be done on an eight-hour basis.

**Protection for Labor.**

"We favor the enactment of a law condemning as illegal any combination or conspiracy to blacklist employés.

"We demand protection for workmen through enforced use of standard safety appliances and provision of hygienic conditions in the operation of factories, railways, mills and mines and all industrial undertakings.

"We advocate state and Federal inspection of railways to secure greater safety for railway employés and for the traveling public.

**Abolition of Child Labor Demanded.**

"We call for the enactment of stringent laws fixing employers' liabilities and a rigid prohibition of child-labor through coöperation between the state governments and the national government.

"We condemn the manufacture and sale of prison-made goods in the open market in competition with free-labor-manufactured goods. We demand that convicts be employed direct by the different states in the manufacture of products for use in state institutions and in making good roads, and in no case shall convicts be hired out to contractors or subcontractors.

**Money Should be Issued by The Government.**

"We declare that the right to issue money is inherent in the government, and demand that any further necessary issue of currency shall be full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

**Tariff Revision Should be by The Friends of The People, and Not by Servants of The Trusts.**

"We demand a revision of the tariff not by the friends of the tariff, but by the friends of the people, and declare for a gradual reduction of tariff duties with just consideration for the rights of the consuming public and of established industry. There should be no protection for oppressive trusts which sell cheaply abroad and take advantage of the tariff at home to crush competition, raise prices, control production and limit work and wages.

**Public Ownership of Public Utilities.**

"We advocate the extension of the principle of public-ownership for public utilities, including railroads, as rapidly as municipal, state or national government shall demonstrate ability to conduct public utilities for the public benefit. We favor specifically government ownership of the telegraph companies, such as prevails in every other civilized country in the world, and demand as an immediate measure that the government shall purchase and operate the telegraphs in connection with the postal service.

**Parcels-Post and Postals Savings Banks Demanded.**

"The parcels-post system should be rapidly and widely extended, and government postal savings-banks should be established where the people's deposits will be sure, the money to be loaned to the people in the locality of the several banks and at a rate of interest to be fixed by the government.

"We favor the immediate development of a national system of good roads connecting all states and national aid to states in the construction and maintenance of post-roads.

"We favor a court review of the censorship and arbitrary rulings of the Post-Office Department.

"We advocate such legislation, both state and national, as will suppress the bucket-shop and prohibit the fictitious selling of farm products for future delivery.

**Election of United States Senators by Popular Vote Demanded.**

"We advocate the popular election of United States Senators and of judges, both state and Federal, and favor a graduated income tax and any constitutional amendments necessary to these ends.

"Equality and opportunity, the largest measure of individual liberty consistent with equal rights, the overthrow of the rule of special interest and the restoration of government by the majority exercised for the benefit of the whole community—these are the purposes to which the Independence party is pledged, and we invite the coöperation of all patriotic and all progressive citizens, irrespective of party, who are in sympathy with these principles and in favor of their practical enforcement."

**The Candidates.**

In Mr. Thomas Hisgen the Independence party has selected a splendid type of the American business man uncontaminated by the virus of modern high finance or the low ethical idealist that has come in with the domination of the commercial feudalism. Mr. Hisgen represents the rugged honesty and sincerity that characterized Abraham Lincoln. He is a man of the people and a lover of the people. When last year he ran for Governor of Massachusetts, he made a splendid impression on those who heard him. So good, indeed, was this impression that he polled more votes than the Democratic candidate who was supported by the state and municipal organizations, the party press and who was himself a man of great wealth and influence, extremely anxious to be vindicated at the polls.

The candidate for the Vice-Presidency is a man of ability, and in so far as we have been able to ascertain, of excellent record.

**The Strength of The Party.**

The strength of the party is found chiefly in the splendid manner in which the aspirations of the genuine or progressive popular sentiment of the nation is reflected in most of the cardinal planks. No man knows better than Mr. Hearst and his corps of editors what the people more or less clearly are seeking in order to save the Republic from the double bondage and degradation of monopoly or corporation servitude and boss and machine rule. They realize that the first great demand of the hour is to get the government back to the people, and that this can only be perfectly and peace-

fully effected through Direct-Legislation and the Recall. They know that the corporations will oppress the people and corrupt their servants so long as the public utilities are in private hands. They know that so long as the bench is so largely filled by men who have long been master counselors for corporations in their battle against the people and labor, the bench will frequently be biased, even when the judges intentionally desire to be fair; because through years of service in the corporations, service which has proved immensely lucrative and during which time they have looked constantly through the spectacles of their employers, they have come naturally to see things from a different view-point than would be the case had they been entirely impartial spectators. Therefore the interests of the people and of labor demand that no abuse of the injunction power or denial of jury rights shall be permitted.

And so on these and other vital political economic and social demands the Independence party for the most part evinces wise statesmanship in its demands—a statesmanship in perfect alignment with the aspirations of the people and the demands of the hour. Herein lies the great element of strength of the new party.

### Its Weakness.

Friends of fundamental democracy who heartily sympathize with almost all the platform of the Independence party will regret that Mr. Hearst did not make his stand and fight his battle four years ago, when the Democratic party was in the hands of the plutocracy and the principles of popular rule and of progressive democracy for which Mr. Bryan has so splendidly battled were under eclipse. Then, if Mr. Hearst had sounded his slogan and called upon progressive Democrats to rally to the support of the principles enunciated in the platform of the Independence party at Chicago, a mighty vote would have been polled that went to Theodore Roosevelt because genuine Democrats were determined to rebuke the recreant party. But Mr. Hearst waited until after the Democratic party had turned to its most popular and progressive leader. Spurning alike the gold and seductive lures of the reactionaries and ignoring the frantic cries of the corporation press, they set their faces steadfastly toward the morning.

On the vital issue of popular *versus* corporation rule and other important questions, the battle between the Republican and Democratic parties is clear-cut; and with Mr. Bryan, an upholder of Direct-Legislation and one of the most honest, clean and nobly idealistic of leaders, it was perfectly clear that victory would mean the turning of the nation from the false gods of reaction, militarism, boss-rule and corporation domination, to the old ideal of a clean government, a just government, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It would at once check the Russianizing of America that has advanced so rapidly since Wall street and campaign-contributing wealth became the master power in government.

The victory of progressive democracy under Mr. Bryan would mean the triumph of the people over privilege, the first great and positive stride toward a genuinely progressive, just and popular government since the dawn of the corporation era.

Now, when the nation is facing a crisis like the present, when the supreme issue is vital and fundamental in character—that of popular rule *versus* corporation rule, government by the people or government by privileged interests, it is a very serious thing for a man of wealth and influence, like Mr. Hearst, to launch a movement that, in the proportion that it succeeds, will increase the prospects for success for the party of the trusts and corporations, the party of the Wall-Street panic-makers, the party of Aldrich and Cannon, of Morgan and Harriman, of Root and Taft, of Lodge and Depew, of Platt and Crane. In proportion as Mr. Hearst is able to win votes, he will strengthen the hands of the party of predatory wealth and privilege, which he has fought for so many years, by increasing its representation in Congress and in state legislatures while aiding the prospects of Mr. Taft.

For this reason hundreds of thousands of sincere friends of the cardinal planks of the Independence platform will deeply regret that Mr. Hearst throws his influence so as indirectly to aid in entrenching predatory wealth and corporation domination in this most critical hour in the history of the Republic—in an hour when of all times he should have stood shoulder to shoulder with the friends of popular rule and democratic principles against the common enemy.

His failure in this testing hour, however, is by no means the first time Mr. Hearst has deserted the fight for popular rights and free

government in the heat of the battle or at a time when his whole-hearted aid would have meant victory. Though it is probable he does not realize it, the greatest handicap that Mr. Hearst has had to contend with in his ambition to secure prominent public office, has been the deep-seated distrust of a large number of those most sincere and incorruptible reformers whose loyal support is essential to the victory of any man who essays to lead the liberal forces—a distrust born of his action in crucial moments. The successful leader of progressive democracy must be above all else a moral idealist, a man who in his heart believes it better to be right than to be President. He must be transparently sincere, earnest, and loyal to principles, ready to sink self for the good of the cause; not merely ready to say he wishes to sink self, but to do this without the protesting. If he fails at this crucial point and fails so obviously and frequently as to become conspicuous, he cannot hope for success, for he loses the element of strength that must be the invincible guard of the progressive leader.

Now thousands upon thousands of progressive Democrats who had come to greatly admire Mr. Hearst and hoped in him to find a dependable leader, were rudely awakened when in the midst of the Henry George campaign, after he had aggressively and magnificently fought for Mr. George during the forlorn hours, or before his candidacy had become so commanding as to terrify Tammany, his paper suddenly deserted the great tribune of the people. Seldom have the political reformers of America been more shocked or amazed than they were when on the morning of the night when Mr. George was stricken, Mr. Hearst's paper published a shameful article on him, by one of its leading special reporters. The sudden desertion of Mr. George in the midst of as vital and gallant a municipal battle as was ever fought could not fail to gravely shake the faith of those who had wished to believe in Mr. Hearst's single-hearted loyalty to the cause of just and good government.

But this was but the first of a series of episodes and happenings that have time and again confirmed this distrust. The case of Franklin Lane is but one of several that might be cited. Mr. Lane was one of the most aggressive champions of clean government and fundamental democracy on the Pacific coast. He was immensely popular with the better element of the labor party, thoroughly acceptable to the fundamental or progressive Democrats and the one who stood a splendid chance of victory in the race for Governor of California. He received the nomination and had he been aggressively and loyally supported by the Hearst papers there is little doubt but what he would have been triumphantly elected, judging from the enormous vote he polled in spite of their failure at this crucial moment.

It is not necessary to enumerate other instances of this character which might be cited when dwelling on this chief element of weakness which the Independence party will have to contend against.

Another element of weakness is the autocratic spirit manifested, which not only refused to show any hospitality to freedom of thought but also mercilessly denounced those who differed from Mr. Hearst's position in regard to the wisdom of launching the party at a time when it would prove an ally to the party of the trusts, militarism and reaction. This spirit of autocracy and intolerance of free speech was painfully manifested in the reception of Judge Seabury's attempt to have the party consider the wisdom of indorsing Mr. Bryan. There is or was not, we venture to say, in the Independence party a more loyal or able defender of public-ownership, a more loyal or efficient champion of popular rule and all the best planks of the Independence party, than Judge Seabury. He certainly was entitled to a hearing, and if the party was overwhelmingly in favor of cutting away from the progressive democracy, it would have been perfectly safe to have listened to him, to Mr. Shepherd, or any other delegate who might have wished to express his views, after which all that would have been necessary would have been for the party to have voted down the propositions. But to denounce Judge Seabury as a traitor and to impugn his motives in a most shameful manner, as did Mr. Hearst's papers, was certainly the reverse of exhibiting the spirit of freedom, justice or democracy.

This desertion of the party when the friends of progress and reform are in the saddle, and this spirit of autocracy, are two of the chief elements of weakness with which the party will have to contend.

Personally we, in company with thousands of other sincere upholders of fundamental democracy and just government, feel the deepest regret that Mr. Hearst should have selected this hour to desert democracy, when the only

possible immediate result, if he is able to do what he hopes to do, will be to defeat Mr. Bryan and progressive democracy, and entrench the candidate of the reactionary Wall-Street, corporation-controlled Republican machine, thus fastening on the people four more years of plunder by trusts, of Wall-Street and corporation aggrandizement and of reactionary, unrepublican and imperialistic rule.

It is extremely unpleasant for us to feel compelled to make this criticism, for we fully appreciate the very important work which the editorial pages of Mr. Hearst's papers have achieved in awakening the nation to a realization of the giant evils of the hour and in pointing out the way of genuine progress. Had Mr. Hearst, when he saw how completely the Ryan-Belmont element was routed by the awakened progressive democracy; how absolutely futile had been all the efforts of money, of powerful papers, of boss and machine, to make the party again an annex of the Republican organization; had he, when he saw the line of battle sharply drawn between popular rule and the rule of corporations, political bosses and money-controlled machines, loyally supported the party until after the election, he would have rendered a great service to the cause of popular rule and the general good at a most critical moment in our history.

## POPULAR GOVERNMENT OR CLASS-RULE: THE VITAL ISSUE BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN.

THE SUPREME question that confrouts the American people in the present great political contest was admirably stated in the following declaration which constitutes two of the introductory paragraphs of the National Democratic Platform adopted at the Denver Convention:

"The conscience of the nation is now aroused to free the government from the grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favor-seeking corporations; it must become again a people's government, and be administered in all its departments according to the Jeffersonian maxim of 'equal rights to all and special privileges to none.'

"'Shall the people rule?' is the overshadowing issue which manifests itself in all the questions now under discussion."

The views thus admirably enunciated were further emphasized by Mr. Bryan in an address delivered to the members of the Nebraska Traveling Men's Association on July 11th, in which he said:

"For a quarter of a century the country has been seeing more and more corporate domination in politics; for a quarter of a century the country has witnessed campaign after campaign in which great predatory interests would secretly contribute enormous sums to debauch elections and then control the government in return for contributions. Our convention marks a new era in American politics.

. . . . . .

"Now, we are going out to appeal to this awakened conscience and give to the country assurance that if our party is intrusted with power we shall make this government again a people's government, in which government officials will respond promptly to the sentiment of the whole people; and our platform has given us a slogan that every one of you can echo and that I believe that a majority of the American people will echo, 'Let the people rule.'"

The present conflict is one of the most momentous, if not indeed the most momentous electoral struggle since the foundation of our nation, because it is at heart a battle for the vital principles that differentiate a democratic republic from class-rule. Epitomized, the struggle may be stated as privilege *versus* the people. It is a life and death struggle between the corporations, trusts and high financiers, or the feudalism of privileged wealth, and the people.

Of late years the great oligarchy of favored classes, embracing the trusts, public-service corporations and the high financiers of Wall Street, have come to regard the Republic as their special preserve, and the people as a valuable asset to be taxed and exploited at every turn. Any attempt to curb lawless wealth or shackle the inordinate greed of these classes is immediately attacked as "dangerous radicalism."

The Democratic platform is certainly mod-

erate in tone and a most reasonable demand for equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people; yet mild and reasonable as is that platform, we find Mr. G. R. Sheldon, the banker treasurer of the Republican campaign funds, declaring that, "The American people will never accept the radicalism of the Democratic convention." And Mr. George Harvey, of *Harper's Weekly*, the well-known handyman of J. Pierpont Morgan, at last throws off the mask of the plutocratic Democrats and utters the voice of Wall Street in a telegram to the New York *World*, published on July 11, in which he says: "The Democrats of the country will now resume their accustomed occupation of electing a Republican President, this time by the largest majority known since Grant ran away from Greeley." This brazen assumption that the Democratic party consists of the privilege-seeking, people-oppressing high financiers and corporation chiefs, is only less offensive than the assumption that the vast corruption fund which the Wall-Street high financiers proposed to raise will result in an enormous majority for Mr. Taft. Both the utterances of Sheldon and Harvey, however, are of special interest as voicing the views of the masters of the modern feudalism of privileged wealth which is seeking to overthrow the Republic and which hopes to consummate the work already begun, by the election of Mr. Taft, a candidate wholly satisfactory to the "interests."

The struggle that is pending is preëminently a struggle in which money is to be pitted against manhood. The bosses, the money-controlled machines and the plutocracy are arrayed against popular rule and the fundamental principles of free government. Though there may be some bosses and some representatives of predatory wealth who will through selfish motives pretend to support the Democratic ticket, their support will be as perfunctory as the corporation and boss support of Mr. Taft will be whole-souled and enthusiastic; because platform and ticket and the present master spirits of the Democratic party represent unyielding antagonism to the reign of corruption, popular betrayal and class-rule which has debauched the nation and rendered possible the long-continued and steadily growing plunder of the people by the trusts and corporations.

The tickets named are ideal reflectors of the two master elements in the battle of reaction and class interests against popular rule or government of the people, by the people and for the people.

On the one hand, we have William H. Taft, the imperialist and eulogist of the Czar of Russia, the man who called forth from organized labor the nickname of "Injunction Bill" because he became a Columbus of capitalism when the railways were fighting the organized workers and Mr. Taft was on the bench. Then, it will be remembered, he read a meaning into the Interstate Commerce Law not hitherto supposed to have been there, and by so doing won the everlasting gratitude and sure support of the great public-service corporations of the country. Later Mr. Taft again showed his hostility to popular rule and his loyalty to the machine bosses and corporation chiefs, when he went to Oklahoma and did all in his power to induce the people to repudiate their constitution, drafted so as to give the voters the absolute control of the government through the initiative and referendum. Mr. Taft, who in Chicago was so zealously supported by the notorious Boss Cox and other bosses and corporation handymen, most admirably represents the party of imperialism, reaction and predatory wealth; while on the other hand, Mr. Bryan has long stood for the supremacy of popurlar rule and for the fundamental principles of free government. From first to last he has lived up to the noble motto of Henry Clay: "I would rather be right than be President." There can be little doubt but what, had he been an opportunist politician he might easily have won the Presidency ere this. He believes in the initiative and referendum; in popular sovereignty, equal opportunities for all and special privileges for none. He is the champion of pure government and he is opposed to the march of militarism, bureaucracy and official autocratic usurpation of power, that has already placed the Republic in deadly peril. His election will mean a renaissance of popular government, the elevation of the people to the place of first importance, just as the concern of the public-service corporations, of the monopolies, trusts and Wall-Street bankers has in recent years been first in the consideration of the government. His election will prove a great moral victory, a victory for peace, for progress and human rights.

## WHY THE GREAT MIDDLE WEST IS AFLAME WITH ENTHUSIASM FOR THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

THE Springfield *Republican* points out the fact that the Republican platform and nominees are eliciting no enthusiasm in the Middle West. Indeed, it states that, "A Republican cold fit is reported in the Middle West, where there is an entire absence of enthusiasm over the Chicago platform and the Republican candidate for Vice-President. Mr. Sherman's nomination," it continues, "created disgust in some quarters, owing to his close identification with Speaker Cannon's obstruction policy in the recent session of Congress and his presumed sympathy with the Wall-Street view of our politics. The platform, from the Western point of view, is weak not only in its various straddles but in its more vital omissions.

. . . . . .

"J. P. Morgan's cry of 'Good! Good!' when he first heard of Mr. Taft's nomination, was a sign to the radical Republican element in the Mississippi valley that Wall Street is satisfied with the Republican ticket. All such indications serve to intensify the Western cold fit, for the West's mental attitude toward Eastern financial interests is more critical and unsympathetic than it was twelve years ago."

On the other hand, the West is aflame with enthusiasm for the Democratic platform and ticket, and one of the chief causes for this enthusiasm is the firm conviction on the part of the people that Secretary Taft represents reaction and the rule of the corporations through the political machine and the boss. This idea was splendidly enunciated by Senator Gore of Oklahoma in his notable utterance which elicited the one hour and twenty-seven minutes of applause given to Mr. Bryan. On that occasion the blind Senator said:

"The war chief came to Oklahoma and asked us to do what no Anglo-Saxon community ever has done—reject a chance to obtain self-government. Then the greatest living exponent of human freedom came to us and told us to adopt our constitution, and by a majority of 100,000 votes we rejected the advice of Taft and took the advice of Bryan."

This was the utterance that called forth the most remarkable tribute of popularity ever shown a candidate in a political convention. The applause elicited was doubtless largely due to the realization on the part of the people present that the Senator had in a word summed up the most vital issue before the American people and had in a single illustration shown the temper of the two opposing candidates in regard to the great issue, Shall the people rule, or shall political bosses and money-controlled machines dominate the government in the interest of the corporations?

This is the great question to be settled at the November election.

## THE RAISE IN THE PRICE OF BEEF AND ITS PROBABLE RELATION TO THE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

IF CONGRESS had passed a law compelling all corporations and corporation chiefs, as well as the treasurers and chairmen of national, state and county political organizations, to make sworn affidavits of all contributions made and accepted, it is possible that the American people might become possessed of the true reason for the enormous recent raise in the price of meats made by the beef trust. It has long been the practice of the robber monopolies and trusts, either before or after election, to raise the price of the articles controlled by the privileged monopolies, so that the trusts or corporations given protection by the people's betrayers are able to recoup themselves for campaign expenditures with a princely surplus added as a result of their arbitrary tax on the wealth-producers and consumers.

No trust, with the possible exception of the Standard Oil Company and the coal combine, has been so brazenly frank in its extortion as the beef trust, and the recent enormous raise in the price of meat that had previously

been pushed to a point so high that in all probability there is not another people among the civilized nations of the globe that would have submitted to the extortion practiced, because out of all proportion to any and all the alleged reasons for the raise, is an outrage as indefensible as it is burdensome to the people. It is one of many recent exhibitions of the insolent arrogance of the trusts and monopolies whose master spirits believe that their ownership of the Republican party has rendered them invincible and made it perfectly safe for them to practice robbery of the people in a most high-handed manner, even in the face of a political campaign.

That the present raise is for the purpose of plundering the American people of millions of dollars and enabling the conscienceless trust to be liberal to its numerous handy-men, its mouthpieces, its servants in government and the party on which it depends to continue its plunder of the millions, there can be no reasonable doubt. True, in all probability it will only be necessary for a small amount of the money thus wrung from the people through this latest extortion to be turned over for the election of the people's betrayers to seats of power in government; and the money that will be turned over to the Republican campaign committee and for the election of the trust's agents all over the country will doubtless be contributed in such a manner as to fail to reveal the fact that the trust is furnishing anything like the amount of money which it will furnish. For since the days when Boss Tweed allowed his self-confidence to make him imprudent so that he and his confederates did not cover up their tracks and through failure to do this were overtaken by justice, the astute lawyers who receive princely fortunes from the monopolies to tell them how to do things, have been very careful as a rule to have the tracks of the moral criminals covered. It is only after the wrongs, the crimes and the evils have been perpetrated that facts are liable to leak out, as was the case with the Harriman corruption fund, the fifty thousand dollars taken by Perkins from the money of the insurance companies for the election of the Republican candidate, and other similar acts which reveal the riot of corrupt practices that has marked the march of the Republican party since the ascendency of Mark Hanna and the union of the corporations with the political machine for the conquest and exploitation of the people.

In this connection it is well for the voters to remember certain facts in regard to Speaker Cannon and the Republican leaders in the House of Representatives. As the beef trust remembers its friends, as it most surely will, during the present campaign, the people should be equally determined to remember their betrayers. The relegation of a few of the most odious handy-men of the trusts and law-defying corporations to private life by overwhelming popular verdicts, will do very much to bring back the government to the people and break the power of the special privileged classes, the great corporations and high financiers who pose as the representatives of good government and who assume that any friend of popular rule or the interests of the people is a would-be destroyer of government.

But to return to the beef trust and Speaker Cannon's service to that conscienceless organized appetite. It will be remembered that Senator Beveridge's rider provided that the beef trust should pay three million dollars a year, which the investigations instituted by President Roosevelt had proved to be absolutely necessary in order to guard the people from the great poison trust or protect the consumers of meat from a trust which had been feeding the people on diseased and spoiled meat, adulterated and drugged articles, often prepared under filthy conditions. There were other provisions in this measure that were objectionable to the trust, because aimed at protecting the people. Hence, according to the press dispatches, Senator Hopkins and others of the Senate interested in the beef trust, strove to induce President Roosevelt to agree to such modifications as the trust desired. But the President was at outs with the Senate at that time and he held an effective club in his hand—the report of his commissioners. He had only published the preliminary report describing their own observations of the filthy and unsanitary condition of the meat establishments, while their extended report confirming the charges made by Mr. Sinclair was withheld, it being claimed that its publication would ruin the meat trust's business abroad. The President, according to the press dispatches, declared that unless the Senate passed the rider as Senator Beveridge introduced it, he would publish to the world the full report of his commissioners—something which the people had a right to expect done. Consequently the bill went through the Senate precisely as drawn. When

it came to the House, however, Speaker Cannon, the real autocrat of the House, did not propose to desert his friends of the beef trust. The press dispatches declared that he and others called upon the President and insisted on the modifications of the measure as desired by the beef trust. It was pointed out that the three million dollars should be paid by the government and not by the trust, because if paid by the trust the latter would immediately raise the price of meat and recoup itself from this raise. The trust, as subsequent events showed, had fully determined to raise the price of meat all that the public would possibly stand, but it did not propose that the three million dollars necessary to prevent the people from being poisoned with diseased and spoiled meat should be taken from the enormous profits which it determined to appropriate to itself for the inconvenience and humiliation of the exposures of its infamous moral criminality. The President, who had been brave as a lion in forcing the measure through with the threat of publication of the report, when the hostile Senate was opposing the measure, now suddenly became mild as a cooing dove and the trust's modifications, including the saddling of three million dollars on the taxpayers of America, were agreed to and passed by the House, the Senate concurring.

And now in the face of a great election, with the people already aroused because of continued robbery and extortion on the part of the various trusts that control life necessities, it is vitally important for the Republican party that an enormous campaign fund should be raised in order to defeat the will and the interests of the people and to entrench once and for all firmly in all departments of government the servants of the reactionary, undemocratic feudalism of privileged wealth and class-rule. Hence we have the spectacle of the beef trust, confident in the belief that money can again thwart the will of the people, levying an additional arbitrary tax upon the American people that in the aggregate will net to the trust a fabulous sum.

The only immediate hope for the American people at the present crisis is a positive demonstration that American manhood cannot be debauched or seduced by the lavish use of corrupt wealth for the enslavement and impoverishment of the millions.

## TRUST ROBBERY AND CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE POSITION of the Democratic party, both in Congress and in its convention, as well as in the position long maintained by Mr. Bryan, has been honest, frank and unequivocal in regard to the necessity of absolute frankness and publicity concerning all campaign contributions. No greater scandal has been connected with the government in recent years than that of the conspiracy on the part of the campaign managers and the great privileged interests, by which vast corruption funds have been raised and secretly used for the election of persons who were pledged to measures inimical to public interest and so opposed to the wishes of the people that had the electors dreamed that the parties in question, the "practical" men like Harriman, Perkins, etc., were contributing large sums, the result of the election would have been the reverse of what it was.

The position of the Republican Convention and of the Republican party in convention has been as dishonest and equivocal as that of the Democratic party has been frank and honest; while the stand taken by Treasurer Sheldon and Candidate Taft in their effort to throw dust in the eyes of the people only adds the offense of hypocrisy to the offensive position taken by their party. On this subject the Boston *Post* of July 14th contained an editorial which we reproduce below and which merits the widest circulation because it contains facts essential for the voters to bear in mind.

"The Republican party refuses any publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures. By the Republican Congress it has been refused; the Republican national convention has refused it.

"The party which placed William H. Taft in nomination has declared its purpose to keep in concealment as heretofore the process of 'frying the fat' out of corporations and monopolistic interests favored by the Republican tariff and Republican legislation.

"Now comes Candidate Taft and now comes Treasurer Sheldon to say that, while recognizing the mandate of their party as to the campaign, they will yet make public the results of the customary fat-frying—after election!

"This is paltering with a very serious matter. It is an evasion utterly unworthy of William H. Taft and to which he cannot consent without sacrificing the esteem in which his personal character is held by the American people.

"The scandal of 1904 is too fresh in mind. This was not disclosed until after election. Had the corruption fund furnished by Harriman and the infamous gang in control of the funds of the New York life insurance companies been made public before election, a righteous popular indignation would have swept the state of New York against Cortelyou's candidate. This secrecy elected Theodore Roosevelt.

"Does Mr. Taft expect to be elected by similar corrupt influences brought to bear before the election, and to escape accountability by filing a schedule—according to the New York law—after election?

"Mr. Taft is a practical man, as Mr. Roosevelt has certified that he and Mr. Harriman were practical men. But practical men may practice once too often upon the good will and the credulity of the American people. And this seems to be what the Republican candidate and his treasurer have set out to do in their offer to make public the sources of their campaign funds—after election."

## TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY.

THE June election in Oregon was the most significant political event of the year—an event of incalculable value to the cause of popular government and civic purity. It conclusively proved that the objections that the corporation press, the political bosses and the law-defying public-service companies have advanced against popular government under the initiative and referendum, are without the shadow of foundation.

It had been claimed that while Direct-Legislation might destroy the sinister influence of corrupt lobbies and put the corrupt political bosses out of commission, it would prove ineffective because the people could not and would not vote so discriminatingly as the legislators, and that as a matter of fact comparatively few voters would take the trouble to investigate the merits of the questions involved. The result would be that they would not take the trouble to vote at all on the issues, or they would vote without discrimination.

The friends of the Initiative and Referendum urged that wherever practical and easily workable measures had been enacted, the good and practical results following had exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the believers in popular or democratic government. They insisted that De Tocqueville was correct in his observation that "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy;" that the evils which were so glaringly apparent in our government were due to a defeat of democratic conditions, to the rise of a despotic and unrepublican government in which the form of oppression and despotism appeared under the rule of corporate or privileged wealth operating through political bosses and money-controlled machines; that if once the people were given the chance to right the wrongs, they would take an intelligent interest in government and would see to it that corruption in public rule and plunder of the people should cease. True, they might prove conservative and move slowly, because the rank and file of a nation, save in hours when exasperated to the limit of endurance by oppression and wrong, are always conservative; but the heart of the people, the friends of democracy claimed, was morally sound, and if the ignorant, who did not comprehend the nature or necessity of the measures, refused to vote on proposed acts they would disfranchise themselves for the good of the government. Moreover, it was pointed out that the Initiative and Referendum was merely the practicable, workable tools of popular government which rendered possible a genuine and truly representative government under conditions such as prevailed in America to-day. Moreover, it was shown that in Switzerland, since Direct-Legislation had been introduced, the

people had held on to popular and good officials, even when on some questions they had opposed the public will, because the voters realized that they had in their own hands the means of remedying any injurious legislation.

Now the Oregon election has splendidly vindicated the claims of friends of popular rule and has utterly discredited the corporation journals. Nineteen measures were voted on, several of which were defeated, while others were emphatically endorsed; and the fact that the people showed a clearly defined interest in the various measures was one of the impressive facts established by the vote.

Shortly after the election we received a communication from Mr. H. Denlinger of Portland, Oregon, relative to the result, from which we extract the following:

"I am sending for your inspection a sample ballot of our last election occurring a few days ago, showing the vote of the people of this state upon nineteen measures which were submitted to them. The figures are approximately correct. I think it is a complete refutation of the assertion that the people will not vote with intelligence and discrimination. This ballot speaks for itself. You will notice among other things that a graft measure proposed by the legislature to increase their pay was voted down by 50,000. Also bill to increase the number of Supreme judges. A compulsory pass bill is lost by nearly two to one, and woman's suffrage is voted down hard. Also bill in the nature of the Single Tax. A bill in favor of pool-rooms, sporting places, etc. (got up in the interest of the bad element), is voted down. On the other hand, the Recall, Proportional Representation, a corrupt practice act and law to instruct the legislature to vote the people's choice for United States Senator are all adapted by large vote. These latter four acts were most vehemently assaulted by the Oregonian, as were several other of the bills passed by the people, still the same were passed as shown. The fact is that the electorate have shown a surprising amount of independence and discrimination. I think that this election more than any other has demonstrated the utility of our system. As an indication of how strong popular rule is getting in this state there was the "Statement No. 1' law which passed by three to one, in the face of the adverse resolutions of the Republican platform, this year, and in face of all the ridicule and abuse which the *Oregonian* and other papers could pile upon it. We feel that we are getting stronger all the time and if nothing untoward happens in the next few years we will, with the new legislation just enacted, completely revolutionize our political system and put the boss on the shelf for good."

Mr. Denlinger enclosed a ballot showing the result of the vote on the nineteen measures submitted. Nothing could better refute the cry that the people failed to discriminate or that they failed to take an intelligent interest in the election. Here are some facts that are illuminating as shown by the vote.

The salary-grab bill passed by the legislature was defeated by 50,000 majority.

The amendment changing the date of the election from June to the regular election day in November, was carried by 45,000 majority.

The vote for extending the armories and thus aiding in the plutocratic attempt to establish a militarism in our midst, was defeated by 20,000 majority.

The bill to increase the annual appropriation for the maintenance of the University of Oregon was carried by 6,500.

The right of recall was carried by two to one; and a bill making mandatory the will of the people on the legislators when they come to elect United States Senators, was carried three to one.

The corrupt practice act was carried by 25,000 majority.

The provision for Proportional Representation was carried by 16,000 majority.

A bill in favor of pool-rooms, sporting places, etc., gotten up in the interests of the bad element, was defeated by 10,000 majority.

Two radical measures upon which a great number of reformers had set their hearts, were defeated, thereby proving the inaccuracy of the claim of the enemies of popular government, that the people would accept every radical innovation proposed. The woman's suffrage bill was defeated by 22,000; and the land tax measure was lost by 25,000 majority.

The act to require railroads and other common carriers to grant free transporation to state officials, judges, etc., was defeated by a large majority.

While personally we regret that the woman's suffrage measure and the land tax proposition were defeated, yet this defeat proves nothing against Direct-Legislation. It merely shows that the people of Oregon as yet do not wish these measures and that the friends of such

measures must do more educational agitation before they can hope to triumph. No true friend of democratic government wishes laws forced upon the people which do not represent their wishes or desires; and the beauty of Direct-Legislation is that it gives the people the opportunity to enjoy the results of democratic government or popular rule, the precious privilege which differentiates a democratic or truly representative government from all forms of class government.

The defeat of the measure to compel the railways to carry public officials free, is gratifying. It proves, in the first place, the absolute falsity of the persistent claims of the railroad and corporation organs, that whenever the people have an opportunity they show an unreasoning hate toward the public-service monopolies; and in the second place, the state pays the legislators their mileage, and the legislators should not, even by a law passed by the state, be made in any way the pensioners of the public-service corporations.

The emphatic condemnation by the electorate of the bill to favor pool-rooms, sporting places, etc., in spite of the vast amount expended to carry the measure, is another indication that the voters if left free from the domination of corrupt machines and political bosses, can be depended upon to guard the moral welfare of society; while the emphatic way in which the voters passed the corrupt practice act to prevent political degradation, affords another illustration of the fact that the Initiative and Referendum more than anything else promises the destruction of the riot of corruption and the rule of privileged wealth through the debauching of government, that has in recent decades transformed the Republic from a government representing the people, to a government representing corporate wealth and privileged classes.

The result of this election also gives emphasis to the claim of the friends of Direct-Legislation, that once place the government in the hands of the people, once give the voters the tools of democracy as provided by the Initiative and Referendum, and they will instantly take their old-time enthusiastic interest in the government, and that the city, state and nation will again become a veritable school for political economy.

Some time since a leading citizen of Oregon wrote us to the effect that since the passage of the Direct-Legislation amendment, Oregon had shaken off her lethargy and her people everywhere were taking an enthusiastic interest in the vital questions of government.

Oregon has splendidly answered the baseless claims of the reactionary upholders of class and corporation rule, who are destroying the soul of free or democratic government.

## DIRECT-LEGISLATION IN SWITZERLAND.

A CORRESPONDENT writes that he has heard the charge that Direct-Legislation is not giving the satisfaction to the Swiss people that eminent American authors claim, and he wishes to know if there is any basis for this charge.

There is none, and the man must be reckless indeed who makes such a claim. Below we give a few expert opinions from great Swiss statesmen and educators:

Hon. Numa Droz, ex-President of the Swiss Republic, and author, says: "Under the influence of the referendum a profound change has come over the spirit both of Parliament and people. The idea of employer and employed, sender and sent, which lies at the root of the representative system, becomes an absolute reality. . . . The people have generally shown themselves wiser than the meddling politicians, who have tried to draw them into systematic opposition. They have more than once given the agitator to understand that he had no chance with them. The net result has been a great tranquilizing of public life. When the ballot has pronounced, everybody accepts the results. Those who make the most noise cannot impose on the people as they do in other countries; they are taken for what they are worth."

Professor Charles Borgeaud, of the University of Geneva, writes: "The referendum has won its case. Unquestionably it has proven a boon to Switzerland, and has no more enemies of any following in the generation of to-day. . . . Now, why is that institution so popular in Switzerland that no one would dream of proposing that we should do away with it and go back to the purely representative system of 1848? Because it has proven an efficacious remedy, meeting in a

large measure the evils which may be consequent upon that form of government."

Hon. Karl Burkly, Counselor of Zurich, says: "The smooth working of our federal, cantonal and municipal referendum is, as a matter of fact, a truth generally acknowledged throughout Switzerland. The Initiative and Referendum are now deeply rooted in the hearts of the Swiss people. . . . So all is well with us, and you may authoritatively say that there is no agitation for its repeal or difficulty in its working, whether in Federation or in the Cantons or in the cities. Our Swiss political trinity—initiative, referendum and proportional representation—is not only good and holy for hard-working Switzerland, but would be even better, I think, too, for the grand country in North America."

Here is the testimony of Sir Francis Adams, the British Minister to Berne:

"The referendum has struck root and expanded wherever it has been introduced, and no serious politician of any party would now think of attempting its abolishment. The conservatives, who violently opposed its introduction, became its earnest supporters when they found that it undoubtedly acted as a drag upon hasty and radical law-making."

## PROHIBITION AND DECREASE OF CRIME.

TWO OF the strongest arguments that are successfully advanced against the license and sale of intoxicating liquors, are the suffering which the liquor traffic entails on the innocent victims of those addicted to rum, and the enormous increase of crime and the consequent cost to the country in the protection of society and the punishment of crimes due to liquor.

If the man who drank were the only sufferer from the evil consequences of drunkenness, the position of the foes of license would be far weaker than it is; and it is doubtful whether the people could be won to any attempt to seriously restrict the sale of strong drink. But when it is remembered that the lives of the innocent wives and other relatives of the drunkards are frequently rendered almost unbearable, that children are cursed before they see the light of day, and that a large number of the victims of those who have been cursed by drink are in no way under the influence of liquor themselves, no one can deny that society and the state have a right to act in the premises.

Again, besides these things, there is the vast waste of wealth incident to drink through incapacitating its victims for efficient productive labor. The increased cost of the machinery of justice, law and order imposes fearful burdens on society. In cities where license and no license obtains, the difference in the number of arrests and prosecutions is startling. Here, for example, is the record for arrests for five months in Birmingham, Alabama, under license, and the corresponding record of arrests for five months under prohibition.

The total number of arrests during January, February, March, April and May, 1907, when license obtained, was 4,137. The arrests for the corresponding months in 1908, when the city was under prohibition, were 2,734.

## OPPOSITION OF MR. TAFT'S COUSINS TO HIS CANDIDACY.

AT THE recent Prohibition convention held in Columbus, Ohio, the fact was brought out that two prominent members of the Taft family, cousins of the Presidential nominee, are aggressively opposing the election of Mr. Taft to the Presidency. In an interview published in the newspapers of July 14th the Rev. S. H. Taft of California, in reply to a question relative to his opposition to his cousin, said:

"Yes, it 's true that I 'm a relative of Judge Taft; but I would n't vote for him if he were my father. Any man who would advise the people of Oklahoma to vote against the Prohibition clause in the Constitution must repent very thoroughly before I give him my support."

Rev. William J. Taft, another cousin of the Presidential nominee, who came to the Prohibition convention at the head of the Connecticut delegation, said:

"I can 't support Judge Taft, even though he 's my first cousin. I shall support the Prohibition nominee at the polls and shall work for his election."

# THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

## The Rapid Spread of Christian Socialism in America.

THE Christian Socialist Congress or Conference held in New York City during the last days of May, proved a revelation to tens of thousands of sleeping Americans who imagined that the gold so judiciously spent by Messrs. Rockefeller, Archbold, Rogers, Morgan and other modern master spirits of the commercial feudalism on missionary societies, churhces and colleges, had effectively anæsthetized the religious conscience of America. At the conference the fact was revealed that over three hundred American clergymen were avowed Socialists. Bishop Spalding of Utah and Rev. R. Heber Newton were among the prominent Episcopalian divines whose words at the convention gave forth no uncertain tones. But most of the other Protestant denominations were well represented. Many New York and Brooklyn churches threw open their doors to the visiting Socialist clergymen and at the great mass meeting held in Carnegie Hall, over three thousand persons were present. The great enthusiasm that greeted the remarks of Eugene Debs, the Socialist candidate for President, was also very significant as indicating the rapid change in sentiment on the part of a large and rapidly-growing body of conscience-guided American clergymen.

## The Sagamore Beach Conference.

Another very significant recent happening indicating the awakening of the clergy to the importance of seriously studying fundamental social and economic conditions, was the conference of clergymen held at Sagamore Beach on July 2nd, at which Robert Hunter and John Spargo appeared to present Socialistic ideals and to answer all questions that the ministers might choose to propound. For forty-eight hours these representatives of American Socialistic ideals discussed economic conditions. At that time Professor Vida Scudder and Professor Emily G. Balch of Wellesley College both openly proclaimed their allegiance to Socialism, and the press reports declared that many of the clergymen confessed a leaning toward Socialism and all unanimously adopted for 1908 the platform of the Sagamore Beach Sociological Conference: the fair distribution of the products of labor; effective control of public utilities and abolition of special privileges; maintenance of free speech, press and assembly; income and inheritance taxes; public absorption of the unearned investment in land.

## The Growth of Socialistic Theories Among Religious Leaders of England.

Even more remarkable than the Christian Socialist Conference in New York, as illustrating the rapid change that has taken place among the religious leaders of England, was the recent Pan-Anglican Congress which was held the third week in June in London. Some time since we called attention to the fact that the Rev. R. J. Campbell, the brilliant Non-conformist divine who is the pastor of the famous City Temple of London, had come out for Socialism and written a remarkably able work in defence of his convictions. But the stand of this distinguished orator and thinker was far less significant of changing religious thought among leaders than the astonishing sentiments expressed by leading Anglican bishops and clergymen at the Pan-Anglican Conference. No session of the congress brought anything like such a large attendance as that devoted to "The Church and Socialism." According to the press, 150 archbishops and bishops and a great number of clergymen were present. It is stated that with a single exception, every speaker evinced strong Socialistic leanings. The distinguished Bishop of Manchester was to have presided but was prevented from attendance by illness. He sent, however, a ringing message that ought to prove a clarion call to the sleeping conscience of England. In it he described in vivid language the injustice of the existing divisions of profit between capital and industry. After picturing the grinding poverty of the workers and the luxury of the idle rich, he demanded from the church "A tremendous act of penitence for having failed so long and so greatly to champion the oppressed and weak."

The dispatches from London describing this meeting, among other things contained the following:

"The Rev. J. G. Simpson, principal of the clergy school at Leeds, assured the vast audience that all over the north of England they were face to face with the rising tide of Social-

ism, which they were powerless to stem even if they wished to do so. Countless workers in the forges, furnaces and mills of the north had adopted the Socialistic idea and held to it like a religion and loved it like a bride. He demanded that the church give free field to Socialism. He appealed to it to try to understand it and not hasten to discount it.

"More significant than the speeches themselves was the keen interest shown in the Socialistic pleas and earnest enthusiasm with which such points as those given were greeted from all parts of the hall."

In commenting on this religious awakening in the Mother Land, Mr. Louis F. Post of the Chicago *Public* well says:

"It is indicative of an awakening of the sense of social justice, which has been numb in all the churches. A very great revival is that in any church which makes its ministers exclaim with indignation against social injustice, which makes them denounce as sin a state of society wherein, so distinctively as in ours, the poor are of the working class and the rich are of the idle class. The economic, not to say the moral, incongruity of such a condition, since poverty means lack of labor products and riches means abundance of labor products, should have burned into the consciences of churchmen long ago. That it is burning into them now is significant of social readjustments of the greatest value to mankind.

## EDWIN MARKHAM ON RELIGION AND THE SOCIAL STATE.

AT THE great mass meeting attended by over three thousand people, held in Carnegie Hall, in New York City, on May 31st, under the auspices of the Christian Socialist Conference, the great poet of democracy and social advance, Edwin Markham, presided and read his noble poem, "The Muse of Brotherhood." Mr. Markham, in opening the meeting, thus expressed his views on the duty of religion in the presence of present-day social and economic problems:

"I believe in religion to the core of my soul. A reasonable religion balances the mind and gives solidity to character. But I believe in a practical religion, a religion that goes down into the hard ground of practical affairs. Once two artists in Abraham Lincoln's presence were arguing as to how long a man's legs ought to be. They could not decide the question, so they turned to Lincoln to decide the case. 'How long, Mr. Lincoln, ought a man's legs to be?' 'I 'll tell you,' he replied, 'a man's legs ought to be long enough to reach the ground!' And I say that a man's religion ought to be long enough to reach the ground of secular affairs.

"The old idea of the antagonism between the sacred and the secular is passing away. The secular is not opposed to God: the secular is the ground, and the only ground, for the activities of the divine. There is nothing secular but sin—nothing secular but robbery, and the robbery of the poor by the trusts and combinations is the worst form of robbery. Indeed, the secular is the only ground for all sacred activities. Jesus left the one great command—to build the kingdom of order on Earth. We must find our heaven here in this hard, cold actual, or we will find it nowhere. We are here in the midst of the raw materials of Paradise. What shall we do with the materials? Religion must handle them, for religion is heaven-building. Her chief business is to organize here and now the kingdom of order. She must search for the economics that will furnish a basis for a new society. Religion has talked for centuries of the beauty of Brotherhood; now it is her pressing business to discover the Economics of Brotherhood. Religion must be secularized. On this depends her life.

"I believe that Jesus is the supreme Savior of men. But his saviorhood must descend into industry. Jesus must be seen as the Savior of Business. Until our business is saved, lifted up into the spirit of brotherhood, *we* are not saved. Competition and self-seeking in business is Pagan. Business must be made coöperative and Christian. Jesus must appear as the savior of Industry. His spirit must be heard singing in all the wheels of civilization.

"All that I have said shows that there is a close union between the spirit of Jesus and the spirit of the Coöperative Commonwealth toward which so many hearts are turning as

the last great hope of humanity. A new and better order is certainly coming, coming slowly but surely. It will come; it will be an Evolution rather than a Revolution. It will come with the spread of thought, and with the growth of the idea that the Golden Rule furnishes the only working principle of a harmonious and happy social life."

Here are some lines from Mr. Markham's noble poem on brotherhood that strike the key-note of the master ideal that is stirring the social conscience of awakened twentieth-century manhood:

"The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star, is Brotherhood;
For it will bring again to Earth
Her long-lost Poesy and Mirth;
Will send new light on every face,
A kingly power upon the race.
And till it come, we men are slaves,
And travel downward to the dust of graves.

"Come, clear the way, then, clear the way:
Blind creeds and kings have had their day.
Break the dead branches from the path:
Our hope is in the aftermath—
Our hope is in heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.
To this Event the ages ran:
Make way for Brotherhood—make way for Man."

## INIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

By Ralph Albertson,
Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule

### The Oregon Election.

ON THE first of June the state of Oregon held its biennial election in which nineteen referendum questions were passed upon, a number of officers elected and the people's choice made for United States Senator. The result is as full of encouragement to the friends of a pure democracy as was that of the election of 1906.

The most significant expression of the freedom of citizenship which Direct-Legislation has given Oregon was the vote for George E. Chamberlain, a Democrat, for United States Senator, in a state which is always Republican, and in an election in which all the Republican candidates for state office were elected by majorities of from ten to twenty thousand. The candidates for the legislature in Oregon are required to sign one of two statements as follows:

Statement No. 1.—"I state to the people of Oregon as well as to the people of my legislative district that during my term of office I will always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the biggest number of the people's votes for that position at the June election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress without regard to my individual preference." Every man who looks upon himself as truly a representative of the people will sign the above pledge, and the people of Oregon so far have shown that this is what they want their representatives to do.

Statement No. 2, however, which is for another type of politician, reads as follows:

"During my term of office I shall consider the vote for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for doing so seems to me to be sufficient." A large majority of the members of the legislature elected are statement No. 1 men, and this undoubtedly means the election of Chamberlain, but the Republican machine of Oregon, the old machine of Senator Mitchell, is in its death throes and knows it. The Portland *Oregonian*, the organ of the machine, has come out in a brazen statement that the belief is now general that the legislature will not elect Chamberlain, and with a number of specious arguments why the legislators of one party should not vote for a Senator who is a member of the opposing party. The statement No. 1 plan makes partisan politics an impossibility, and the *Oregonian* bewailingly says, "It cannot stand as a permanent method of politics as it is not reasonable; because it is the negation of party organization because it violates custom, usage and constitutional method," etc., "it is sure to beget by its methods political dissensions in any powerful party." But the *Oregonian* is compelled to add, "It is not to be doubted that the majority of the whole people are at present for Statement No. 1." It is not to be imagined that so brazen a scheme to defy the expressed law of the state will be successful, but the attempt

to do it on the part of the machine politicians serves to strengthen the devotion of the people of Oregon to their fundamental democratic law by which they are able to deliver themselves from their misrepresentatives.

In the votes on the nineteen referendum questions there can be no fair question raised but that the popular will was intelligently expressed. There will be plenty of criticism of the popular will so expressed both by conservatives who object to the progressive measures passed and radicals who feel blue over the failure of certain measures. No true democrat, however, can fail to be satisfied with the result providing he is convinced (and no one disputes this) that the vote was intelligent and fair.

The following is the result according to unofficial returns:

The bill to increase the pay of the legislators was defeated in a heavy majority.

The bill for establishing state institutions in scattered locations was carried.

The bill for increasing the number of judges of the Supreme Court was defeated by a small majority.

The bill for holding elections in November instead of June was carried by a large majority.

The bill in which the legislature had attempted to take the custody of the prisoners away from the sheriff for a wholly unworthy purpose was vetoed by the people.

The bill by which the legislature had decreed that railroads should furnish free passes to public officials was also vetoed.

The Armory Appropriation bill was lost.

An initiated bill by which the tough element in the state had attempted to secure the open-town policy of licensed saloons and gambling dens and brothels was defeated.

The corrupt-practices bill was carried.

The bills for the regulation of the fishing industries and the curtailment of the monopoly powers in them were carried.

The appropriation for the State University which was passed by the legislature and held up by the grangers was endorsed by the people.

The bill for woman's suffrage was defeated, as was also the so-called Single Tax bill, each of them worthy measures but measures for which the people of the state of Oregon were not yet ready; and however earnestly any real democrat might believe in these measures he cannot but recognize the right of the people to decide them, and for that matter prefer to have the people themselves reject these measures than to have rulers of the people enact them when the people are not ready for them.

The one thing which stands out in this election above all others is the fact that although the people were not ready for single tax, woman suffrage and many other reforms of more or less desirability, they expressed with no uncertain voice their belief in a direct vote and the maintenance of public control over the government.

A bill for the establishment of the Recall by which unworthy representatives may be unseated was passed, and a bill for the strengthening of the system whereby the people shall determine who shall be their United States Senator received the largest majority in the entire vote, and last but not least a bill for the establishment of Proportional Representation was carried.

Thus once more, in the adoption of a system by which minorities shall have recognition, the state of Oregon takes the lead in democratic progress.

The Grange of Eugene has appropriated $500 to assist in defending the case in which the Pacific Telegraph Company seeks in the United States Supreme Court to overthrow the Direct-Legislation amendment to the Oregon Constitution.

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### Cleveland Traction.

On June second the last formalities in the merger of the Forest City and Low Fare Railway companies with the old Cleveland Electric were put through, and Mayor Johnson had won his fight for the people. There was still an aftermath to be reckoned with, however, in the demand for a referendum under the Schmidt law which demand was brought about by a coalition of the Union-labor forces and the obstructionists of the old private monopoly sympathizers. The petition bearing the names of 25,000 persons demanding the referendum on the new franchise was prepared by the obstructionists and submitted on the 27th of May. They were assisted in the work by the peculiar situation that had arisen out of the strike of the employés which was planned for and instigated by the old company.

The Union was in the wrong and lost its fight, but the bitterness engendered by the strife served as an inciting cause for demand-

ing the referendum. Mayor Johnson at once sent postal-cards to the signers of the petition asking them whether they did sign it and whether they wished to retract their signatures. At once responses began to come in denying the signatures and also retracting. At the present writing Mayor Johnson has declared that not over forty-eight per cent. of the signatures were valid and that probably the referendum would not be taken. I hope Mayor Johnson will not refuse the vote. He has paid a good price already for the democracy in which he believes and he can well afford to permit once more the people of Cleveland to vote on this question. They have always endorsed him in the past and there is every reason to believe they will continue to do so.

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### A Significant Straw Vote.

THE *Success* magazine has taken a poll of its 10,000 life subscribers on a number of the most important questions of the day with a result that is both surprising and significant.

The questions were mailed on January 25, 1908, with the request that Yes or No be the vote on each question. The 10,000 replies received by March first are a clearer indication of national feeling upon the issues involved than any voting for candidates or party platforms could possibly be, and the editor of *Success* as a result sees a new significance in the referendum principle.

On the first question, "Should the government exercise a stronger control over corporations doing an inter-state business?" there were 9,146 affirmative votes against only 209 in the negative.

Still more remarkable are the returns on what was really the key question, Number Four: "Would you support the President and Congress in carrying out corporation reforms which would tend to the permanent betterment of our social conditions, even if it meant some personal sacrifice in the way of 'money panics' restriction of bank credits, and other matters affecting business?"

"Frankly," says *Success*, "we should not have been surprised at some little evasion or even a good many plain negatives on this question. Among our life subscribers are many bankers, lawyers, physicians, manufacturers, and other types of men of affairs who might be naturally somewhat more conservative than farmers, clerks, students, etc., on the list. But this result was the most overwhelming of all. The 'ayes' have it by 9,137 to 175. Could there have been a more complete answer to a difficult question? The conclusion is inevitable that the country is not 'clamoring for a rest.'

"The upbuilding of the navy was approved by 8,218 to 1,988. But the answer to the question of the advisability of spending vast sums of public money for the development of our national resources, such as internal waterways, irrigation, the Panama Canal, etc., brings back to the former preponderance of 'ayes' in this instance 9,050 to 266."

Here again we have a strong indication of how differently the people's will would be interpreted if they were permitted to vote directly upon public questions instead of being confined to voting for men whose positions on public questions even when it does not have to be guessed at is always a matter of combination and compromise.

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### Springfield's Franchises Protected.

THE Board of Aldermen in Springfield, Illinois, under the leadership of Alderman Farris have adopted the following resolution providing that no street railway franchise ordinance be passed without a referendum:

"Whereas, At an election held in April A. D. 1907, the people of the city of Springfield under and by virtue of the public policy law of the state of Illinois, expressed themselves by a majority vote of nearly three to one, in favor of submitting to them for determination all propositions to grant, extend or enlarge the general street railway franchises, privileges, or rights of any person, company or corporation in or to the streets or alleys of the said city; and

"Whereas, This city council as the representatives is in duty bound to respect their wishes thus so overwhelmingly expressed; now therefore, be it

"Resolved, By said council that no ordinance, in any manner, granting, extending or enlarging or attempting to grant, extend or enlarge the general street railway franchises, rights or privileges of said city, be passed by said council until such ordinance shall be submitted to, and approved by, the people of said city, in accordance with their wishes as expressed at said election."

In the face of Mayor Busse's objection and the wire-pulling of the Chicago Republican

machine to prevent it the legislature at Springfield inserted a referendum clause in the bond bills for which the Chicago administration has so hungrily clamored.

### City Charters.

THE MOVEMENT for the improvement of city charters is spreading with great strength and rapidity.

In Massachusetts the cities of Lawrence and Haverhill have been granted charters giving them a commission form of government with the referendum attached, while the city of Chelsea has been handed a "gold brick" in the form of a Board of Control over which the people have absolutely no control whatever.

Gloucester also has a new bill which does not contain the initiative and referendum. Other Massachusetts cities are in considerable agitation on the question.

Buffalo, New York, is clamoring for a better form of city government and the advocates of the Des Moines plan are showing considerable strength.

The Milwaukee Charter Convention has listened to Mr. Bigelow and has received instructions by referendum from the twenty-eight organizations comprising the Civic Federation of the city to provide for:

"The elimination of every trace of national and state politics from city elections and government.

"The removal of the evils of patronage by a more complete application of the merit system of appointment.

"The largest degree of home-rule that is consistent with the interests of the state, because undue subordination of the city to state legislative control is largely productive of the apathy which characterizes municipal citizenship."

Oakland is falling in line with other California cities in demanding the Initiative and Referendum in her new charter.

Jackson, Mississippi, voted on June fifth for the commission form of government, while Laurel, Paden and a number of smaller towns have voted against it.

Chico, California, turned down a proposed charter last year and is now preparing a new one.

The most interesting fight on city charters during the month has been that waged in Kansas City, and the principal point of contention has been the incorporation of the referendum in the charter. The charter board has surrendered to the referendum forces and the quarrel over the percentage provision which the obstructionists put up seems to be going in the direction of a potent referendum.

Kansas City, Kansas, is also in the fight for the new kind of city government.

### Notes.

THE EXTENSION division of the University of Wisconsin has issued a leaflet for the benefit of debating societies giving a suggested form of resolution for debate and a list of references on the Initiative and Referendum. This is one of a series of very useful leaflets for the purposes of debating and public discussion in which many vital public questions are dealt with.

THE PEOPLE of Reading, Pennsylvania, voted on June 23rd for a $600,000 bond extension for public purposes.

THE MAYOR of Grand Rapids, Michigan, has made a very commendable suggestion that the members of the police and fire commissions be elected by the people.

THE PEOPLE of Saco, Maine, have recently voted down a road-building proposition which they considered too extravagant.

A FREE public library was voted for by the people of New Hampton, Iowa, in June. Andrew Carnegie gave the building and the people imposed upon themselves a three-mill tax for its support.

THE CITIZENS of Brockton, Massachusetts, will vote in the fall on the question whether the city laborers shall receive an advance in wages from $2.25 to $2.50 a day with a Saturday half-holiday.

THE PEOPLE of Essex County, Massachusetts, take a referendum vote in November on the building of a new Court House at Lynn.

A FEATURE of the Des Moines charter will be called into action at the November election on the question whether the city shall continue the policy of remitting taxes of manufacturing concerns in order to induce them to locate in Des Moines. They will also vote whether the city shall carry out existing contracts relieving certain companies from taxation for a certain period of years.

A VOTE is being taken in the City of Mexico to see whether or not liquor shall be served at a celebration of the Fourth of July presumably conducted by American citizens.

THE Congregational Convention of Vermont has voted calling for a referendum on the question of the present liquor law.

THE State Democratic Executive Committee of Texas met at Dallas June eighth and received a petition for state prohibition under the Terrell election law of that state. Such a petition signed by the required number of Democratic voters is mandatory upon the executive committee to submit the matter to a referendum of the party at the polls. This is true democracy in the management of a political party and should be imitated in every state and by the other party as well.

THE PEOPLE of Atlanta, Georgia, are soon to vote upon the issue of a million and a half in bonds for the purpose of constructing an adequate sewerage system.

THE Prohibitionists of Louisiana are fighting for a bill which is unusual from the fact that it is a combination of referendum and local option. By its provisions the districts voting against saloons would become "dry," but whether or not the districts voting for the saloon would remain wet would be determined by the total vote throughout the state. The bill will as now framed secure from the whole state an expression of opinion upon state-wide prohibition and at the same time it will not endanger the status of the considerable territory which already is "dry" under local-option laws.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL WEST of Oklahoma has announced that if the governor fails to sign the anti-trust bill now in his hands he will immediately take steps to initiate a bill of this sort to be voted on by the people in the fall election.

THE Arkansas State Democratic Convention pronounced as heretofore for the Initiative and Referendum and declared for the submission of the question of prohibition to the people.

THE Red River Valley Baptist Conference of North Dakota has passed a resolution in opposition to the Initiative and Referendum constitutional amendment which the people are to vote upon in November, the opposition being on the ground that the bill will permit the people of the state again to vote on the question of prohibition.

FOR THE first time in the history of any state the voters of the Democratic party of Alabama voted this year direct for the Presidential candidates on the party ticket. Names of William J. Bryan and John A. Johnson were printed upon the ticket which was voted in the general primary and the result of the vote was mandatory upon the delegates to the Denver convention.

PETITIONS to town and supervisorial boards asking for a referendum vote to make primary elections mandatory are being circulated in nine communities in northern California. The petitions must be signed by half the electors who voted at the previous election. The arbitrary appointment of delegates by the machine for the Republican convention of last month has given the stimulus for carrying out the provisions in the several communities.

THE PEOPLE of Pittsburg are to vote at the special election in the summer on a number of referendum questions upon which the state government has disagreed. The questions, all of them have reference to improvements and extensions along lines that are common to city governments and involving expenditures of over ten millions of dollars.

THE ANTI-PROHIBITIONISTS of North Carolina have attacked the legality of the recent referendum vote of that state on the liquor question. They contend that the law providing for the referendum was passed at a special session of the legislature called for the purpose of handling the railroad question and that therefore extraneous questions could not be handled legally.

ABOUT sixty-five women participated in the referendum vote in South Orange by which they defeated a bond order.

THE TAXPAYERS of Newark, New Jersey, held a referendum in June in which only taxpayers could participate, voting on several questions which involved the expenditure of money.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

# PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By Bruno Beckhard,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

## The Cleveland Settlement.

TO THOSE who have followed Mayor Tom L. Johnson's heroic fight in the matter of Cleveland's traction problem, April 27th, the "Free Ride Day," was indeed a red-letter day. It marks the end of a seven years' struggle, a struggle against legislatures bought and sold, against laws made and unmade, against every known form of corruption and trickery. Yet in speaking of the event, "Mayor Tom" merely says, "It is prophetic of what the future has in store. The end of my street-car policy will not be accomplished until car rides in Cleveland are as free as water at the fountain in the Public Square."

The end of the struggle has been skilfully fogged in the press, both by news (so called) of the strike (so called) and by reports (so called) of the settlement itself. The strike was due to the influence of the old traction company and was based on a former agreement between that company and its employés, to the effect that if the company received an extended franchise before May, 1909, the men were to receive a raise of two cents an hour. When the new holding company, the Municipal Traction Company, took over the Cleveland Electric, the men claimed that this was equivalent to an extended franchise. Hence the strike. The Municipal offered to give the men the one cent an hour more that had always been the prevailing rate in the low-fare company, but this the men declined. The prompt action of Mayor Johnson put a stop to the use of dynamite, and the strike fizzled. There were only 700 men still out when the question of the basis of return, practically the only one left, was submitted to arbitration.

For an exact statement of the terms of the traction settlement itself we quote *The Public* of May 8th:

"The stock of the Cleveland Electric ("Con-Con") was reduced from $23,400,000 to $12,870,000. (Note: The last stage of the struggle has been waged about the price to be paid for the Con-Con stock. The agreement resulted from the compromise price, $55 a share.) This covers its old properties. An increase of its stock to $35,000,000 was then authorized for the purpose of taking in the Forest City ('Threefer') at $1,805,600 and providing means for retiring bonds and making improvements. Next in order, the Cleveland Electric formally surrendered all existing franchises and accepted the new 'security franchise,' which makes a twenty-five-year grant at six tickets for twenty-five cents, to be effective in case the plan of transfer to the 'holding company' on a three-cent fare basis proves a failure. The name of the Cleveland Electric is to be changed to the Cleveland Railway Company, and all litigation with the low-fare companies is to be dismissed. The lease to the 'holding company' (the Municipal Traction Company) for fifty years, of all property and rights possessed or to be acquired, had already been made. The directors of the 'holding company' are now increased from five to nine. They are as follows: (Old directors) A. B. Dupont, Edward Wiebenson, C. W. Stage, Frederick C. Howe and William Grief. (New directors) F. H. Goff, Ben T. Cable, Newton D. Baker and Tom L. Johnson.

"In celebration of this victory for low fares the 'holding company' devoted the first day of its complete authority, the 27th, to free rides. From early morning until the next morning everybody rode free. This is to be established as an annual custom in honor of the day. In fact the Cleveland Low-Fare movement contemplates, probably at no distant day, the establishment of free rides to everybody all the time. On the 28th, the second day of its complete authority, the 'holding company' began operation with universal three-cent fares within the city, one cent extra for transfers (an exaction to continue only ninety days), and five cents for suburbanites (also to be modified as soon as the new arrangements disclose the cost of suburban service). The wages of the conductors and motormen of the old company at once increased one cent an hour to equalize the wages paid by the Low-Fare Company, and provisions were made for supplying all uniforms free."

[Note: The "security franchise" has been the cause of much misunderstanding. The six rides for twenty-five cents is the rate that would be adopted should present plans prove a failure. No such rate goes into effect now.]

## An Awakening.

THERE has been considerable activity, recently, in the direction of Municipal Ownership in the Trust State itself, New Jersey, and the indications are that three years from now the public utilities map of the state will be very different from the present one. Hardly a week goes by that does not see the inception of a new plant. It is curiously noticeable in Jersey's fight for utilities that the mosquito state has suffered greater hardship in the way of extortion by private owners of public utilities than almost any other state.

In connection with the popular election to decide the desirability of establishing an electric-lighting plant in Passaic the Newark *News* calls attention to the fact that so far the effect of the Jones Act of 1906 has been to furnish a club to be held over the public-service corporations. Newark, Patterson, Elizabeth, Camden, Passaic and Woodbury have each in accordance with this act submitted an electric-lighting proposition to popular vote, and the council in each of these cities is thereby empowered to establish a a public plant. So far, however, nothing has been done beyond forcing reduced rates from the companies now operating. Despite this strange (?) coincidence which seems hardly spontaneous, it is apparent that many Jersey citizens have reached the limit of their endurance, and despite free literature "in libraries and barber-shops" are awakening to the advantages of public-ownership. In a large number of cities where no elections have been held on the question of establishing electric-lighting plants and water-works, the old five-year contracts are being replaced by contracts of one and two years.

## Another Good Record From Somerville, Massachusetts.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Annnal, additional and metered water charges | | $231,252.96 |
| Abatements made on the above charges | $4,353.01 | |
| Refunds made on the above charges | 552.46 | |
| Abatements made on charges of 1906 | 343.96 | |
| | | 5,249.43 |
| Income from sale of water | | $226,993.53 |
| Amount received from water-service assessment | | 3,254.88 |
| Amount received from labor and materials | | 5,879.71 |
| Total income of water works | | $235,138.12 |

This amount was used as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For water-works purposes: | | |
| Water-works maintenance | $30,721.75 | |
| Water-works extension | 17,039.00 | |
| Miscellaneous accounts | 5,879.71 | |
| Interest on water-loan bonds | 3,200.00 | |
| Maturing water-loan bonds | 7,000.00 | |
| Metropolitan water-works assessment | 106,334.61 | |
| | | $170,175.07 |
| For other municipal purposes: | | |
| Sewers, maintenance | $12,000.00 | |
| Interest on sewer-loan bonds | 9,137.50 | |
| Fire department | 30,000.00 | |
| Reduction of funded debt | 13,823.65 | |
| Balance carried to credit of Water Income account of 1908 | 1.90 | |
| | | 64,963.05 |
| | | $235,138.12 |

## The Worth of Water.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the American Water-works Association has made many of the technical journals in the last two months lay emphasis on water-works, and this has given us some valuable statistics. While it is probable that the following figures will not be of interest to every reader they will nevertheless serve, in many instances, as convenient bases of comparison.

A paper was read before the American Water-works Association by Dow R. Glynn, and is quoted by the *Municipal Journal*, giving information collected by him about a year ago concerning the water rates paid in 375 cities in the United States. These cities include all but three of the 160 having a population of more than 25,000 in 1900. The annual and meter rates charged in these cities averaged as follows:

| | Private-Owned Plants. | Public-Owned Plants. | Both Private and Public. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Domestic use in 6-room house or 5 persons or first faucet | $6.83 | $6.04 | $6.40 |
| Additional for 1 bath, hot-water connections | 3.88 | 2.99 | 3.40 |
| Additional for 1 self-closing water-closet | 3.69 | 3.12 | 3.38 |
| | $14.40 | $12.15 | $13.18 |
| Additional for 1 baisn, hot-water connection | 1.94 | 1.55 | 1.74 |
| | $16.34 | $13.70 | $14.92 |
| Additional for sprinkling a 50 x 140-foot lot, including sidewalk and street in front | 6.17 | 4.37 | 5.20 |
| Total charge per annum for all the above privileges | 20.83 | 16.34 | 18.33 |
| SCHEDULE METER RATES. | | | |
| Highest per 1,000 gallons | $0.318 | $0.218 | $0.262 |
| Lowest per 1,000 gallons | .108 | .079 | .092 |

Number of reports from cities with private-owned plants ..... 162

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of reports from cities with public-owned plants | 213 |
| Total | 375 |
| Average population of cities with private-owned plants | 25,437 |
| Average population of cities with public-owned plants | 85,382 |
| Average | 59,577 |

As a convenient table for basing water-works comparisons the following shows the cost of water under simple conditions:

| | Ordinary Conditions. | Double Pumping or Filtration |
|---|---|---|
| Domestic use, 6 rooms . | $6.00 plus 25 per cent. | $7.50 |
| Bath, with or without hot water | 3.00 | 3.75 |
| Water-closet (self-closing) | 4.20 | 5.25 |
| Wash-basin | .90 | 1.13 |
| | $14.10 | $17.63 |
| Sprinkling 50-foot lot in connection with above uses | 6.00 | 7.50 |
| | $20.10 | $25.13 |

| Meter Rates. | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minimum monthly rate. | .80 | 1.00 |
| Sliding scale..... | | |
| Highest meter rate per 1,000 gallons net..... | .32 | .40 |
| Lowest meter rate..... | .08 | .10 |
| Special rate where consumption is 3,000,000 or more per month... | .065 | .081 |

The *Municipal Journal* for May 6th gives a number of detailed statistics concerning about 400 water-works plants. It contains, also, an interesting table on the "Estimated Life and Depreciation of Water-works Plants," compiled by William H. Bryan; and another showing the form for water-works statistics recommended by the New England Association of Water-works and other societies. Most of the Massachusetts reports are in this form. For an immediate impression of the work accomplished by any plant, however, the form of the Somerville report, which will be found in another column, is more satisfactory. Bruno Beckhard.

## COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

By Hazel Hammond Albertson.
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### A Co-operative Summer Camp.

ON THE borders of Lake Geneva, near Chicago, is a summer camp which is owned and run coöperatively by some residents of the city of Chicago who "commute" back and forth daily during the summer. The thirteen acres which compose the camp-ground were bought in 1880, and at that time there were about eighteen families who formed the association. For the first ten years they lived in tents, but at the end of that time a large club-house was built containing a dining-room large enough to seat 150 guests, and having sleeping rooms above. Most of the residents still prefer to live in tents though a few of them have built cottages for themselves. The club-house is 100 feet long by 40 feet wide, with a kitchen 50 feet long by 40 feet wide. The kitchen is as completely equipped as a model hotel kitchen and has a capacity for feeding 150 people. The first floor is an open room with no partitions, the floor being especially adapted for dancing. There are eighteen bedrooms on the upper floor. Mr. Henry W. Cutter, president of the club, says, "During the winter, the custodian of the grounds puts up about two hundred tons of ice. The grounds are piped with water to each tent and cottage, and the water is used for bathing, laundry, and sprinkling the grass, and for such use, is pumped into a tank holding ten thousand gallons this tank being placed on a structure higher than the club-house. The water is pumped by a hot-air engine which is the most economical power for this purpose I have ever seen, a half-bushel of coal being sufficient to pump all the water we can use during the entire day. Our own garden supplies us with fresh vegetables."

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### The International Equity Exchange.

A plan to establish several coöperative stores in Chicago has been under consideration for several months and final arrangements are being made for the purchase of several stores. The plan is to purchase a large number of grocery stores in different parts of the city, retaining the present proprietors as

managers at a fixed minimum salary plus a percentage on all sales over and above a certain amount each month. A central warehouse is to be established to which the goods will be shipped by the farmers and from there they will be distributed to the various branch houses. The goods will be sold at the prevailing market prices, but purchasers will be entitled each month to a rebate, according to the amount purchased and the profits made. The International Equity Exchange has received its charter of incorporation under the laws of New Jersey and is prepared to issue charters to the various local branches. The local branch established several months ago at 249 West Randolph Street, will become a part of the larger movement, and its present owner, W. W. Scott, will manage it. The secretary of the union, Mr. M. W. Tubbs of St. Louis, feels that while the project is being successfully carried on in that city in a small way Chicago is the ideal center to start on a large scale. Enough money has been subscribed to warrant the opening of at least four stores in Chicago. The stores will increase in number as well as size as the business grows, but the present idea is to limit them to handling of potatoes, butter, eggs, fruits and vegetables.

### Another Chicago Enterprise.

A CENTRAL council of people who are interested in coöperation has been started in Chicago, and several men who have taken an active interest in coöperation in the United States are in charge of the association. Their purpose as set forth in a letter addressed to various coöperative organizations in the country is to form "a center for collection and distribution of information concerning the cause of coöperation and to secure a suitable body of persons who would be ready to furnish advice and assistance to persons or organizations desiring to institute coöperative work. . . . The purpose is not to promote any particular form of coöperation or advance any special political or sectarian organization, but simply to unite all friends of coöperation regardless of other beliefs. The preliminary committee needs a list of all institutions, societies, clubs and organizations and persons which in any way use the principles of coöperation or the name; also a list of persons interested." This letter is signed by Messrs. C. O. Boring, J. Burrett Smith, W. C. Bowne, Dr. W. E. Boynton, L. O. Hull and others.

### Windy City Apartments.

A CO-OPERATIVE apartment house is being erected at 40 Cedar Street, Chicago, by five wealthy men who desire a convenient town house for themselves during the winter months. The total cost is to be $100,000, of which $13,000 is to go for the land and $87,000 for the house itself, which is to be built in the colonial style of architecture. Each apartment is to have twelve rooms, and the first floor is to be fitted up as a garage with room for five machines. A refrigerating plant and other features which go with a building of this character will be in the building, and it is expected will be the most novel as well as the most elegant of its kind in Chicago. One of the men who are to share in this building is an architect, and it is he who has designed the building.

### Gotham Co-operative Finance.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the Metropolitan League of Local Coöperative Savings and Loan Associations was held in April. The meeting was preceded by a dinner. The Metropolitan League actively represents the interests of the local associations of Greater New York, 107 in number, with assets of $16,000,000, and a membership of 15,421. While the past year has been a very trying one for financial institutions of all classes, the local coöperative savings associations have not suffered any great inconvenience from the unusual conditions prevailing, and Superintendent Banks, in his annual report, states that notwithstanding "the financial stringency and the panic conditions that have recently prevailed in the total assets of the associations of this state have shown a greater increase, $2,378,373, than at any other recent period, and the number of shares issued has also exceeded the number of shares withdrawn."

### Co-operative Cooking.

A COMMUNISTIC kitchen on a small scale is being experimented with in New York City where several women are endeavoring to solve the housekeeping problem for themselves and tenement-house mothers, by furnishing dinners consisting of two dishes, selected so as to compose dietetically a perfect meal. One meal consists of meat pie and ice cream, the pie containing vegetables and the crust being made of potatoes; another is a hearty soup

with fruit or shortcake; or corned beef and cabbage and jellied prunes; corned-beef hash and rice pudding; split-pea soup with ham and ice cream. The cost of the dinners is about ten cents.

### Co-operative Education.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY is contemplating taking up the Schneider plan of coöperative education which has been in practice at the University of Cincinnati, Ohio, in the engineering department, for several years and which permits students to study a week and work a week. This lengthens a four-year course into six years, but the student is enabled to be self-supporting. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Armour Institute of Chicago are investigating this plan with a view to introducing it in their schools.

### Aroostook, Maine.

A RECENT report of Aroostook Pomona Grange of Maine shows that the store of the Caribou Grange transacted a sales business of over $56,000 in 1907, with a trade stock of but slightly over $6,000. The Houlton, Maine, Grange has long been famous for its successful store, and it is encouraging to find another Maine Grange following in its footsteps.

### Brooklyn, New York.

THE Coöperative Society of the Boss Baker of Brooklyn has been incorporated with the secretary of state for mutual protective purposes and to promote trade matters.

### Base Ball.

A CO-OPERATIVE base ball team has been organized in Monson, Massachusetts, the players to share equally in the profits and losses.

### General Education Board.

THE General Education Board which was established by John D. Rockefeller with a fund of $32,000,000, the income to be used for the general advancement of certain educational institutions in this country, has recently voted a grant of $80,000 for the promotion of farmers' coöperative demonstration work in the Southern states. In connection with this it is also of interest to note that $20,000 was set aside for special high-school agents in connection with state universities in the South.

### Notes From Abroad.

A SPECIAL committee of the International Coöperative Alliance which was elected at the Congress held at Cremona in September, 1907, is to meet at The Hague at the end of August. They intend revising certain rules, the amending of which will benefit the relations between the allied societies of the various countries. The committee appointed to consider the advantages of international wholesale trading met with the delegates from the foreign countries to agree to a plan of action. The committee held a preliminary meeting in England just before the British Coöperative Congress which was held at Newport, June 7th to 10th.

The Banking Department of the English Coöperative Wholesale societies state that the charge for money which the Coöperative Wholesale Society lent to their constituent members had only been three and one-half per cent., at a time when the bank rate had reached seven per cent. The smallest of their societies had been able to get its money through the Coöperative Wholesale Society on terms which the best corporation could not get. This fact is indeed very remarkable as the net profits of the Banking Department amounted to more than $55,000 in 1907, and in this period the deposits and withdrawals reached nearly $350,000.

WHEN on a recent visit to England, the Prime Minister of Australia, the Hon. T. Price, addressed the last Quarterly Divisional Meeting of the Wholesale Society in London. In a very important speech he paid a well-deserved tribute to British coöperators and especially to their organ, the *Coöperative News*. This is the first time that a premier has publicly taken a prominent place in the ranks of coöperation, and has expressed so firm a faith in the movement. Mr. Price states that he is proud of the fact that he has served seventeen years on the committee of a coöperative store. With regard to the movement in Australia he spoke as follows:

"The coöperative movement in Australia is making headway, although it has not made

the same headway as in Britain. There are many reasons for that. I believe our conditions are much better than yours, and we may have been wasteful and thriftless. If our conditions were harder in the struggle for existence, we might have entered into coöperation with more zeal. But it is from the knowledge that this is the only movement that we know of which will remove the middleman who sits and takes toll, without any labor whatsoever, that we are falling in with it."

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,
Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

### Victory in Oregon.

UNDER date of Portland, Oregon, June 5th, Mr. W. H. Denlinger writes:

"At our state election on Monday last, all the measures proposed by the People's Power League were carried by good majorities. The Recall carried by a vote of nearly two to one; Corrupt Practices Act by a slightly smaller majority, and the Proportional Representation Amendment by about thirteen thousand—a large majority for this state. The law compelling members of the legislature to vote as the people vote for United States Senator carried by over three to one.

"I consider this one of the most encouraging victories that we have ever won for the people in Oregon. When the Initiative Amendment, the Direct Primary, etc., were passed, we had put the opposition to sleep, and the politicians and big papers were with us. But this time not a newspaper in the state, except the labor press and perhaps one or two of the smaller papers, was with us or had anything good to say for us. This was especially so concerning Proportional Representation.

"The *Oregonian*, our largest newspaper, abused all these reform measures for all it was worth. The organization of the Republican party was against us, and their platform in direct terms opposed everything we offered. I am sending you samples of cartoons that appeared almost daily, ridiculing and opposing us. The Democratic press, while not actively against us, was always silent editorially. Further, as to Proportional Representation, the Municipal Reform League resolved against it.

"But we have won out, and it is a great victory. Our state pamphlet did the work. I am sending to you another copy of it. You can see now of how much value is the endorsement of a few good men that the people have confidence in.

"I used to advantage the Proportional Representation literature that you sent; but I think that the endorsement of the People's Power League had as much to do with the outcome as anything. Our League has secured the confidence of the people, and what they offer 'goes.'

"To say that the politicians are 'mad' is expressing it mildly. Their great hope now is that the Supreme Court of the United States will destroy the people's rule in this state by an adverse decision. They certainly have to mend their ways if they intend to get the confidence of the people. The Direct Primary has done much to destroy the old-time 'ring-rule' in this state. I believe that the legislation we have just put through, with the measures which will naturally follow in its wake, will utterly destroy the old machine and boss system.

"Let me tell you: I do not think that one in ten realizes the full importance of the victory we have just won. If you were out here you would see in the newspapers great headlines about this and that candidate winning out, and see the returns fully displayed concerning these *men*, but very little comment about the *measures* which have been carried. The old political machine has been hit so hard that the politicians are dumb, and do not like to talk about it. Some of them have not sense to see the handwriting on the wall anyway, but in time they will see it."

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### The Oregon Proportional-Representation Amendment.

IT IS fitting that I should reprint here the first law ever passed in the United States to provide for *real* Proportional Representation:

"Section 16 of Article II. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"*Article II.*—Section 16. In all elections authorized by this constitution, until otherwise provided by law, the person or persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected, but provision may be made by law for elections by equal proportional representation of all the voters for every office which is filled by the election of two or more persons whose official duties, rights and powers are equal and concurrent. Every qualified elector resident in his precinct and registered as may be required by law, may vote for one person under the title for each office. Provision may be made by law for the voter's direct or indirect expression of his first, second or additional choices among the candidates for any office. For an office which is filled by the election of one person it may be required by law that the person elected shall be the final choice of a majority of the electors voting for candidates for that office. These principles may be applied by law to nominations by political parties and organizations."

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### Preferential Voting in West Australia.

JUST in time for this issue comes a batch of newspapers from my West Australian correspondent, Mrs. T. Pethick, of Grass Valley—who, by the way, is a niece of Mrs. Young, not of Miss Spence.

One of these newspapers, the Kalgoorlie *Miner*, contains information concerning the Proportional Representation provisions which were in the new Electoral Bill before the West Australian State Parliament. As finally passed, the Electoral Act contains provisions not for Proportional Representation, but merely for preferential voting in single-member districts. This is worth something, however, as familiarizing voters with the method of ballot-marking that would be used for Proportional Representation, and as pointing the way to a better system in the same line. It, of course, applies only to elections where there are more than two candidates for the one seat; but it has the effect of encouraging the nomination of more than two candidates.

The act states with regard to the marking of ballot papers that each voter shall indicate his choice of the various candidates by marking opposite the name of his first-choice the numeral "1," opposite his second choice the numeral "2," and so on according to preference.

The counting of the votes as provided by the act is as follows:

"(a) The returning officer shall open all ballot-boxes and count all first-preference votes given for each candidate.

"(b) If no candidate has an absolute majority of first-preference votes the returning officer shall then declare the candidate who has obtained the fewest first-preference votes to be a defeated candidate, and each ballot paper counted to him shall be distributed among the other candidates next in order of the electors' preference.

"(c) This process shall be repeated, and the votes recounted after each such distribution, until one candidate has obtained an absolute majority, or until only two candidates remain. If neither of these has an absolute majority of all the votes cast, the one having the highest number of votes shall be declared duly elected."

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### Canadian Labor Elections.

INTERESTING labor elections on the proportional and preferential plan took place at Winnipeg on May 22nd last, when a hundred and seventy members of the Typographical Union elected local and international officers on the Hare-Spence system. The "returning officer" was Mr. A. W. Puttee, editor of the Winnipeg *Voice*, and a staunch friend of just electoral methods.

Ballot papers having been sent out and returned, the election committee counted and canvassed them in the Typographical Union offices on that Wednesday evening. Several spectators who wished to follow out the system kept tally on extra tally-sheets as the voting papers were read off.

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### Great Britain.

HERE is a paragraph from the June issue of *Representation* that gives some idea of the time, energy and money which our English friends are putting into the movement there:

"The Belgian Parliamentary elections were held on Monday, May 24th, and resulted in a net gain of four seats to the Opposition. We hope next month to publish an account of the elections from the Hon. Secretary of the society, Mr. J. H. Humphreys, who went over

to Belgium with the express purpose of studying the working of the proportional system there in force."

I shall look with great interest for that account of the Belgian elections, and shall not fail to give my readers full benefit of it. That monthly English journal can now be relied on to give news from France and Belgium, and indeed other European countries, from original sources, as fully and accurately as it does the British news of the Proportional Representation movement. Following are two more items:

"We understand that the Executive of the Metropolitan Branch of the British Medical Association has almost unanimously agreed on the motion of Dr. G. Crichton, to conduct the elections this year, as last, on the system of Proportional Representation embodied in Lord Courtney's Bill. The feeling is said to be definitely in favor of the proportional method.

"We are glad to report that at the Annual Conference of the 'Young Scots,' held at the end of April, a resolution in favor of Proportional Representation, recommended by the Glasgow South Suburban Branch, was carried."

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### The Situation in England.

THE EDITOR of *Representation* sums up thus the political situation in England as it bears on electoral reform:

"On May 20th Mr. Asquith announced that the government intend before they leave office to produce a sweeping measure of electoral reform. Apparently the government program will include manhood suffrage and an amendment introducing womanhood suffrage will not be opposed by the government. It can hardly be supposed that some measure of redistribution will not form part of the government proposals. In any case the whole question of representation will be raised before the public. If our propaganda is not to go to sleep for at least another quarter of a century, a determined effort must be made to arouse public interest in the proposals of the Society. For such an effort the omens are not unfavorable. The *Daily News*, which may be supposed to be not without influence in Liberal quarters, appears to have become definitely friendly to Proportional Representation. Mr. Asquith's own words spoken at St. Andrew's, on February 19, 1906, form one of the best short statements yet made in public of the true principles of representation, and are evidence that on the part of the Prime Minister there is no unwillingness to face the need of reform. This striking declaration should be graven on the minds of all our readers. Here it is:

"'It was infinitely to the advantage of the House of Commons, if it was to be a real reflection and mirror of the national mind, that there should be no strain of opinion honestly entertained by any substantial body of the King's subjects which should not find there representation and speech. No student of political development could have supposed that we should always go along in the same old groove, one party on one side and another party on the other side, without the intermediate ground being occupied, as it was in every other civilized country, by groups and factions having special ideas and interests of their own. If real and genuine and intelligent opinion was more split up than it used to be, and if we could not now classify everybody by the same simple process, we must accept the new conditions and adapt our machinery to them, our party organization, our representative system, and the whole scheme and form of our government.'

"And again the present Prime Minister, speaking at Morley a fortnight later (March 2, 1906), said:

"'Let them have a House of Commons which fully reflected every strain of opinion; that was what made democratic government in the long run not only safer and more free, but more stable.'

"On the side of the Opposition Proportional Representation has many powerful friends; Mr. Arthur Balfour was in 1885 a member of the society, and on general principles it may well be argued from a conservative standpoint that the abolition of plural voting and a vastly increased electorate make it even more necessary than at the present time that security be taken that all minorities should be heard."

ROBERT TYSON.

*Toronto, Canada.*

# THE MOST SIGNIFICANT RECENT PHILOSOPHICAL INTERPRETATION OF LIFE.*

A Book-Study.

By B. O. Flower.

I.

NOT IN recent years have we read any work attempting to furnish a luminous interpretation of life or a philosophical explanation of the Sphinx of the ages, the meaning of life, the problem of man and his destiny, that can compare with this work by Dr. Mars. It is as suggestive as it is lucid, as logical and closely reasoned as it is profoundly thoughtful and convincing to the reason.

The volume begins with a vivid panoramic view of material phenomena, the birth of worlds, the appearance of life and its gradual but steady ascent, the orderly working of phenomenal organic nature toward a great and definite end. From this the author passes to a consideration of "The Three-Fold Unity of Reason" and "The Three-Fold Interpretation of Reason," after which "The Pedagogy of Pain" is followed by the last division of the work, which deals with "Realization," or the prodigal coming to himself and through this awakening entering again into harmony or unity with the Divine or Cosmic Life.

II.

Book One deals with "The Natural World-Order." The author shows that man, a rational being, finds himself an intelligent subject in the midst of an objective world. "His supreme concern is to interpret that world under the forms of intellect, estimate its values in terms of feeling, and subdue it to the dominance of his will."

In his toilsome ascent he has made slow progress, often seeming to be forever wandering in a labyrinth, unassisted by helpful clues or a reliable key. With the rise of modern science, however, a new light dawned. Two great words have been thrust to the front by science: Law and Evolution. "Law stands for a rational permanence of relation among things, and is something not only which we can understand but upon which we can rely. Evolution, simply expressed, is a rational, purposive progress toward a definite end."

The eighteenth century especially emphasized the word *law* as it related to the course of nature.

"Perhaps the most significant name connected with it is that of Newton who, having the splendid results of Galileo, with his laws of motion, and of Kepler, with his paths of the planets, before him, was looking for some simple and inclusive formula for all interplanetary reactions. As we know, he found it in the law of gravitation which he could state in exact, mathematical terms. Considering how few were the facts at his command, we may almost regard his discovery as a revelation. It was the leap of mind to the truth of things.

"This great conception of law, including everything, controlling everything, in a vast unitary system of cosmic order, without loss and without accident, took possession of the century. Pope put into poetry, and the English Deists and French Encyclopedists put it into philosophy.

"This comprehensive notion of a harmonious cosmos, whose order of going is changeless law, was of incalculable value for an enlightened progress, because it not only furnished the mind with a sublime outlook on the world and gave inspiration and method for new discoveries, but also banished from the troubled spirit of man many base superstitions and fears that had made him cringe before intrusive, supernatural powers of evil."

The splendid work of the eighteenth-century thinkers prepared the way for the still greater revelation of the light of truth in regard to the processes of nature which the nineteenth century gave the world in the evolutionary philosophy.

"Heretofore, attention had been successfully and fruitfully fixed on physical or inorganic nature; now attention was beginning to

*"An Interpretation of Life." By Gerhardt C. Mars, B.D., Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 783. Price, $3.00 net. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

be centered more and more, and with flattering results, on living or organic nature.

. . . . . .

"This new idea has proved of the greatest advantage to thought. The universe of things, conceived merely as a system of law and order, remains simply a mechanism in which there is no progress, no life. It is just a system of self-inclosed, legalized interactions. But once transfuse that system with the movement of an evolution, and immediately life and progress appear. Nature ceases to be a mechanism, describable in exact, mathematical terms, and becomes an organism which rises above mathematical description into the higher realms of art and ethics.

. . . . . .

"Viewed as an organism, nature reveals not only the intelligence of an objective, rational plan, the harmony of order, and the integrity of law, but an unfolding purpose, moving toward some great end. Regarded merely in terms of law, the cosmos presents itself as static, that is, as a balanced permanence among things; in terms of evolution, however, it presents itself more as a kinetic progress, shaping things. In the one case we view the world as *it is*, in the other, as it *is to be*.

"Thus it is that evolution introduces into the natural world-order the forward-looking purpose of an artistic and moral ideal.

. . . . . .

"Evolution is the gradual unfolding of a rational plan in time, or the becoming explicit of an implicit idea.

. . . . . .

"We see inorganic nature evolving to that point where life appears. Then the first forms of life press forward, throwing their efforts, as it were, beyond themselves, as if seeking some ideal of which, nevertheless, they themselves are incapable. The ideal is reached in some succeeding generation, which again strains forward to its unattainable, realized, in turn, by its successors; and so the rising process goes on until man is reached, a self-conscious intelligence who, waking from the slumber of the cosmic unity, in which all things below him were wrapped, consciously takes up the inherent ideal and strives forward with his science, his art, and his ethics toward the perfections of truth, beauty and goodness."

After broadly stating the problem and the apparent processes of the cosmic order, the author shows how much confusion has arisen through the error of using the word "explanation" when the term "description" should be employed. The error of supposing we *explain* when we *describe* has been largely responsible for much worse than useless antagonism between scientific and religious thinkers.

The author shows the immense value of evolution to religion. From this preliminary observation he passes to a brief but graphic examination of inorganic evolution as "introductory to the history of life and mind on the earth."

Though when viewed in detail, the inorganic world presents "only inchoate molar, molecular and atomic masses, indifferent to all organic form and subject only to physical and chemical forces," taken as a whole the physical universe reveals "a gradual evolution, according to a definite, rational plan."

"Existing as an infinitesimal atom in the midst of the physical masses and forces about him, it is not unnatural that man should regard the world as inorganic. In so doing, he is not unlike an imaginary corpuscle in the human blood, which, while it found many living, organic forms, vegetal and animal, about it, should take the rushing blood currents, the retaining walls of artery, vein and capillary, the various forms of tissue, muscular, nervous and calcareous, and the physical and chemical changes going on, as constituting an orderly, but, nevertheless, an essentially non-vital and inorganic world. Enlarge the mental vision of the corpuscle, and it will see in the whole human body, in which it lives, a great organism that has come to its present form through years—to it ages—of slow development. In like manner, when man widens his view, he beholds in the cosmos a mighty organism which has reached its present form through æons of evolution."

To enable the reader to quickly and intelligently follow the author as he presents in brief outline the nebular hypothesis and the various worlds of wonder which astronomy, chemistry, geology and the natural sciences in general have revealed, Mr. Mars takes him on an imaginary journey with a cosmic titan who sets out to unravel the mystery presented by the phenomena which confront him on every hand. Never, we think, have the outlines of the great revelations that have come as the fruit of modern scientific research, been so lucidly and fascinatingly presented in the compass of a few pages as in the author's explanations of the formation of globes and satellites from the star-dust and nebulæ, and

the phenomena which follow the gradual cooling off of the globes. Here his attention is arrested by the workings of gravitation, adhesion, cohesion, heat, light, electricity, magnetism and chemism. He cannot fail to note how the crystal seems to be a rebel to the general cosmic order.

But passing from inorganic to organic evolution, a new chapter of wonders is revealed. As in a vivid moving-picture we are made to see the entrance of the cell and its subdivision; the rise of life and the phenomenon of self-asserted individuality.

"An irrepressible dualism has broken the harmonious monism of nature, a microcosmos has arisen within the macrocosmos, and the tragic conflict has begun which moves toward a strangely significant world-drama. The great inorganic cosmos, evolved from the primal star-mists, has now, within itself, opened the gates of life out of which issue the beginnings of a new and higher evolution of organic forms, to reach its culmination in man."

We soon note two great laws of organic progress.

"From the very beginning of life there seems to be two distinct and divergent lines of development, but, nevertheless, intimately related in the whole plan, viz.: plant and animal. Plant cells group themselves and develop a certain complexity of organic function in individual forms, and these show sensitiveness and intelligent volitional response to the environment in self-preservation, propagation and progression; but the plant seems to have swerved from the main path of advance and so reaches, as it were, only a certain stage of slumbering existence.

"The animal, on the other hand, having struck out along the true path, soon leaps far in advance of its lowly rival, and reveals the most astonishing inventiveness of progressive development, so that we are amazed by the bewildering variety and countless number of rising forms."

The plant becomes the purveyor of food to the animal. Nay, more, "It would seem . . . that the plant is the link between inorganic nature, on the one hand, and animal life on the other. It is the producer and go-between, or middle-man, of the evolutionary economy."

From the plant we turn to the animal and trace the gradual ascent toward the great culmination of organic evolution in man. In passing, the author observes:

"If now we pause for a moment and ask for the largest generalization which we can make, in viewing, thus far the whole, evolutionary, cosmic order, we shall find that it presents to us the *one* and the *many*. In Greek antiquity, each of these terms formed the basis of a separate philosophical school. But as we see it now, they are both necessarily involved in the whole system of things. This whole system of things is in itself the *one*, while at the same time, the things of which it is composed are infinitely *many*. Viewed under an aspect, before suggested, the one and the many present themselves as being and becoming, that is, a substantial something, changeless and fixed, which, nevertheless, manifests itself as a causal something, ever fluent and changing. As it is in this constant becoming of the many and its relation to the being of the one that our problem of evolution lies, we shall, as we proceed, be reminded again and again, that it is because of the being of the one, that the becoming of the many, or the whole process of evolution, is not a fortuitous flow of things, but an orderly procedure, according to immutable law. It follows, as Heraclitus taught long ago, a *logos* or rational plan.

"Thus, in the concrete instance of vital evolution, regarded merely on the physical side, one dynamic, purposive idea guided the manifold changes in the whole ascending process, and that was the creation of the vertebral brain."

At length in the journey from the star-dust on the phenomenal side of nature, we reach the crowning fruit of organic evolution, and here our author luminously proceeds:

"Man has gathered up and resumed, in himself, all the physical and chemical forces of the so-called material world, and all the vegetal and animal principles of life below him; and then emerges beyond the utmost of inorganic and organic evolution into the consciousness of self, the center about which, for him, the whole process turns. He thus frees himself utterly from the thraldom of nature and rises into supra-nature on the plane of reason, as the first real individual, a true rational self, an *other*, over against the objective world.

"Nature has first evolved, through her physical and chemical forces, to her utmost inorganic form. Then, building upon this, the plant has risen to the capacity of sensitive reaction in the interests of individual living organism. Above this stage of advance and

resting upon it, the animal has developed into individual consciousness of objects; when man, summing up the whole, steps beyond into the free individuality of self-consciousness. To adopt a fine figure of Leibnitz's, physical nature, as it were, being dead, comes to life in the plant, but life in a profound slumber and conscious of nothing. In the animal, life enters upon a conscious state, as in a dream. But in man life awakens into full consciousness, and man becomes a *rational person.* He is no longer wrapped in the slumber of the cosmic unity, subject, unconsulted, to the laws of its interactions; but, for the first time in the whole order of progressive evolution, becomes an *other*, and faces the universe as the object of his cognition, feelings and will. The original cosmic one has become two, a dualism has emerged from the primal monism —already foreshadowed in the crystal, and pushed toward realization by plant and animal—and now the individual reason of man confronts the individual reason of the world.

"Indeed, this seems to have been the end at which nature all along was aiming, a consummation toward which she was slowly struggling. In other words, we have presented a world-drama, wherein the cosmic unity is broken by the appearance of an other, a self-conscious personality, able to know both himself and the evolving process of nature out of which he seems to have arisen, and to set himself over against it, as an object of his thought, feeling and will, in friendly or hostile attitude. And the quintessential significance of this entire unfolding process, as has been observed, is that the development of life, from the simplest cell up to man, has been accompanied by, if not identical with, the psychological development, which has raised man above the natural into the supra-natural or rational order."

The author enlarges on the general facts advanced and points out the popular fallacies of continuity and generality. He closes this section with the following admirable definition of evolution:

"We may, therefore, define the evolution of the natural world-order as the unfolding of an idea in time, from its implicit to its explicit form, during which organic life, emerging from the inorganic cosmos, rises, first as plant, to the assertion of mere *sensitive vitality*, in the interests of individual existence; then, as animal, to a *conscious* and, consequently, more intelligent and enlarged reaction upon the object; and, finally in man, to a *self-conscious* knowledge of subject and object, in virtue of which, life, rising to the supra-natural or rational order, comes to be a free and progressive unfoldment of the individual, self-conscious, knowing, feeling and willing reason, toward an understanding of the unity of subject and object, in the totality of Absolute Reason."

III.

Book Two deals with "The Supra-natural or Rational World-Order." In this division the author passes from the consideration of the purely objective or materialistic phenomena, as shown in the evolutionary processes, to the contemplation of life in its higher aspects and the great goal to which life is struggling.

"We found," he observes, "the plant and animal first struggling to be free, as individuals, from the general control of nature; and then, to perfect themselves, struggling, even more eagerly, to get back into harmony with nature again.

"Shall we also find this same paradox in man who, after he has once become a free individual, seeks harmony and reconciliation with that source whence he sprung? If so his endeavor will not simply end in coming back into accord with nature again, but with that supreme supra-natural realm of Reason, above and back of nature, into which his rational self-consciousness has ushered him."

Our author next proceeds to consider "The Self, One and Permanent," "The Sub-conscious and Unconscious Self," "The Abnormal Self," and "The Self Always a Subject." Under the last heading Dr. Mars observes:

"Much of the confusion about the self has arisen from looking for it where it does not belong. The Upanishads, the highest inspirational product of the Hindu mind, perhaps more than any other writings emphasize the central value of the self, and they make it plain enough that by its very nature, the self is forever the perceiving subject. If it is ever made an object of thought, it is never an object among its objects.

. . . . . .

"The attempt has again and again been made, by the investigator, of putting the subject, as it were, *out there* to examine it as an

object; whereas, all the time, the subtle, ever-present subject has drawn itself back from being the examined to constitute itself the examiner."

The author shows how fundamentally at fault Hume was in his attempt to examine the self. He next shows how far clearer and more scientific was the position taken by Kant and Hegel. "That was," he holds, "the supreme moment in the cosmic evolution, when the knowing, feeling and willing subjective intelligence emerged into the clear consciousness of self.

. . . . . .

"Once arrived there, man becomes conscious of possessing within himself three simple, primitive, underived, rational capacities which, inseparably related, inter-blended in all their activities, and one in the unity of self-conscious reason, are, at the same time, unmistakably and persistently distinct, in their own inalienable right and integrity. These capacities are knowing, feeling and willing. If we would understand man's rational development, we must neither identify them nor separate them. They exist as a rational unity in trinity, or as a triune unity."

"The Evolution of the Theoretical Reason" next engages the author's attention. It is a masterly presentation of a subject that has rarely been discussed so lucidly. Especially worthy of attention are Dr. Mars' observations under the sub-titles of "The Cosmic Reason in All Things," "The Power of the Concept," "Naïve Logic: Common-Sense," "The Logic of Reflection: Science," "Rational Intuition or the Logic of Logic: Philosophy," "The Advance from Matter to Mind; from Nature to Spirit," and "Mind in but Above Nature." Under the subtitle, "A Defeat That Promises Triumph," our author says:

"But the philosopher sees more than the fleeting things of sense, and finds in Reason the abiding place of man's rest; and the same sacred bard who, looking down, saw man carried away as with a flood, looked up and beheld in the Eternal, 'our dwelling place in all generations.'

"The consciousness of defeat has in it the promise of triumph. The mind that has become aware of error and limitation, has of necessity already conceived the possibility of truth and freedom, in which there is no error and restriction but a knowledge of the total Reality.

"'For thence, a paradox
Which comforts while it mocks—
Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail:
What I aspired to be,
And was not, comforts me:
A brute I might have been, but would not sink
i' the scale.'

"At any rate, it is toward a comprehensive ideal knowledge of the Truth that man stubbornly bends his most earnest efforts. With as much fervor as the saint, who yearns for a vision of God, the scientist and philosopher pursue the Truth. Like errant knights, amid privation and struggle, they follow the gleam, in search of some Holy Grail, the sight of which will banish all error and doubt, and fill the mind with healing light."

Very suggestive and thought-stimulating is his discussion under the title of "The Ideal Not Found in the Actual." He shows that the ideal is always unattained. It is the pillar of fire that ever must lead aspiring man and society. As Hugo puts it, it is "The stable type of ever-moving progress"; while Emerson voices the same thought when he sings:

"The Lethe of Nature
Can't trance him again,
Whose soul sees the perfect,
Which his eyes seek in vain.

"To vision profounder,
Man's spirit must dive;
His aye-rolling orb
At no goal will arrive;
The heavens that now draw him
With sweetness untold,
Once found—for new heavens
He spurneth the old."

And yet this ideal "Is the one thing reason demands as having the seal of value stamped upon it."

"To turn aside from the star of this ideal Truth is as fatal for man in his development in the world, as for the mariner, amid the storm upon the seas, to lose his compass.

"If, then, this ideal, so indispensable for man's progress, is not to be found in experience, it must be that, from the beginning, it lies as a germ in reason itself—the kingdom of Truth is within you—and the value of experience consists in being a means to unfold that infolded Truth, for its conscious understanding and acceptance by the free rational self."

To the student of comparative religion and the philosophy of life, the following, dealing with "Revelation and the Fall of Man" and

"The Power of the Ideal in the Concept," cannot fail to prove of deep interest:

"It is this same rational fact that accounts for the origin of the claim of revelation and renders it subsequently intelligible. Those great geniuses, who have led humanity, have always been more fully developed than their contemporaries, while the value and cogency of their appeal has depended upon the latent, rational possibilities in those minds whom they addressed. Recognizing that the truth, which they set forth, did not come from the worldly wisdom of experience but from some higher source, they regarded it as supernatural revelation, and their followers accounted it as nothing less than miraculous. It was, indeed, *supra*-natural, as being above nature, but it was natural to reason. To the multitude it was miraculous in the sense that the discovery of such lofty truth was above their present rational development and power of insight.

"The presence of the ideal truth in the mind, before its actual realization, also accounts for those deep and universal convictions among cultured peoples, about the fall of man. Man, it is conceived, was once in Paradise, perfect and good—perhaps he lived in some Golden Age, free from strife, misery and want, or it may be, he was once an unfallen soul, among the gods, gazing enraptured upon the beautiful vision of Truth. But all this changed when, for some reason variously given, man plunged into the experiences of sense, which either stained his moral purity or obscured his intellectual vision. Once fallen, the confusion and misery of his condition drive him to seek a return to his former happy estate.

"We prefer, however, to regard such allegories not as setting forth some historic fall but rather as the rise, under the stress of disciplinary experience, of the rational concept in man, which was present as the essential function of his reason from the beginning, and which it is the purpose of his rational evolution to bring out."

The chapter devoted to "Evolution of the Esthetico-Practical Reason" shows very clearly how the passion for truth and its discovery gave to man profound joy. The philosophical scientist may think he seeks merely for truth's sake, without hope of reward, but as a matter of fact he takes "the utmost pleasure in pursuing the truth," and "when he finds it, or even only thinks he has found it, he rejoices as a man who has discovered the pearl of great price. That is, he cannot help *feeling* the truth, for he is as much an esthetic as he is a theoretical being."

Huxley in his *Methods and Results* clearly proves this by numerous citations. He contends that:

"That which stirs their pulses is the love of knowledge and the joy of the discovery of the causes of things, sung by the old poet—the supreme delight of extending the realm of law and order ever farther towards the unattainable goals of the infinitely great and the infinitely small, between which our little race of life is run. . . . Nothing great in science has ever been done by men, whatever their powers, in whom the divine afflatus of the truth-seeker was wanting."

We are next treated to a masterly discussion of this fascinating and basic fact in the closely-reasoned thesis. Here are some of the subtitles to arguments that are of great interest because of the deep philosophical insight and complete mastery of his theme evinced by the author: "Feeling the Truth," "Every Known Object has Esthetic Value," "Feeling Less Definable than Knowing," "Knowledge and Opinion," "Pleasure and Pain, the Correlates of Truth and Error," "Sensation," "Emotion," "Moods, Emotions Proper and Passions," "The Values in Self-Consciousness," and "Happiness." Under this last heading Dr. Mars observes:

"When, in our theoretical development, intuition begins its work of bringing into unity our abstract logical thoughts, it reveals to us more and more the harmonious beauty of the objective Idea, or Reality, whereupon feeling passes beyond emotion into the regions of happiness, which is the esthetic correlate of the Truth."

This idea is clearly elucidated in succeeding paragraphs.

Art, we are shown, rests upon science, and the critic who "Lets us into the true secret of the great artist not only instructs but also inspires us with what all true art necessarily contains, both thought and feeling."

"Feeling follows knowledge, and volition follows feeling."

"But now," observes the author, "that the word art is mentioned, we are at once carried over, beyond mere knowing and feeling, to willing. Reason is not only theoretical and esthetical, but also practical. Since the known object has value for us in terms of feeling, we act upon it, seize and make use of

it for our good. That is, the feeding of value in things furnishes us with all our motives of volition, from which follows all those modifications on the surface of the earth which we call civilization. The sense of an ideal value in himself drives man, in reciprocal contact with nature and his fellows, toward self-realization, manifested in all forms of culture which are meant to conserve his welfare. Every simple contrivance, every invention, every work of art, and all the means of education are results of willing, impelled by the values of feeling, and guided by the light of knowing.

. . . . . .

"Thus, as the theoretical reason reads the thoughts of nature, her rational order, and harmonious unity of truth, in science and philosophy; and as the esthetical reason estimates her infinitude of values, the practical reason seeks to imitate her creative power and beauty. In a way the great creative artist comes nearer to God than all other men; for, catching the secret of his workmanship in nature, he seeks to imitate him by becoming a creator himself. The esthetical reason, then, evaluates not only what we know now, but also those ideals which the theoretical reason conceives; while the practical reason urges us on to the attainment of some beauteous harmony of life."

The work is so closely reasoned that it is difficult to lucidly convey even the barest outline of the author's thought, but there are are at times paragraphs that sum up in a luminous way much that has been convincingly presented in preceding paragraphs. Here, for example, is such a paragraph:

"At the very beginning of vital evolution, we found not only the volitional instincts of self-preservation and self-propagation but of *self-progression* as well. The simplest living cell strains to do its best against all odds, and every plant and animal struggles toward its attainment. But most clearly, in the whole range of evolution, we see a steady, purposive, irresistible push onward toward some great end. And when this progressive cosmic will comes to self-consciousness in man, man discovers the truth of it, estimates, for himself, the value of it, and rationally pushes forward to his goal, thus determined, which is nothing less than the freedom of self-realization in the perfect welfare of a harmonious beauty."

Nature, Dr. Mars holds, is a masterwork of art. Man rightly surmises that nature is not "Simply a great mechanism of power with its legal and mathematical exactitude, but rather a sublime, cosmic poem, a glorious work of art, product of the Infinite Poet and Artificer, who is the one Supreme Maker and Creator of all.

"When, therefore, man seeks practically to apply his knowledge of the objects around him, and wills, according to the evaluations of the esthetic reason, to construct a world of his own for his welfare and happiness, he is but imitating or reflecting that Infinite Thought and Eternal Will of the Cosmos, in which he lives and moves and has his being."

We have been concerned with the evolution of the esthetic reason, but now a new problem confronts us. When man "Wills to use the value of the known object for his good, the necessary association with his fellow-men, forces the ultimate question upon him as to whether he will claim that good for himself alone or share it with others. The entire burden of this question rests upon the ethical reason."

The chapter devoted to "The Evolution of the Ethical Reason" is one of the most vital discussions we have read in years. Almost every paragraph is rich in stimulating ideas and awakens fruitful trains of thought.

"Man finds himself environed by his fellow-men, and such is one of the great underlying cosmic laws or principles that he finds no one liveth to himself. The law of solidarity of life imposes obligations, and its recognition helps in harmonizing life and increasing the measure of happiness. Indeed, man "Soon learns that it is only in conjunction with others that he can live at all. By coöperation with them alone, can he learn to know and use to his highest good the vast resources of nature that lie about him. It is in society that man's life is possible, and in the development of the social, moral relations lies the whole meaning of history."

In a luminous and fascinating manner the author traces the advance in life and especially in man's consciousness, that culminates in self-realization.

"The moral will first centers about the self, then about others for the sake of the self, and finally includes all others in the self. The self has not disappeared but has evolved from an egoistic self-reference, through law, to love, as an ultimate expression of self-realization."

He shows in a conclusive manner a fact pointed out most admirably by Dr. Drummond in his *Ascent of Man;* how at the first life is

concerned for itself; later the element of altruism is dimly seen, or interest for other selves. And this steadily progresses as life advances. Finally a much higher stage is reached, and the "intuition of truth" or "altruistic affection for the sake of the self becomes a general law of justice, by which self-interests are wholly protected, in protecting the interests of others."

This comparatively high and indispensable attainment, however, falls below the goal set by the ethical reason for its self-realization; and when "Reason rises above its logical stage of evolution to the intuition of universal truth, all tribalisms give way to humanity, and in every man is seen a friend and brother. Self-progression, going beyond self-propagation, comes to be seen as a self-realization which can alone be attained when the simple affection, originating in the family, is raised into a universal, outstreaming will of good that enfolds all other selves within the self. The ethical reason, as an attitude of will toward others, has thus, with the culmination of the theoretical reason, itself culminated in the all-inclusive, universal will of goodness."

Extremely interesting and valuable are the author's statements of the comparative contributions given to the world by Gotama and Jesus, touching the great truth of reaching supreme happiness through the outstreaming will of good.

"That the esthetic reason, in its highest expression of felicity, stamps its approval upon the ethical reason, in its noblest manifestation as an outstreaming will of good, was the great scientific discovery of Gotama, the illustrious founder of Buddhism.

"Gotama was not interested in the laws of phenomenal nature, because to him nature was but so much illusion. Recognizing that all life is suffering and the desire of life, therefore, the root of suffering, he would know the scientific principle that leads to release and happiness. He found it in a universal, all-inclusive love for things both great and small. He sat himself down and sent out his love, compassion and pity to the first quarter of the universe, then to the second and third and fourth quarters of the universe, until the whole was penetrated and filled, above, below, around, with his all-enfolding love. And behold! that was release from suffering, that was peace, blessedness, Nirvana. And this discovery was all the more valuable because it eliminated every other consideration but the pure moral will, and showed that that pure moral will, as an outstreaming love to all, brings supreme happiness. It is, in fact, a profound scientific demonstration of the doctrine of Jesus, who taught the same universal love, though from a different motive, but who never gave scientific explanations.

"Gotama made use of his discovery as a means to an esthetic end, *viz.*, release from suffering and the attainment of Nirvana or perfect happiness. Jesus, on the other hand, saw in the universal will of good a supreme end in itself, because it is the fundamental law of Reality. Entrance into life for Him, as for Gotama, meant complete happiness, but that happiness for Jesus was the esthetic correlate of perfect volitional accord with the Absolute Will of Divine Love. The higher attitude of Jesus was due to the fact that he based his teachings upon objective Reality, and not upon a motive of escape from suffering. To Gotama, God, man and the world are illusions. To Jesus, God is the Supreme Reality, and therefore man and the world are real."

Among the subjects discussed in this chapter that are of special value to the thoughtful readers are "The Egoistic Struggle," "Value of the Struggle," "A Stage Beyond Justice," "Self-Renunciation in Nature," "Unselfish Love Among the Animals," "The Family Expands into the Nation," "The Patriarchal Autocracy," "The Sovereignty of Law and Justice," "The New Principle of the Gospel for Human History," "The Leaven at Work in Christian History," "The True State, a Government of Free People," "The Law of Justice and the Law of Love," "Signs of Moral Progress in History," "The Individual Man Repeats the Historic Order," and "The Cosmic Will of Goodness, the Ground of Progress."

This division of the volume closes with the following admirable summary:

"We have thus traced in outline the development of the world-order. Beginning as the evolution of an inorganic, non-vital, mechanico-chemical system, it passes over into the assertion of individual, organic, vital forms, with the instincts of self-preservation, self-propagation and self-progression; first, as sensitive, non-conscious plants; then, as sensitive, conscious animals, endowed with the psychic powers of knowing, feeling and willing. Above these, as supra-natural, emerges self-conscious, rational man, who includes and sums up in himself all the

processes, instincts and psychic powers below him; and who, recognizing his subjective self-worth over against the world as his object, begins his free, rational development. Roused, by the unfolding purpose of the Divine Intent, from the peace and happiness of the cosmic dream, he goes forth into a struggle with nature and with his fellow-men, only to return if possible, to the harmony which he has lost. And in this return he sets up as the goal of his endeavor the freedom of self-realization, which takes the three-fold form of a reconciliation of his theoretical reason with the Truth of the Cosmic Intelligence (Science and Philosophy); of his esthetico-practical reason with the Beauty of the Creative Cosmic Power and Life (Invention and Art); and of his ethical reason with the Cosmic Will of Goodness (Ethics and Religion).

"We may call the attainment of this freedom of self-realization, redemption or salvation or atonement or reconciliation, as we choose; in the end, it is the ultimate outcome of those deep cosmic instincts of self-preservation, self-propagation and self-progression which run through and guide the entire rational, self-conscious, as well as sub-conscious and unconscious, evolution of man, who can find the ideal of his thought, feeling and will, alone, in coming to know, enjoy and love God."

IV.

This brief and very inadequate outline of the basic facts with which our author opens his volume, exhausts most of the space at our command for this study. We are, therefore, compelled to content ourselves with a few words in regard to the contents of the six hundred pages which follow, though we hope to be able at a future day to again review parts of this work that it is impossible to touch upon at the present time.

Book Three deals with "The Threefold Unity of Reason," in which the author considers "The Aim of Science, Art and Ethics," "Conflict and Confusion," and "The Reconciliation."

Book Four relates to "The Threefold Interpretation of Reason." Here are considered "The Unity of Substance and Cause," "The Problem of Knowing," "The Critical Philosophy of Kant," "The Logic of Reason is the Logic of Reality: Hegel," "The final Deduction of the Categories, Through Rational Intuition," "Perception, Logic and Intuition, or Sense, Understanding and Reason," "Sense, Logic and Intuition Interpret the Object," "Nature of Intuitive Knowledge and the Ontological Argument," "The World, as a Rational Organism, Reveals Esthetic Design," "The Ethical Problem Stated," "Ethical Meaning of the Theoretical Interpretation," "Ethical Meaning of the Esthetico-Practical Interpretation," and "Religion."

Book Five is devoted to "The Pedagogy of Pain," and here we have a profoundly interesting and suggestive contribution to the vital literature of the day, in which the author sweeps the philosophical history of civilization, ancient and modern, and points out the master thoughts advanced. His principal chapters, after the introductory survey of world-concepts, are as follows: "Error and Sin Actual, Though Unreal," "The Natural Tenacity of Error and Sin," "The Genesis of Error and Sin with the Emergence of Truth and Goodness," "The Relation of Error and Sin: the Errors of Sense Lead to the Sins of Self," "The Mystery of Suffering," "Time, Progressive Refinement and Solidarity," "The Atonement of Christ," "Error and Sin Subservient to Truth and Goodness," and "The Flight and the Return."

Book Six is entitled "Realization." Here the author deals with Christian Science as the latest philosophical interpretation of the profoundest problem of the ages. It is divided into three chapters, as follows: "The Return to Reality in Christian Science," "Christianity as Science is an Ultimate Philosophy," and "In the Fullness of Time, It Came to Pass."

Dr. Mars throughout evinces a breadth of thought and the rich fund of information that is the fruitage of twenty years of exhaustive study of the great religious concepts of all the great nations of time, the master philosophical theories and ideas, the profoundest thoughts, experiences and interpretations of seers, poets, prophets and religious and ethical leaders of all ages and lands. And though he does not, if we understand him aright, accord with the explanation made by Christian Science in regard to the evolution of life and the so-called fall of man, yet he regards Christian Science as the master religious message of modern times. In closing the work, he says of this new concept:

"For breadth and depth of meaning, Christian Science is the most significant and com-

prehensive interpretation which has yet been put upon life, because it meets the demands of the esthetic reason for unity, by uniting the demands of both the theoretical reason for Truth, and the ethical reason for Goodness; and thus brings into harmony the Aryan genius, with its ideals of Truth and Beauty, and the Hebrew genius, with its ideals of Goodness and Eternal Life.

"To be a Christian, it is now no longer sufficient to be *ethical*, or will the Good; it is necessary also to be *scientific*, or understand the Truth, as the manifested Beauty of the Good. And to be a Scientist, it is now no longer sufficient to know the Truth; it is necessary also to be *ethical*, or will the Good, as manifested in the Beauty of Truth. To be a Christian is to be a Scientist, as to be a Scientist is to be a Christian; and to be both is to be a Man whose destiny, as a son of God, is to realize in himself the Beauty of Truth, manifesting Goodness.

. . . . . .

"Christian Science is at the beginning of its career in the world. Just what outer forms it will take on or what embodiment it will assume, no man can say; but it grows apace, like the oak sending its roots down to the depths of the everlasting hills. It is not the fugitive utterance of a sentimental or idealistic woman, but the rational voice of the Cosmic Order, making itself heard in the unfolding consciousness of man; it is the Divine Logos, enlightening man and leading him in the way of all Truth; it is the revelation of God.

"He who would know whether or not Christian Science is true, can never determine it by the measure of discursive logic or an academic criticism. But, giving himself up to his deepest intellectual insight and highest ethical volitions, he must *think* it, *feel* it and *will* it; and then he will find himself dropping the illusions of his material existence, and entering into the Spiritual Realities of a New Heaven and a New Earth."

No review of this work that can be made in a single issue of a magazine could give the barest outline of the author's thought, which to appreciate one must peruse in its entirety. The volume is to us the most masterly, full-orbed and convincing philosophic interpretation of life that has appeared. It is luminous and lucid. It presents theories and concepts which have heretofore rarely been presented in a manner intelligible to the many, with a fascination that will prove irresistible to all serious-minded readers who love the Good, the Beautiful and the True in life, philosophy and literature; and the author's familiarity with the great poetic, scientific and philosophic thought of civilization has enabled him to give not only a masterly presentation of the subject, but to fasten vital truths upon the mind by striking and beautiful illustrations drawn from the noblest thoughts of poets, scientists and philosophers.

This is a book which we would urge every serious-minded reader interested in the problem of life and the master theme with which man has concerned himself, to secure, even though he is unable to buy another book during the year. It is indeed a library in itself.

B. O. Flower.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

# BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

*Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer.* By David Duncan, LL.D. Illustrated. Two volumes. Cloth. Price, $5.00 net. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

THIS life of Herbert Spencer, written at the request of the great philosopher by one of his closest friends and most ardent admirers, is an excellent companion to the voluminous autobiography which appeared some years ago. It is well written and edited. The author is in deep sympathy with his subject, and if at times his admiration and bias cast a rosy glow over the life and thought of his master, the reader will pardon the error of judgment for the sake of that sympathetic insight that is wanting in the writers of biographies who have no heart interest in their subject. Very simple and entertaining is the story of the life and writings of this great philosopher. We see him pass across the threshold of early manhood and selecting engineering as his profession. This he followed successfully for a time; yet he was never wholly

*Books intended for review in The Arena should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, The Arena, Boston, Mass.

at home in his work. His brain was literally teeming with ideas. He was inventive, and his fertile imagination was constantly suggesting trains of thought that lured the young man into the fields of speculative philosophy. For some time he wavered between engineering and literature, tortured by a dread that he was destined to make a failure in either pursuit he might elect to follow. At length, however, philosophy won him. But there were many years in which the bread-and-butter problem harassed him and delayed progress on important works he had in mind, because, though his writings early commanded the interested attention of master thinkers, they were not of a character to appeal to the popular imagination. His health also was very poor. Indeed, throughout life he suffered more or less from a state of chronic invalidism.

In the field of speculative philosophy, especially as it relates to biology or the evolutionary theory, Herbert Spencer became the master mind of his day, and numbered among his most intimate friends many of the most illustrious thinkers of the Victorian era, among whom were Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley and John Stuart Mill.

In the domain of politics and economics he was less happy in his thought, displaying a vacillation, or, rather, the splendid fundamental truths which he enunciated in his early work, *Social Statics*, were in many instances repudiated later when he had become famous and patronized by great conservative landowners and members of the aristocracy. This is very notably the case in his position on the land question, upon which in his earlier work he took a fundamentally sound and just stand. Some of the main propositions advanced in *Social Statics* were briefly summed up by Henry George in his scathing work, *A Perplexed Philosopher*, in which he dealt with Mr. Spencer's apostacy. Here are a few of the fundamental positions taken by Spencer in *Social Statics*, as summed up by Mr. George:

"The equal right of all men to the use of land springs from the fact of their existence in a world adapted to their needs, and into which they are similarly born.

"Equity, therefore, does not permit private property in land, since that would involve the right of some to deny others the use of land.

"Private property in land, as at present existing, can show no original title valid in justice, and such validity cannot be gained either by sale or bequest, or by peaceable possession during any length of time.

. . . . . .

"There can be no modification of this dictate of equity. Either all men have equal rights to the use of the land, or some men have the just right to enslave others and deprive them of life."

Mr. Spencer's radical position taken on the land question attracted comparatively little attention and consequently did not offend the great aristocratic, land-owning interests of Great Britain, and when after a severe battle the evolutionary theory became popular with a large section of the more thoughtful Englishmen, Herbert Spencer became recognized as one of the master thinkers of the Old World and found among his strongest champions a number of the heavy land-owners and not a few titled gentry.

After Mr. George published *Progress and Poverty*, and that remarkable and luminous work was printed in England and enjoyed an enormous circulation, Spencer's views, being cited, became popularized, with the result that the philosopher stood in imminent peril of losing the warm friendship of many of his champions. It is quite probable, too, that as age began to creep upon him, Spencer fell under the spell of conventionalism and conservatism, which is so insinuating when one is comfortably situated and surrounded by the apologists for things as they are. Certain it is that Herbert Spencer became an apostate, repudiating his earlier theories.

It was not, however, on the land question alone that the great philosopher became reactionary as age crept upon him. He distrusted democracy; he distrusted woman in the larger walks of life; he distrusted labor. The workingmen, he declared, "were proving themselves unfit for the condition of liberty"; while all through life his extreme individualism blinded him to the blessings and benefits of coöperation and organization in political and social life. Indeed, this ultra-individualism was one of the weakest points in his social philosophy. He was out of harmony with the irresistible sweep and drift of civilized life, which is steadily and progressively toward union, organization and efficiency through coöperation. He opposed free education and free libraries and in various other ways was blind to the value of the great centralizing influences that are slowly but surely transforming civilization and preparing us for another upward step as great as that which marked the advent of the epoch of political democracy.

Again, he was wanting at times in that courageous spirit which science demands of her apostles. We have already seen his reactionary stand on the land question. Alfred Russel Wallace had striven to interest him in *Progress and Poverty*, showing him how it was in perfect alignment with the old fundamental concepts he had advanced, but Herbert Spencer drew back and finally joined the camp of the enemy. Quite as marked was his cowardly attitude in regard to the investigation of psychic science. When urged to investigate problems that were engaging the serious attention of many of the master thinkers of the day—such men as Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Sir William Crookes, Camille Flammarion, and other eminent scientific thinkers, he positively refused to do so. In this respect his position contrasted very unfavorably with that taken some years before by Victor Hugo, and later by Camille Flammarion and Cesare Lombroso, all of whom held that while maintaining the most critical spirit or attitude, scientists are bound to give a sympathetic hearing to all the great problems that arise.

These things, however, merely marked the weakness and limitations of one of the greatest thinkers of the nineteenth century, who in certain domains of research was peerless. Herbert Spencer wrought a great work in stimulating the thought of thousands, liberating minds from the thralldom of superstition and ignorance, and awakening trains of thought among his readers that have already proved a mighty aid to civilization. Even his extreme individualism has been of benefit in checking in a measure the tendency on the part of centralizing forces to unduly subordinate the individual to the state. Union and coöperation are essential to the highest expression of civilization; but that nation or civilization makes a fatal mistake that makes the perfected mechanism of government the end or goal of the state, instead of the united and orderly working of governmental functions a means for the true end of government—the highest practical moral development of the best and noblest in man, his growth and happiness.

This is one of the most important biographies of the year; a work that should find a place in all well-ordered libraries.

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*Things Worth While.* By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. In *The Art of Life* series; Edward Howard Griggs, editor. Cloth. Pp. 75. Price, 50 cents, net. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

THE VENERABLE author is at his best in this booklet. The publisher well says:

"If it could be said that any one man links the literature of the nineteenth century to that of the twentieth, the distinction would belong to Colonel Higginson. After a rich and full life as an author, soldier and man of affairs, at eighty-four he gives us a volume which, though small in size, is full of reminiscence, wise counsel, criticism of life and manners, and homely philosophy."

But while the author is at his best he not even in this little volume is at the best. While age has softened and broadened him, he is still unable to cast off the shackles of his early training. He cannot see the full bearing of social conditions upon human life and character. He speaks of those sins which grow out of the want of bread and shelter as "few." He does not seem to realize that criminals of the lower type are created by the thousand through lack of proper food, nor could he probably understand that the milk question has a more important moral bearing than whole systems of education. These things have come to light since Colonel Higginsons' day of receptivity. Nevertheless he is a grand man and writes with a charm all his own. He is cheerfully accorded the first place in Boston letters. ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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*The Weight of the Name.* By Paul Bourget. Translated from the French by George Burnham Ives. Cloth. Pp. 349. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

CONSIDERED from a purely literary point of view, this novel is entitled to a front place in the recent fiction of the world, and it is a bright, interesting love romance for those who care for conservative and reactionary French fiction. The author is, however, a strong reactionary, both in regard to his political ideals and his religious convictions, and his views deeply color the entire work. Indeed, his ideas are so pronounced that for friends of democratic and religious advance the book holds little or no interest. Then, beyond and above this serious defect, is the moral atmosphere, which is decidedly Frenchy, and normal, clean-minded men and women will prefer fiction that carries a purer and more wholesome atmosphere to a book of this character.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THIS issue of THE ARENA contains a strong and varied table of contents that cannot fail to appeal to thoughtful people, especially those who are deeply concerned for the preservation of free institutions and the cause of human rights.

W. B. FLEMING, whose strong and discriminating paper on *The Good and the Bad of the President's Policies*, which appeared in THE ARENA for December of last year, was so widely and favorably noticed, contributes a timely and highly suggestive paper on *The Republican Platform Unmasked*. No unprejudiced student of present-day politics in America, who also carefully studied the actions of the Republican bosses and political opportunists at the Chicago Convention, in their effort to frame a platform that would deceive the people in the interests of their real masters, the campaign-contributing and nation-oppressing corporations, trusts, and Wall-Street gamblers, can fail to appreciate this clear-cut and incisive paper by Mr. FLEMING, which might well be entitled *The Honest Confessions of the Masters of the Republican Convention*, as they might report them to their Wall-Street and trust masters. It is an admirable unmasking of one of the most offensive exhibitions of hypocrisy that has been offered to the American public.

In LUCIA AMES MEAD'S masterly paper we have a magnificent reply to the vicious and civilization-retarding sophistry of Captain MAHAN and the coterie of militarists who are doing all in their power to destroy the old Republican ideals of government and replace them with the ideal of a reactionary militarism inimical to free government. Mrs. MEAD'S paper is in many respects the strongest, clearest and in the truest sense of the word, the most statesmanlike presentation of the contentions of the Peace Party that has been made in the compass of a magazine article. The author and her husband, EDWIN D. MEAD, have long been recognized as two of the ablest and most influential workers for world-peace in Western civilization.

The new ideal of solidarity as it applies to organized society is becoming one of the leading moral concepts among democratic thinkers and enlightened humanitarians the world over, and in proportion as this noble ethical ideal is being incorporated into the state, the condition of the people is materially advanced. To-day New Zealand is leading the way for civilization along this highway of genuine progress, but the leaven of moral idealism and vital democracy is at work throughout Christian civilization. So marked, indeed, is this, that it is safe to predict that before another generation passes, world-wide changes of the most momentous character will be effected. In Rev. LEWIS J. DUNCAN'S luminous paper entitled *Modern Individualism* our readers will find one of the most thoughtful and inspiring politico-economic essays of the year. The author represents a growing band of brilliant clergymen who place the welfare of the people above all personal considerations and who insist on voicing the lofty moral idealism which gave vital meaning and worth to the Gospel of the Nazarene.

Professor FRANK PARSONS' second and concluding paper on *The Vocation Bureau* will be read with deep interest by men and women in sympathy with the splendid practical and constructive work now being inaugurated and carried forward along many lines of advance for the building of a better and a happier civilization.

Mr. FRANK VROOMAN'S contribution on *The All-Canadian Falls Question* should awaken lovers of the beautiful to the threatened destruction of the great falls that have long been one of the chief glories of the natural scenery of America. The danger Mr. VROOMAN clearly points out is imminent, and unless prompt action is taken, these great falls will soon be a thing of the past.

The special attention of our readers is called to the extremely able non-partisan report of the Democratic Convention, prepared expressly for THE ARENA by our staff correspondent, Professor EDWIN MAXEY, LL.D., M. Dip. Professor MAXEY besides being a member of the faculty of the University of the State of Nebraska, is an author of distinction. His published works and his numerous contributions to leading magazines on political and diplomatic subjects have justly commanded general attention not only in this country but in other English-speaking lands.

One of the most deeply interesting features of this issue is HELEN CAMPBELL'S vivid pen-picture of HORACE TRAUBEL and his literary work. Mrs. CAMPBELL is one of the ablest magazine essayists and writers of our day, and Mr. TRAUBEL is one of the most unique and interesting of our conscience-guided literary workers.

Mr. ELMER GREY, one of the leading architects of the Pacific coast and a prominent contributor to the leading architectural journals of the country, contributes an interesting and suggestive illustrated paper on *The Architecture of the Christian Science Church*, in which he takes issue with the champions of the Greek model for Christian Science edifices.

The special attention of all our readers is called to HERBERT CONSTABLE'S brief but extremely valuable and practical paper on *Postal Polls*. It is an important subject well worth the attention of all serious-minded statesmen.

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B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR

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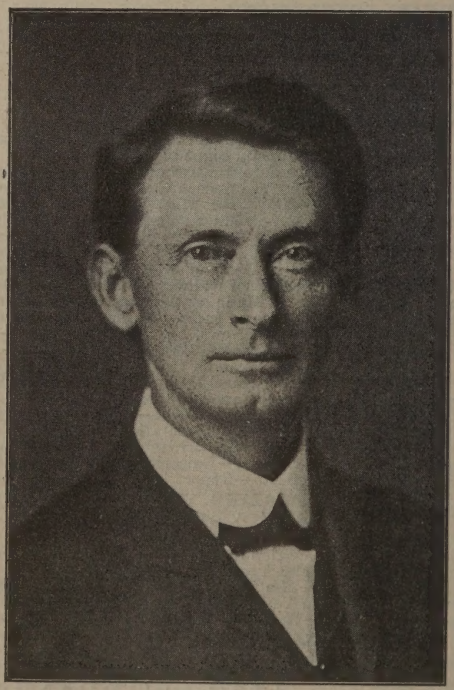

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II. The Responsibility of the Churches. *By Rev. John Haynes Holmes*, Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York City.

Rev. John Haynes Holmes, the brilliant and scholarly pastor of the Church of the Messiah of New York city, contributes a paper on the responsibility of the church in the presence of moral, social and economic problems that are pressing for solution, which we believe to be the most vital and compelling prophet's appeal to the sleeping conscience of Christianity that has appeared in magazine literature in recent years. If every minister in America and every serious-minded Christian could read this paper, a moral or spiritual renaissance would ensue that would result in a transformed society.

# THE NOVEMBER "ARENA"

III. The Election of United States Senators. *By Professor Edwin Maxey, LL.D., M. Dip.*, of the University of Nebraska.

In this paper, Professor Maxey has made an admirable presentation of the question in its historic and ethical aspects. He gives in a cogent and convincing manner the master reasons why present conditions render the popular change imperative.

IV. Socialist Ideals. *By Eugene V. Debs*, candidate of the Socialist Party for President of the United States.

*Everybody's Magazine* for October contained a notable interview by Lincoln Steffens with Mr. Debs, on how to meet the glaring injustice, oppression and corruption of present conditions. The November Arena will publish a very important paper prepared expressly for this review by Mr. Debs, on "Socialist Ideals," in which he clearly answers the claim that Socialism is nothing more than a materialistic and selfish political philosophy—a claim which egoistic capitalists who are seeking to give as little and grab as much as possible, are industriously disseminating. Mr. Debs eloquently and logically maintains that Socialism is supremely idealistic. Not only Socialists, but all persons who wish to obtain an authoritative statement of a great political and economic belief from an accredited leader, will be interested in Mr. Debs' paper.

V. Christian Science and Organic Disease: A Reply to Dr. Richard C. Cabot. *By B. O. Flower.*

Dr. Richard C. Cabot, a leading New England physician, recently undertook to show in a popular magazine that while Christian Science cures were genuine, they were cures of functional diseases and not of organic disorders. In Mr. Flower's paper this question is taken up in a most interesting manner. The editor of The Arena quotes numerous cases of cures of organic diseases, reported and vouched for by men whose thorough medical training and the enviable position they have long held in the medical world of England and America, entitle them to speak with authority.

VI. The Significance of the Lincoln-Roosevelt Movement in California. *By Hon. John D. Works*, formerly Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of California.

Judge Works gives a most interesting account of the revolt against the machine and corrupt corporation influences in California, which has developed within the ranks of the Republican party—a revolt very similar to that led by Winston Churchill in New Hampshire and which is one of the many hopeful signs that speak of the awakening of the American people to a realization of the deadly peril that confronts free institutions

# THE NOVEMBER "ARENA"

through the control of the political machine by corrupt bosses acting as agents for privileged interests.

### VII. The Class Struggle of To-Day. *By Saul Beaumont.*

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### VIII. The Religion of Benjamin Franklin. *By Ernest C. Moses.*

An interesting discussion of one side of the life of one of the most remarkable and many-sided thinkers of modern times.

### IX. American Journalism in the Making. An extended Book-Study of Mr. William Salisbury's *The Career of a Journalist*, by the Editor of The Arena.

This notable volume, marked by pitiless candor, is in many respects one of the most suggestive books of the autumn. It takes the reader behind the scenes and shows him the American newspaper in its nudity. Mr. Flower, by means of copious extracts from the volume, presents a paper that cannot fail to be of interest and value to thoughtful students of present-day life. The following are a few of the sub-headings treated in this extended review: "A Volume Amusing or Depressing, According to the View-Point," "Behind the Scenes," "The Beef Trust, the Press and the People," "Public-Service Control of Press and Public Servants," "High Finance or Corporation Control of Newspapers for Personal or Monopolistic Aggrandizement," "Hearst's Chicago *American* and the Gas Trust," and "Faking; or, How Millions are Gulled or Misled by Newspaper Stories."

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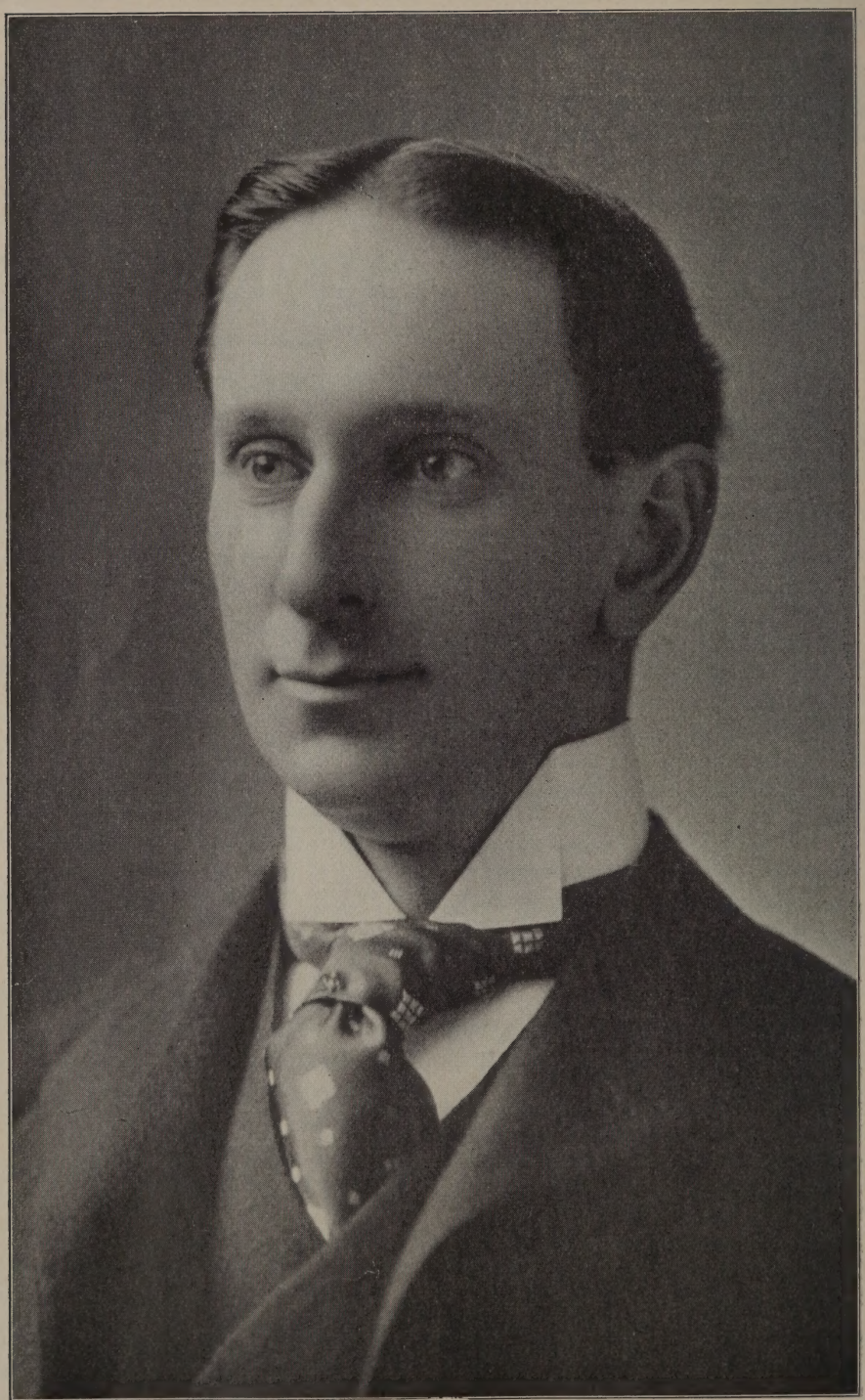

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ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR.

FELLOWES ATHENÆUM

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*—HEINE.

# The Arena

VOL. 40 OCTOBER, 1908 NO. 226

## A "SQUARE DEAL" FOR THE RAILROADS.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

THERE is no disputing the fact that during the past year the railroads have been "hard hit." There has been a shrinkage in the values of their securities that can only be computed in billions of dollars; at the present writing there are between nine and ten thousand miles of railroad in the hands of receivers,* while a number of other lines are threatened with a similar fate in the near future; during this period of depression hundreds of thousands of railroad employés have been discharged;† and for some months past thousands of empty freight cars have been standing idle on every important line in the country while practically no new rolling stock of any sort is being ordered by any of the roads. We find, for example, that for the months of January and February of this year, all the railroads in the United States together ordered only 25 new locomotives, as compared with 912 ordered during the same months in 1907, and ordered only 493 freight cars, in glaring contrast with their order of 70,926 during the same months last year.‡

What is the meaning of these and similar facts which could be multiplied almost *ad libitum?* And what is to be done to meet this situation which though apparently improving somewhat at the present moment, may at any time take another dangerous turn for the worse?

While doubtless there is a certain amount of truth in the statement that present conditions are more or less due to the "pernicious activity" of President Roosevelt in behalf of the rate bill as well as of other proposed railroad legislation, there would be considerably *more* truth in the statement to the effect that our present peculiar pathological railroad conditions are the result of the "masterly inactivity" of the President's immediate predecessors and of the studied refusal on the part of Congress after Congress to reform transportation abuses about the existence of which there was and could be no possible dispute.

If the President instead of probing this running sore on our body politic had anointed it with a salve of soft words and

*Twenty-first Annual Report of Inter-State Commerce Commission, December 23, 1907, p. 153, and *Railway World*, March 13, 1908, p. 203.

†Figures collected by Chicago General Managers' Association.

‡Dow Jones & Company Bulletin, March, 1908.

soft soap—the present crisis might possibly have been shunted onto the shoulders of the next administration. But it is pretty generally admitted that he deserves the thanks of all honest men for having located the disease and partially checked its ravages, even though he has so signally failed to suggest any remedy for the more fundamental aspects of the disorder. The primary cause of our present transportation difficulties is not therefore the precipitancy of the President but the unintelligent and inexcusable delay of the American people about inaugurating an adequate and effective system of railroad regulation. The fact which perhaps stands out most clearly and prominently in the midst of all our present turmoil is the fact that our present policy of railroad regulation must be continued and perfected, if all of us, farmers, manufacturers, business men and wage-earners are not to be reduced to the status of mere economic dependents upon the men and corporations who control our great lines of transportation.

### HELPFUL VERSUS HARMFUL RAILROAD REGULATION.

Thus far nearly every one is in practical agreement upon this question—but this is not the whole story. There is such a thing as intelligent and wholly beneficial railroad regulation and there is such a thing as unintelligent and pernicious railroad regulation. During the last year in some of our states we have experimented more or less with both of these varieties of legislation. Never in the history of the country, not even during the Granger movement, has such a widespread and strenuous effort been made to regulate railroad transportation as during the past eighteen months. Passenger rates were reduced or affected in some way in twenty-one states and in eleven states railroad commissions were created. "Thirty-five states attempted to enact laws reducing freight and passenger rates, establishing railroad commissions, increasing powers of existing commissions, regulating car service, demurrage, safety appliances, block signals, free passes, capitalization, liability for accidents to employés, hours of labor, blacklisting, etc."*

Truly, such a miscellaneous hodge-podge, patch-work collection of laws never has been produced in the same space of time before. Each state and almost every law-maker evidently, worked out his problem to the best of his ability, with little regard for what had been done or was being done by the nation, by other states, or even by other legislators in his own state. Texas alone is said to have had nearly one hundred bills introduced dealing with this one question. Such a lack among the "reform elements" of any mutual comprehension or of any appreciation of the necessity for coördination in their efforts, would be ludicrous if it were not so serious. That it has resulted in a curiously complicated crazy-quilt of railroad legislation which it will take the courts a long time to unravel or to rearrange, is not at all surprising.

That a large portion of this legislation will prove beneficial is unquestionable, but that it could have been infinitely *more effective* and less liable to judicial nullification, had it been rationally coördinated and made a part of some intelligent and comprehensive plan of procedure, is even more certain.

It is true that the railroads, by fighting persistently, bitterly and often corruptly, for over half a century, practically every proposal of reform, no matter how reasonable or just it might be, themselves are largely responsible for the present confused and embarrassing state of affairs. And while it is only right that they should suffer for their stupidity and cupidity in the past, it is not so clear that the rest of us should be made to suffer with them. This, however, is precisely what we are doing and must continue to do to an increasing degree, if we do not take pains to frame our regulative legislation with

*"The Legislatures and the Railroads," by Emmett Ireton, *Review of Reviews*, August, 1907.

the utmost possible care and skill. So dependent is the prosperity of the country on the efficiency of its transportation facilities, that any action which punishes or ties up the railroads *beyond a certain point* is certain to react and injure every business man, farmer and wage-earner in the land.

Another factor in the present situation which looms very large in the minds of railroad managers and railroad security-holders, is the *contemplated* future railroad legislation of Congress and of the various state legislatures. The recent decisions of the Supreme Court in the Minnesota case and the North Carolina case doubtless will have a soothing effect on those who are most fearful of adverse state legislation, but while such decisions may put a temporary quietus on certain varieties of legislative activity, at the same time, as they do not help us to solve any of the problems with which our people are trying to grapple, manifestly their net result will be merely to change the channel through which public opinion eventually will work its way to some satisfactory solution.

### BASIC PRINCIPLES.

There are several fundamental principles upon which must be based any superstructure of systematized railway legislation that may be enacted, if that regulation is not to do more harm than good. In the natural order of things, it must be recognized first of all, that as the whole is more important than any of its parts, so the public welfare is and always must be, the primary consideration in dealing with this or any other public question. Fortunately this principle at last has been thoroughly established by the legislation already placed on our statute books. Railroads to-day are everywhere recognized as quasi-public corporations, amenable to any and all reasonable and just public regulation in the public interest.

Secondly, we must recognize, that in the long run, the body politic cannot profit by any form of injustice toward any class or legitimate interest, and that consequently any inelastic or unnecessarily bothersome form of regulation, which would have a tendency to cripple the railroads in the honest and efficient performance of their functions, is a dangerous form of *regulation gone to seed.* In its efforts to prevent the roads from wrong-doing, the government should have a care not to take any action that would hamper them in the transaction of their ordinary legitimate business or that would prevent them from initiating new policies which would be to the mutual advantage of themselves and of the general public.

Speaking of this sort of regulation in England, Mr. Acworth, the most conservative English railroad authority, gives as an example the experience of the "Great Eastern Road." He says:

"The Great Eastern management, however, was perfectly frank. It made its reductions in its own interest. 'Our district,' said its representatives, 'is hard hit by the agricultural depression. We will reduce our rates and do what we can to lighten the burden of our customers, the farmers. When agriculture recovers, they will not object if we put the rates up again and claim a share of their gains as we shall have shared their losses.' But what has in fact happened? The Board of Trade ruler has drawn its line across the tops of the existing charges, cutting off not a few of them at a point which implies to a struggling company a loss which it can ill afford, and making any serious increase in charge impossible in the future. With this object lesson before its eyes, is any railway company likely hereafter to be so short-sighted as to go in for a policy of reduction in view of its own immediate interests? Will not rates be kept up all over the country with far more uniformity than has ever existed in the past?"*

And again, he says: "One word more. The fiercest advocate of the traders' claims

**The Railways and the Traders,* W. M. Acworth, p. 366.

will scarcely deny that rates have steadily, even if slowly, moved downwards; that over a series of years, that is, the public get more and more accommodation all round for the same money. With the *régime* inaugurated by the Provisional Orders (establishment of new maximum rates by the Board of Trade) this era may be taken to have definitely closed. The companies have been solemnly warned, 'Never reduce rates. Each reduction that you make will be taken as a precedent against you in the future.'"*

The third principle involved in this discussion has to do with the constructive side of the question. In as delicate a financial situation as that which the country is facing to-day, legislators and voters should be made to see that if there is anything our governmental authorities can do to encourage or aid those roads which seriously are endeavoring to obey the laws and to give us a "square deal" in the matter of transportation, it should be done gladly and promptly. While recent experience demonstrates very clearly that railroads *may* be prosperous and at the same time inefficient, the further fact must not be lost sight of that roads which are not prosperous will not and cannot be efficient. It is to be hoped that the truth of this statement will not be demonstrated with too great frequency during the coming months.

CONSTRUCTIVE RAILROAD REGULATION.

Of the multifarious suggestions which have been made for the solution of this vexed problem, a few stand out in bold relief as being eminently sane and conservative, as having the double merit of safeguarding the legitimate interests of the railroads as well as those of the public.

Among the most interesting propositions of this nature which has attained prominence recently, is the one which the President has advocated so often and so vigorously in recent messages, to the effect that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act be so amended as to permit the formation of Railroad Traffic Associations, properly regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and with all their operations laid open to public inspection. As a general proposition there can be little dispute about the desirability of such an amendment, even though Congress as at present organized has been unwilling to give such a measure its sanction.

The Sherman law as it now stands, like all sweeping prohibitory laws, is ineffective. It serves largely as a stumbling block and a pitfall to honest railroad managers and as a pretext for favoritism, dishonesty and lawlessness on the part of the predatory devotees of high finance. If enforced, in some cases it would seriously cripple both railroads and shippers in the daily transaction of entirely legitimate business, and when not enforced it not only breeds a dangerous contempt for law but also opens the door to a number of species of sharp practice and malpractice.

In this connection, it is worthy of note that English public opinion is being wrought up just now over a proposition embodying the same general principle. For a long time the railroad situation in England has been far from satisfactory. The English shipper has had to pay practically "the highest rates in Europe," while at the same time, railroad stockholders have been receiving a low and steadily declining dividend. When the nationalization of the railways has been proposed, it has been opposed even by a number of those who believe in government ownership for other countries, because, as was explained to me last year by the Hon. John Burns, "The British railways are sinking more and more capital every year upon which, in spite of their high freight and passenger rates they are receiving lower and lower returns. They were constructed on the wrong principle —the competitive principle—causing an utterly useless duplication of tracks, and an equally useless duplication of trains running on competing lines from London at the same hour and to the same destina-

*Ibid.*, p. 364.

tion. In this way millions of pounds of capital have been and are being squandered that will prove practically a total loss. Manifestly the government would be most unwise to take over an enterprise which is in such an utterly unsatisfactory condition financially."

The most practical constructive suggestion that has been made in connection with this matter is one which at present seems to be receiving very general favor all over England. It is proposed that the principle of railroad competition be definitely and permanently abandoned. It is held that while it is too late to prevent the losses arising from the needless duplication of tracks, it is not too late to do away with all useless competing trains, and all other unnecessary expenses caused by the attempt to secure *competition* in railroad service. In exchange for this concession from the government it is proposed that the roads shall be subjected to more vigorous regulation than at present and that *the public shall be given the benefit of a good share of the economies thus made possible* by means of a general reduction in railroad rates.

With this plan in view the English railway department—the Board of Trade—recently appointed a committee to make a thorough investigation of the railroad situation in Great Britain. The report of this committee will be awaited with interest by railroad students in all parts of the world, and as no satisfactory legislation on this subject was enacted by Congress during its last session, this report may be found very useful when the same problem again comes up for solution here.

### RAILROAD VALUATION.

Another entirely equitable and conservative proposal which has been very widely discussed and which has been advocated alike by President Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan, by Senator Newlands and Senator LaFollette and other leading railroad authorities, as well as by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, is to the effect that the Commission shall be empowered to make an accurate and fair physical valuation of the railroads of the country. In its twenty-first annual report for the year 1907, the Commission after going into the matter in considerable detail says:*

"From whatever point of view this question of valuation be regarded, whether of reasonable capitalization, of a reasonable schedule of rates, of effective administration, of the depreciation accounts or of the correct interpretation of the balance sheet, one is forced to conclude that an authoritative valuation of railway property *is the next important step* in the development of governmental supervision over railway administration."

The most important practical effort that has yet been made in this direction is the splendid work which the Minnesota Railroad Commission has been carrying on during the past two years for the purpose of determining the actual physical value of the railroads of that state. This investigation has been carried on under the direction of an eminent railroad engineer, Mr. Dwight C. Morgan, who is particularly well qualified for such work, having assisted his father, Mr. Richard P. Morgan, in 1887, to make a valuation of the bond-aided roads, the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific, for a committee of the United States Senate. This undertaking on the part of the Minnesota Railroad Commission is the most thorough and detailed valuation of railroad properties ever made by a state for rate making or other regulative purposes. Its results, owing to the great competence and high character of Mr. Morgan, are certain to prove of very great value to other states as well as to the nation, when the people finally wake up to the necessity of knowing what is the actual value of the railroads of the country. It is estimated that the cost of this Minnesota valuation will be in the neighborhood of $100,000 and that the report will be made public some time during the coming autumn.

*Page 150.

Such governmental action can only tend to give strength and stability to the values of the stocks and bonds of all railroads which have been capitalized honestly. It would seem that no one could object to this entirely legitimate form of encouragement being offered by the government to the railroads which have resisted the temptation to issue and flood the market with fictitious securities, and, as for the others, it is high time that they were receiving vigorous treatment for that all too contagious malady—financial dropsy.

NATIONAL CONTROL OF CAPITALIZATION.

Another important and highly commendable step toward the working out of a rational system of railroad regulation is the plan proposed by Mr. Bryan of requiring all railroads doing an interstate business to take out a Federal license or franchise; or a similar proposal put forward by the President, Senator Newlands and others, providing for the national incorporation of all roads doing an inter-state business. Both of these plans have practically the same object in view—*i. e.*, the the subjection of interstate railroads to careful national supervision especially in regard to the issuance of stocks and bonds. It is felt that only in some such way is it possible to prevent future fictitious capitalization and to insure that all moneys obtained from future issues of securities shall be expended upon actual improvements of the roads instead of being stealthily diverted into the pockets of the "light-fingered gentry" of Wall street. It is difficult to see how any honest objection can be made to the enactment into law of one or the other of these two plans and it is equally difficult to see how any really intelligent and effective system of regulation can be worked out without some such law as a foundation. Fictitious capitalization is the prolific source of abnormally high rates, financial depression, inadequate and unsafe service, popular agitation and turmoil, ineffective legislative action and endless litigation in both state and national courts of justice.

Railroad managers who are striving to do a strictly legitimate business can only regard such a law as a blessing and what the others think about it ought not to count—except as an argument in its favor.

RATE REGULATION.

As to the desirability and even the necessity of further rate regulation there can be little doubt. The present law was hastily enacted, and while containing some excellent provisions, nevertheless is in sore need of amendment. Among other embarrassments to which the Inter-State Commerce Commission is subjected in its efforts to make the law really effective, is the difficulty of making any headway in face of the sometimes apparently ill-advised interference with its freedom of action by judges of the United States District Courts. These Federal judges on occasion seem to have too little hesitance about granting injunctions to corporations, without demanding any actual proof that they are really required. A member of the Commission was quoted last fall as saying, "It is beginning to be impressed on me that unless the courts are, by some legislative process, prevented from interfering with the work, which the law assumes the Commission to do, we shall be of little use."*

Another source of embarrassment complained of by the Inter-State Commerce Commission comes from its inability to postpone an advance in rates until the matter has been inquired into carefully and the equitableness of the advance ruled upon. "In several instances," says the Commission, "courts of equity have interfered to prohibit advances pending proceedings before the Commission. In these cases an injunction has been issued in favor of the *complainants alone*, so that at the present time, the general public is paying the advanced rates, while the com-

*Washington *Times*, November 4, 1907.

plainants are being charged the old rates."*

While unquestionably this is a gross parody on the administration of justice, yet it is difficult to know just how to mend matters. It is claimed that the Fulton bill which was designed to meet this very difficulty is open to some grave objections. If this is true, either it should be properly amended or a new bill should be brought in that would do away with this highly undesirable condition of affairs. This does not sound like a very difficult undertaking, and yet the fact is that when once we begin to legislate on this subject, it is hard to know where to stop. It is quite possible to add more and ever more power over rates to the Interstate Commerce Commission, until finaly we shall have transferred to the Commission the power to make all rates. Railroad authorities are very generally agreed that such a plan is undesirable, that in fact if the government is to take over the detailed management of the railroads it would be better to go one step farther, as most countries in Continental Europe have done, and nationalize the railroads outright.

Up to a certain point railroad legislation is almost wholly beneficial, but after a certain point, any increase in such regulation becomes inelastic, cumbersome and burdensome alike to shippers and railroads. It is easy to find abundant illustration of this tendency in the experience of France which has, perhaps the most carefully and elaborately wrought out system of railroad regulation in the world. As an example of red tape and routine gone to seed I will cite the process that must be gone through with in France in order to bring about a change in railroad rates. The persons desiring such a change first of all have to "send a statement of their case to the railway company, whose responsible officials will investigate the matter. If they approve of it, they must not at once accede to the application, as would be done here. All they can do is to start it on its travels by sending it to the Minister of Public Works, accompanied by a statement of the company's own views, giving the reasons for their endorsement of the request. Copies are sent to the Commercial Control Department, to be reported on by its officials, and to the prefect of each and every district through which the lines affected by the proposed changes run, and notice must also be given in the *Journal Official* in case there may be other districts likely to be prejudiced. Then each prefect is required to communicate the proposition to the Chamber of Commerce in his department, and give them the opportunity of making their own observations thereon. This having been done, the application together with the comments of the Chambers of Commerce and of other persons interested in the matter, whoever they may be, is examined, first by the *Inspecteur de l' Exploitation Commerciale do la Conscription*, then by the *Controleur-General*, and so on to the officials of any maritime ports, navigable waterways or mining districts affected, until it gets into the hands of the *Inspecteur-General du Reseau.*

By this time the documents in the case will probably have assumed the proportions of a substantial "*dosier.*" All the same, the real consideration of the matter is now only about to begin. What has been done already is preliminary to the proceedings of the *Comité Consultatif des Chemins de Fer*, one of the four advisory committees which aid the Minister of Public Works in keeping watch and guard over the general railway system of the country. It consists of—(1) representatives of the Administration and (2) representatives of the agricultural, commercial and industrial interests. . . . If the proposed alteration in rates should be an important one, the Consultative Committee will appoint a sub-committee to investigate the matter. Otherwise a single member will be delegated to study the various documents and report thereon. The committee will then consider the

*Twenty-first Annual Report of Interstate Commerce Commission, p. 10.

report thus made, and should it think fit it will make an inquiry on its own account, calling on representatives of the railways or of the other interests affected, to attend and give such further information as may be desired. Presumably also each member of the Committee has the right to express his views on the subject. Finally a decision is arrived at by the Committee; but this decision can take the form only of a recommendation to the Minister of Public Works; while after all the circumlocution thus gone through, it is still open to the Minister in question to disregard everything that has been done and give the ultimate decision, *oui* or *non*, according to his own individual opinion. In practice, however, he is generally guided by the advice of the Consultative Committee. . . .

One month is the least period in which the alteration in an ordinary railway rate in France can be made to pass through the necessary stages, and it may very well happen that the procedure will occupy for from six to twelve months. There is a case on record in which a company applied early in the spring for permission to grant a lower passenger rate to a certain seaside resort. The matter was considered, and the Minister eventually granted the request; but the notification of his assent did not reach the company until the month of October—when the holiday season was over."*

This whole question has been very well summed up by President Hadley, of Yale. "It is an interesting fact," he says,† "that a railroad which is owned and managed by the state, in its general policy is much more like our own railroads than is a road which is owned by a private company but strictly controlled by state regulations. In the latter case the state has no direct interest in making exceptions to its own rules. In the former it has. The rules which a state will make for itself are therefore less rigid than those which it will make for other people. This difference is strikingly seen in comparing the development of railroads in Belgium and Germany, where the state actually owns the leading roads, with that in France where it merely controls them. The former is much more untrammeled."

In connection with this problem of rate regulation a very interesting and promising suggestion has been made by Mr. Bryan,‡ to the effect that, instead of asking the government to work out all the infinitely delicate and complicated problems involved in the making of railroad rates, Congress should so limit the profits of the roads as to keep the price of railroad stocks at par. A similar suggestion was made by Senator Newlands to the effect that the profits allowed to the railroads be limited to a reasonable percentage on the actual capital invested—perhaps six per cent. It is maintained that, if properly reinforced by provisions regulating railroad capitalization, the salaries to be paid railroad officials, and the methods to be employed in conducting purchases of supplies, rolling stock, etc., a plan of this general nature would bring about automatically a gradual and continuous reduction in rates.

Doubtless this contention is true, and if true it is important, but at the same time it seems very probable that such a system would have a tendency to become what the French call a *regie désintéressé*, a *régime* in which the managers would have very little if any financial incentive to build up their traffic, cut down their expenses and in other ways to increase the economic efficiency of their roads. In other words it is difficult to see in what way such a *régime* would call out any more "individual initiative" than would a *régime* of complete government ownership and operation.

### A THOROUGH-GOING INVESTIGATION REQUIRED.

No one who has made a careful study

**Railways and Their Rates*, E. A. Pratt, pp. 230–233.

†*Railroad Transportation*, pp. 200–201.

‡"What the People Should Demand of the Railroads," *Reader Magazine*, February, 1908.

of the present attitude of the American people toward the railroads, would be at all surprised to see them rise up during our next period of serious unrest and inaugurate a vastly more radical and far-reaching system of railroad regulation than that which I have outlined above. As a matter of fact it is by no means certain that they would be content to stop at this. Owing to the traffic mismanagement, crooked stock manipulations and intolerable insolence of some of our railroad magnates, the sentiment among the masses in favor of government ownership is steadily on the increase. As President Hadley of Yale, in the closing words of his famous work on this problem, said: "There is a strong popular feeling, to a large extent unsuspected by those in authority, in favor of government ownership of railroads as a system. No one can have much to do with the more thoughtful workingmen without finding how strong that feeling is, and what hopes are based upon it. The fact that the question is not now under discussion must not blind us to the fact that forces are at work which may prove all but revolutionary when the question actually does come under discussion. If it be true that government railroad ownership would be a most serious political misfortune for the United States, we must be prepared to meet the danger with our eyes open. Unless we are able to face it intelligently, and to show reason for our action, the widespread feeling in its favor will prove too strong for us. It may not come for many years; but the lessons of the Granger movement show plainly enough what forces will lie behind it when it does come."*

As shown again and again in the history of European railroads and most strikingly in the cases of Prussia and Italy, it sometimes requires but a few short months to crystalize this vague unexpressed public sentiment into an irresistible popular demand, and to transform an almost unanimous political majority against government ownership, into an overwhelming majority in its favor. In the light of these facts the ostrich policy of burying our heads in the sand and refusing to look the situation squarely in the face, would seem to be as stupid and as dangerous from the standpoint of the railroads as it is from that of the general public. It becomes every day more apparent that unless some way can be found to make plain to the American people the danger involved both in over-regulation and in a premature attempt at nationalization, we need not be at all surprised to see them, during our next economic crisis, take the bit in their teeth and insist upon the enactment of sweeping and hazardous innovations of the one sort or of the other.

In order to avoid this peril, there should be created at the earliest possible opportunity either a Committee of Specialists under the general supervision of the Inter-State Commerce Commission or a Board of Investigators entirely independent of it, whose duty it shall be to carry on a profound and world-wide investigation of the whole question of railroad transportation. This Committee or Board should have authority to summon witnesses from all parts of the country and to secure the assistance of foreign specialists in the prosecution of its researches abroad. If properly constituted and equipped it could ascertain for the American people: first, the point beyond which any extension of government regulation ceases to be a public benefit and tends to become a public peril; secondly, what kind of regulation, up to this point, is apt to prove the most useful; and thirdly, what would be the fairest, the most conservative and the most business-like form of procedure for our government, if after having made a thorough trial of railroad regulation at its best, the people finally should decide that this best was not good enough and that they wished to embark upon a policy of publicly owned and operated railroads.

If a Committee or Board of this general nature, composed of eminent author-

**Railroad Transportation.*

ities in whom the people could put confidence, were to be appointed and set to work at once, it would do more to allay needless and heedless future agitation than any other step which the government could take.

### A SUSPENDED SENTENCE OF NATIONALIZATION.

During over half a century the American people made a thorough but entirely unsatisfactory trial of the policy of *laisser faire* or no regulation. For about a quarter of a century now we have been trying to develop a more satisfactory system of regulation. Therefore no matter what our personal predilections or theories may be in the matter, in accordance with the simple process of mathematical elimination, it necessarily follows, that in the event of the failure to give satisfaction of our present policy of regulation, our only remaining alternative is the plan of government ownership. It thus becomes clear that not by force of any legislative enactment or judicial decree which can be reversed or set aside by a higher court, but in accordance with the resistless trend of events, over which neither politicians nor magnates nor judges have any control, the railroads of our country to-day are being operated under a "suspended sentence" of nationalization.

The theory of this comparatively new form of judicial procedure called the "suspended sentence" is that in the case of a drunkard or other petty offender, the judge, recognizing that if the defendant should be sent to jail, the heaviest punishment would fall not on him but on his starving family, not only gives him another chance but also does everything in his power, even to utilizing the moral stimulus of a sentence dangling menacingly over his head, to encourage him to brace up and make the most of himself.

Does it not seem that the time had about arrived to give the railroads of the country an equal chance with the drunkards and others, who are profiting by the application of this new and successful principle in jurisprudence?

Upon the continued well being and constant development of our railroads depends the prosperity and happiness of the entire country. Let them therefore be regulated not in a spirit of vengeance but wisely and temperately. If they are restricted and circumvented and tied up too closely, all the commercial and industrial interests which are dependent upon them will suffer. How much better therefore to allow them as much liberty of action as is consistent with fair play—but at the same time, by the appointment of the suggested Board and in other ways, to take such steps as will make absolutely plain to those of them who do not yet realize the practically automatic nature of their "suspended sentence," that *if the liberty which is necessary to their continued economic efficiency is abused* the "suspended sentence" of nationalization, cannot possibly be warded off—that "On their own heads, in their own hands, the sin and the saving lies."

Such an arrangement would enable us to bring our system of railroad regulation up to the highest possible standard of efficiency by surrounding it with every obtainable condition of success.

CARL S. VROOMAN.

*Cotuit, Massachusetts.*

# LINCOLN'S IDEAL CARRIED OUT IN OREGON.

By Robert Treat Paine, Jr.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S ideal, announced on the battle-field of Gettysburg, was a government "by" the people. An approach to that ideal is, for the first time, through modern methods, being practically attained. Direct-Legislation gives, as can no system of conventions, delegates and representatives, a government "by" the people. Measures, asking for and refused by politicians and representatives under the old misrepresentative system, have been enacted into law, and into the constitution when the people regained their power through Direct-Legislation.

Opponents assert that people will not be interested in issues apart from candidates, and will not mark their ballots, that they will not discriminate in their judgment and decide wisely, that they will naturally vote in the affirmative and will support radical propositions. Arguments have been offered to show these fears and assertions to be groundless, but an ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory. *Experientia docet.*

Oregon by a constitutional amendment adopted in 1902 established the Initiative and Referendum. She has made use of her new liberty, her restored right of self-government, in her biennial elections of 1904, 1906 and 1908, when two, eleven and nineteen questions respectively were submitted to the voters for their decision. The recent election emphatically emphasizes the lesson of the two preceding ones that the people of a sovereign state are sufficiently qualified and interested to settle directly through their ballots the great questions of government in which they are concerned. Oregon has demonstrated the success of popular government. In that state Lincoln's ideal has been embodied in the fundamental constitution, and the political machinery has received such slight adaptation as to render its operation practical, simple and exceedingly beneficial.

James Bryce called the town meeting of the older Yankee states, the best school and source of democracy. To-day a Yankee state in the far northwestern corner of the continent is proving that for the democracy of a state the "common sense of all" and the simple wisdom of the people shall equally suffice as for the democracy of a town.

On June first of this year nineteen questions were voted on in Oregon. Four of them were constitutional amendments submitted by the legislature. The remaining fifteen owe their origin to Direct-Legislation. Four were referendums demanded by popular petition upon acts just passed by the legislature. Eleven were measures initiated by the people, of which six asked for amendments to the constitution and five for the enactment of laws. What were the results? Of the four constitutional amendments submitted by the legislature two were adopted, two defeated. Under the four referendums two acts were ratified, two vetoed. Of the eleven initiatives three proposed constitutional amendments were adopted, three defeated, while all five proposed acts were passed. Of the entire nineteen, twelve were carried and seven were defeated.

To claim hereafter that the people cannot discriminate in regard to measures would seem to indicate ignorance of facts. Comparing the eight measures which had been adopted by the legislature with the eleven proposed by the initiative, it appears that the people were more kindly disposed to those of popular origin, in that they vetoed four of the eight which the

legislature had passed and only three of the eleven suggested by the people. This is further illustrated by an analysis of actual votes.

| Measures proposed by the | | | Majority. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Legislature | 4 | won by 53,065 — 32,434 | 20,631 for | 85,499 |
| People | 8 | won by 53,729 — 30,482 | 23,247 for | 84,211 |
| Legislature | 4 | lost by 28,074 — 58,434 | 30,360 against | 86,508 |
| People | 3 | lost by 36,122 — 57,296 | 21,174 against | 93,418 |

In each group the measures suggested by the people fare better than those favored by the legislature, they receive a larger vote in their support with a smaller vote against them and are consequently decided by majorities much more in their favor.

The total number of voters who went to the polls was 116,614. The Republican and the Democratic parties combined on a candidate for justice of the Supreme Court who received 105,208 votes. The chief issue at stake was the selection of a United States Senator, and the contest was very sharp. A majority of the legislature having been pledged to vote, without regard to party preferences, for the candidate who received the largest popular vote, the popular preference expressed by such vote would practically amount to his definite election. Though an overwhelming majority of the legislature was chosen from the Republican party, the Democratic candidate for United States Senator, Governor George E. Chamberlain, won by a vote of 52,421 to 50,899 for his Republican opponent, H. M. Cake, while two other candidates between them received 9,044, making a total of 112,364 votes in all.

The heaviest vote cast on any of the nineteen questions was 95,528, the lightest was 70,726, and the average on all was 86,428.

The total vote, however, is of less importance than the comparative vote and the majority obtained by the winning side. This is easily demonstrated. A vote of fifty-five to twenty-five out of a possible one hundred with its plurality of thirty, and with a clear majority of the whole, is, though its total is but eighty, distinctly more decisive and commanding than one of forty-six to forty-four, for, though the latter's total of ninety is considerably the larger, yet its plurality is insignificant, and the winning vote constitutes but a minimum of the whole. The "total vote" rather tends to emphasize the negative side and is larger as the opposition is stronger. Again, while candidates are chosen and elected by "pluralities" and are often in a minority of the whole, as in this very case of the choice of a Democratic United States Senator, where the larger number of voters voted against him and desired some other candidate, questions are, on the other hand, settled by "majorities" so that their decision must inevitably be regarded as a fair decision by all who have cared to express their opinion either for or against them.

It may be doubted whether Republicans are reconciled to the selection of a Democratic Senator in a state that is nearly two-thirds Republican, simply because the percentage on the total vote was as high as ninety-six per cent., of which forty-four, nine-tenths per cent. went to the Democratic candidate, forty-three, six-tenths per cent. went to the Republican, and seven, seven-tenths per cent. to the two other candidates.

The following table will permit an examination of the figures in more detail. The nineteen questions are numbered as they are given in order in the Secretary of State's pamphlet, and are earmarked to show their source and character (Leg.—Legislature; I.—Initiative; C. A.—Constitutional Amendment; Ref.—Referendum on act of the legislature) and as to whether carried (yes) or defeated (no).

| No. | | | | Winning. | Losing. | Majority. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | I. | Act. | yes | 69,668 | 21,162 | 48,506 | 90,830 |
| 1 | Leg. | C. A. | no | 68,891 | 19,691 | 49,200 | 88,582 |
| 4 | Leg. | C. A. | yes | 65,728 | 18,500 | 47,228 | 84,228 |
| 12 | I. | C. A. | no | 60,871 | 32,066 | 28,805 | 92,937 |
| 5 | Leg. | Ref. | yes | 60,443 | 30,033 | 30,410 | 90,476 |
| 6 | Leg. | Ref. | no | 59,406 | 28,856 | 30,550 | 88,262 |
| 9 | I. | C. A. | no | 58,670 | 36,858 | 21,812 | 95,528 |
| 13 | I. | C. A. | yes | 58,381 | 31,002 | 27,379 | 89,383 |
| 17 | I. | Act. | yes | 56,130 | 30,280 | 25,850 | 86,410 |
| 7 | Leg. | Ref. | no | 54,848 | 33,507 | 21,341 | 88,355 |
| 16 | I. | Act. | yes | 54,042 | 31,301 | 22,741 | 85,343 |
| 11 | I. | C. A. | no | 52,346 | 39,442 | 12,904 | 91,788 |
| 18 | I. | C. A. | yes | 52,214 | 28,487 | 23,727 | 80,701 |
| 3 | Leg. | C. A. | no | 50,591 | 30,243 | 20,348 | 80,834 |
| 15 | I. | C. A. | yes | 48,868 | 34,128 | 14,740 | 82,996 |
| 10 | I. | Act. | yes | 46,582 | 40,720 | 5,862 | 87,302 |
| 8 | Leg. | Ref. | yes | 44,115 | 40,535 | 3,580 | 84,650 |
| 19 | I. | Act. | yes | 43,948 | 26,776 | 17,172 | 70,724 |
| 2 | Leg. | C. A. | yes | 41,975 | 40,868 | 1,107 | 82,843 |
| | Average..... | | | 51,141 | 31,287 | 23,854 | 86,428 |

Recall for comparison that the choice of a United States Senator was decided by the Democrat getting 52,421 against 50,899 for the Republican, obtaining a plurality of only 1,522, but considering all these candidates running against him being in a minority of 7,522.

Observe that eight questions received the endorsement of more than a majority of all voters who went to the polls, that eleven questions were decided by more winning votes than were given to the victorious Democrat and thirteen similarly ran ahead of the Republican.

The average vote on all of the nineteen questions was 55,141 for the winning, and 31,287 for the losing side, with percentages respectively of forty-seven per cent. and twenty-six and eight-tenths per cent. The average total vote thus amounted to 86,428 or seventy-three and eight-tenths per cent., and the average majority ran up to 23,854 or twenty per cent. The average winning vote, 55,141, was considerably larger than that which chose Governor Chamberlain to be United States Senator.

The decisive character of the popular judgment on the questions brought before them can hardly be disputed. Against only three results, namely, in the case of Nos. ten, eight and two, could the most captious critic raise objection that the will of the people was not plainly manifest, yet even they received majorities of 5,862, 3,580 and 1,107. Furthermore, two of these three questions had been approved by the legislature, though No. eight had been first vetoed by the Governor, so that the people might well be in doubt as to its merit. The most doubtful of all, with the smallest affirmative vote and the least majority, was a constitutional amendment submitted in the ordinary way, familiar to all our states, with which Direct-Legislation had nothing whatever to do. Question No. nineteen on which the lightest vote was cast related to the creation of a new county—of Hood River, in which naturally the voters of the state as a whole were not very directly interested, yet it was necessary to refer the question to the people as the constitution forbids the legislature to pass such special legislation. Apart from this vote, the lightest one was 80,701 or sixty-nine per cent.

The above table, with its interesting succession and alternation of "yes-no-yes-no," etc., proves conclusively that the people do not inevitably vote in the affirmative. Rather would the figures show that they are critical and enjoy turning down an unwelcome proposition. Twelve propositions were carried, on the average, by 53,508 to 31,150, a majority of 22,358 in a total of 84,658. But the corresponding figures for the seven propositions that were defeated were 57,946 to 31,523, a majority of 26,423 in a total of 89,470, showing a larger deciding vote, a larger majority, and a larger total.

Every measure that was adapted to strengthening and perfecting the power of the people to control their own destiny they adopted, as they had done in the elections of 1906 and 1904. But radical propositions, however meritorious, like Woman Suffrage, and the Single Tax, they refused to endorse, as they did the proposals of the legislature to increase its own salary and to require railroads to give free passes to state officials, a bill which the Governor vetoed though the legislature passed it again over his veto; nor

were they misled by the initiative for a constitutional amendment supposedly designed to take the starch out of the local-option principle established in 1904.

It is hardly to the credit of the legislature that in one of the constitutional amendments it passed—for increase of salary, it tried to amend the wrong section of the existing constitution. This blunder or carelessness, it is to be observed by opponents of Direct-Legislation, was due, not to the people, but to their representatives.

Under the system of Direct-Legislation the Secretary of State sends to each voter several weeks before the election a pamphlet containing all proposed measures with arguments for and against each one as far as their advocates or opponents care to submit them and pay for the mere cost of paper and printing. On the four legislative acts in which the referendum was invoked there were three arguments in the negative and one in the affirmative. On the eleven initiatives there was an affirmative argument in each case and a negative one in four.

Before the election a leading daily in an Eastern city, which is strongly antagonistic to popular government, predicted that the votes would "likely be scattering and inclusive" on the axiom that people are rarely greatly interested in more than one issue at a time. The reader who has studied the above figures will see how thoroughly disproved has been such a prediction. The results are not exceptional.

They were similar in 1906, when also "the people showed excellent discrimination in upholding reform measures and voting down objectionable ones, thus giving evidence of their intelligence and honesty of purpose."* It is not generally known that the popular verdict, with the exception as to Woman Suffrage, coincided exactly with the conclusions of the professors and members of the faculty of the State University of Oregon who made a deliberate investigation and discussion of the eleven topics. The great advantage of Direct-Legislation is, as stated by the Portland *Oregonian*† after that election, that questions stand or fall upon their merits alone, and solely with reference to the public good, and its conclusion was "the more completely the voters trust themselves the more worthy they find themselves to be trusted. What could be more heartening to those who believe in government of, for and by the people?"

No wonder that both the present Republican Senators, Fulton and Bourne, unite in such enthusiastic testimony as that the people "have evidenced a conservatism and discriminating judgment both in legislating and in reviewing the work of the legislature which demonstrate that such powers may be vested in them with perfect safety to all interests." The Democratic Governor, just selected by the people of Oregon to represent them in the United States Senate, predicts that "when the wonderful purifying effect of the Initiative and Referendum become more widely known and appreciated they will be adopted all over the Union."

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**The Outlook*,, editorial, June 13, 1908.
†Portland *Oregonian*, June 10 1906.

# DEMOCRACY AND RELIGION.

By Gerhardt C. Mars, Ph.D., B.D.

PERHAPS it is mankind, as Goethe declares, and not man that has advanced through the long centuries of history; but grateful that there has been, at any rate, some kind of advance, we may cherish the hope that in time the advance of mankind may revert upon man and raise him in intelligence, character and capacity.

And this hope has some plausibility because the advance of mankind has included and furthered the slowly-acquired freedom of man. That is, if we regard those two great movements, arising out of the Renaissance and Reformation, *viz:* science and socialism (taken in the broadest sense) which dominate our modern era, we shall find not only that they grow out of the rational freedom of the individual man, but that they aim at the rational freedom of the individual man as the goal of their evolution. The essential and peculiar significance of the Renaissance and Reformation was that they aroused man to the dignity and worth of being a man, by freeing him from the unquestioned, because infallible, traditions of past authority, and by throwing him squarely upon the reason of things to determine anew his career. To accept implicitly what Aristotle or Ptolemy said about nature, or to obey without question the dictates of the church and state, was seen to be rational servitude. Every man in his own right must be free to know for himself the teachings of nature, and to determine in his own conscience for himself his relation to God and to his fellow-man.

This was nothing less than the assertion of rational freedom for the individual; but instead of threatening a chaos of irresponsible private judgments as the church asserted, on the contrary, it carried back all private judgments from the external authority of tradition to the inner authority of reason whose universal and incorruptible decisions know no private interests and are as good for anybody as everybody. So that rational freedom for the individual is that principle alone which for the first time conserves the truth of science and the law of society by identifying the individual's own self-realization with that truth and that law as the objective reason of things.

It is true, children and immature men must and want to be governed by authority, but the dictates of that authority must rest upon universal reason, and not upon tradition or privilege. It is true also that the mature man may, from lack of opportunity, be willing to accept the authority of the scientist and law-giver, but he does so on the understanding that, with due opportunity, he could confirm the one and approve the other as consistent with objective reason.

But although the principle of individual rational freedom has become an accepted commonplace in modern science and democracy, it has not yet won a frank and adequate recognition in that which is the most intimate and profound concern of every man, *viz.*, religion, which by involving his relations to God, the ultimate ground of all things, involves necessarily his relations to nature and to his fellow-man. It may, however, be protested that one of the chief and peculiar merits of democracy here in America is the religious freedom of every man to worship or not to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. In view of such a protest, attention must be called to a very vital distinction between religious freedom and what may be called the freedom of religion. Religious freedom is the privilege guaranteed by law, of accepting any or no religion the individual may see fit, and is a function of the state. The freedom of religion is the free acceptance

of religious convictions on no authority, be it church, creed or Bible, but on the objective grounds of reason alone, and is the peculiar function of the individual. No matter how free I may be to accept any religion, so long as I do so on authority, I am not free, but still a bond-servant to that authority. I do not have religion; religion has me, and that is always servitude, often a debasing and dangerous one. If, however, the freedom of religion is mine, even though my convictions are false, I nevertheless have a corrective principle within myself which sooner or later will carry all my convictions back to the ultimate test of an objective, universal reason. On the other hand, so long as I accept religion on authority, besides robbing me of possessing religion for myself, all possibility of correction is at an end, for authority, which is always represented in some special class, never corrects itself except to increase and confirm its hold.

But if we must admit that religious freedom has not as yet reached the level of political freedom in our democracy by becoming the freedom of religion, the reasons for this fact are not far to seek. They are in part due to the native inertia or indolence of the human mind which is always averse to the difficulty of clear thinking and the self-sacrifice of brave action when such ideal interests as religion involves are concerned. They are also due in part to the intermixture of worldliness, and in part to the imperfect work of the reformers.

First, then, we have a vast number of half-developed men, child-men, who still want and need the kindergarten. It is too much trouble, if not impossible, for them to guide themselves, and so they must throw themselves upon some guiding authority. It matters not how free they may be to choose this or that authority, they are still not rationally free men. And the obligation of the democracy concerning them is to afford that enlightening instruction which will bring them to maturity.

Again, since worldly interests are so near and real while the ideals of religion seem so far and evanescent, men easily yield to the temptation of a comfortable adjustment to the real, though the ideal forbids. The best of saints at times manage not to allow their religion to interfere seriously with their incomes, even if they have to give their incomes a religious baptism. As to the average man, while wanting to cherish some sort of religious hopes and aspirations, he is nevertheless so deeply absorbed in getting on in the world that he is glad enough to save himself the trouble of thinking by throwing the responsibility upon some religious authority, especially if that authority, in consideration of the proper tithes, will not oppose his worldly interests. In all such cases the freedom of religion has no chance; it cannot stand on its own merits before the court of reason. So that any religious authority that permits or furthers prosperity in this world and guarantees salvation in the next can hold men in absolute bondage which, for their bodies and souls, they would not dare to challenge. Such a bondage it takes the strongest men to break, and it was such a bondage that the Reformers did break.

But it has just been said that, among the reasons for our inadequate religious freedom, the work of these reformers was imperfect. To say that their work was imperfect is not, however, to condemn them, so much as it is a simple recognition of the historical fact. They were at any rate under the sway of a great principle, that of rational freedom which was to be the right of the individual man; in its light they carried the significance of religion from outer rite to inner conviction, and, if they did not fully see or realize this principle, it was no more than universal experience might lead us to expect, *viz:* that great ideas are never practically realized at a bound but are slowly attained through the developments of history.

Thus while the reformers won the right for every man of questioning the external authority of the infallible church, because the church, being of human origin as they

claimed, was subject to fallacy and consequent criticism, they nevertheless stopped at the infallible authority of the Bible which, being as they took for granted, of purely divine origin, was not subject to fallacy and criticism. But this procedure involved tremendous consequences. For although on the surface the chief difference between Catholic and Protestant seemed to be that while the one rested upon the infallibility of both the Bible and the church, the other accepted the infallibility of the Bible alone, yet the fundamental difference between them was that the Catholic allowed no questioning of authority at all, while the Protestant opened the door to the entire principle of rational criticism by bringing into question on rational grounds one of those infallible authorities which had so long demanded and won unquestioning obedience.

But having begun on this principle, the Reformers had to go further. For even granting that the Bible was the ultimate source of infallible authority, the question had to come up as to just what the Bible taught or what were the true doctrines to be believed. And though the church's traditional doctrines were in the main accepted, there could not be avoided a certain adjustment of formulas to the new conditions an adjustment which necessarily involved not only free rational discussion but individual decision between the contending claims of a Luther and a Zwingli, a Calvin and an Arminius, as the true interpreters of the Bible.

Hence the tendency was plain and inevitable. If the principle of individual rational freedom, in questioning the infallible church, led to rational discussion over the real meaning of the infallible Bible, it would not be long before the infallible Bible itself might be brought before the same incorruptible court of reason.

But here entered one of those strange, though not infrequent, historical paradoxes, by which the cause of true religion was furthered by what seemed to be its enemies. The Protestant theologians, instead of carrying forward their principle of rational freedom to its logical terminus paused at the unquestioned authority of the infallible Bible and thus, by refusing to religion its true course of rational development, enslaved it to the past.

Reason, however, was not thus to be foiled in her purpose of bringing man to the full self-realization of rational maturity. It was the English Rationalism of the eighteenth century that especially furthered this great work of emancipation. A series of brilliant writers, from John Toland to David Hume, following the lead of Locke and getting for their pains the opprobrious epithet of infidel, atheist or pantheist, undertook to show that religion is in the end based on purely rational grounds, having no need of any extraneous support. And in doing so they riddled the claims of the Bible to infallibility by a vast array of striking, though not always cogent, literary, historical and philosophical considerations. It became clear that the notion of Bible infallibility had grown up in men's minds very much as had that of church infallibility, and it was no longer possible for enlightened men to yield unquestioning obedience to the Bible any more than to the church.

Naturally opposed by the Protestant divines, rationalism unfortunately became more destructive in its character than it otherwise might have been, and left the Bible an object of indifference or even of ridicule. Nothing can be more misleading and subversive to the truth than the attempt to support truth on false grounds. Claim too much for your client and you weaken his cause. Compel men to accept the Bible as an infallible authority divinely inspired throughout and the only source of religious truth, and they will be inclined to depreciate its true inner meaning or reject it altogether. On the other hand, free the Bible from this unnatural embarrassment, as you would free David from the encumbrance of Saul's armor, and at once its beauty and power spring to the eye of reason; and, standing on its own integrity, it is free to deliver its wonderful message. Indeed, this view of the

case the eighteenth-century rationalism brought to light. For it showed the possibility of great inspired truths, which to the incapacity of the average mind must appear as supernaturally revealed, but which are in reality native to the reason itself and confined to no favored locality of space or period of time. But the destructive character of rationalism prevented it from bringing out the great rational truths which the Bible contains. It was neither critically nor historically prepared to do so, and it was left to the church, after all, to give the Bible its true meaning as the natural message of inspired reason.

The stubborn fidelity of Protestantism to the sacred authority of the Bible had a deep significance; for it preserved the precious content until a more rational criticism and a truer historical sense could estimate the real value of the book, and by so doing lead back from irrational dependence on the outer form to the free and rational appropriation of the inner meaning.

Spinoza's distinction between the real meaning of the Bible and its fallible historical setting, came too early to fall on heeding ears; but by the time of Lessing and Herder it could be appreciated more fully how the Bible contained and expressed, in spite of crude and inadequate forms, great and intrinsic truths which gradually unfolded through centuries of historical development to a more comprehensive and significant meaning.

It was left, however, to the Higher Criticism, to be the chief agency in bringing the priceless value of the Bible home to the appreciations of reason.

Although introduced by Catholic scholars of France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it has found its greatest development in Germany, during the nineteenth century, as the natural outcome of Protestant principles. At first destructive in tendency, this criticism gradually became constructive; for, in the light of psychological setting and historical development, the Bible, it came more and more to be seen, revealed an eternal meaning of the highest spiritual value which no human fallibilities of time and place could embarrass or obscure. The Bible was brought face to face with reason as the final court of decision, and it had to bear the test in the light of its own unaided merits. As a result, the last vestiges of externalism were carried away and the truths of religion brought directly home to the heart on their own inherent, rational authority. What was true in the Bible was recognized as true, because it appealed to reason as being true, and not because of any authority, human or divine, or of any proofs by prophecy and miracle.

When Moses declares that God is Eternal righteousness and establishes the law of righteousness for man, the declaration is robbed of the inherent force of its appeal by depending it on the passage of the Red Sea or the falling of manna from Heaven. When Jesus says that God is eternal love and that man's law therefore is to love his neighbor as himself, the truth of the saying is in no way proved or enhanced in value by the blasting of a fig-tree or collecting coin from a fish. Such great truths carry their own evidence to reason, and to offer extraneous support is both futile and misleading. For to accept truth on evidence other than its own rational truthfulness is both to obscure truth and deprive reason of its rights. Thus the developed moral reason must be permitted, as well as brought, to see for itself that whatever else God may be, He is Eternal Righteousness and therefore, as sustaining and ruling all in equal justice, Eternal Love, in consequence of which the supreme law of man's action is the law of love. On no other grounds could reason have confidence in the universe as a harmonious order whose substance is undestroyed, whose energy is unspent, and whose inner relations are governed by rational law.

It is such a direct appeal to reason, apart from all infallibilities of tradition, by which the individual freely accepts and

understands the truth for himself, that constitutes that freedom of religion which is compatible with or up to the level of democracy. There is only a small group of liberal churches in America that stand for such freedom, but unfortunately they suffer under the disadvantage of having had their origin not in a genetic development out of the main body of Protestant Christianity but in great controversial epochs, by reason of which they seem not only to stand in isolated antagonism to that main body but also to have lost the original inspiring impulse that gave them birth.

As to Protestant Christianity as a whole, there appears much ambiguity and confusion. Though cherishing within itself the principle of a free rational criticism, it still officially at least holds firmly to the traditional formulas. But at the same time, painfully conscious of the inadequacy and confusion of the creeds, its general tendency is to lessen the emphasis laid on creeds and turn to deeds as constituting the essence of religion. This, however, puts a slight upon one of the deepest notes of the Christian consciousness, *viz.*: the necessity of the true belief, a necessity that goes to the roots of religion. Religion in any true sense cannot exist without a creed. It is impossible to remove thought from religion and leave it mere feeling or volition. God is as much a clear thinker as He is a right doer, and it lies in the nature of reason itself that action has no direction or meaning unless based on thought. Our religious question at this point is not between dogma and no dogma, but between true and false dogma, and since dogma is to be accepted by a free act of individual reason, it must be raised from the character of a creed to be believed to that of a doctrine to be understood. In other words, reason demands that the things of spirit be as open to rational intuition as are the things of sense to material sight; that is, the truths of religion as well as the knowledge of nature must become scientific.

It is only thus that the freedom of religion can be attained as the rational possession of every man, and that the meaning of the Reformation in freeing religion from externalism can be brought to fulfilment in the home of democracy.

In fact, during the past generation, such a freedom for religion has emerged among us from the freedom of democracy, in the form of Christian Science. There is no note more clearly and joyously struck by Mrs. Eddy, the great founder of the movement, than the inherent dignity and worth of the individual man, and she lays her greatest stress upon reiterating the appeal of Jesus to every man to be himself, because of his God-given inheritance of freedom. In consequence of which, we find that as Jesus set aside every dependence on the authority of tradition by a direct appeal to the individual heart and conscience, so Mrs. Eddy sets aside the authority of tradition and appeals directly to the reason of man. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." You can and must see and understand the truth for yourself, whereupon it confirms itself in works of healing and reformation.

Nothing is more, perhaps so much, characteristic of Christian Science as this insistence upon the individual's rational freedom and capacity to appropriate the saving truth for himself. It matters not how imperfectly this principle may be realized, it is nevertheless come to expression and at work, as that freedom for religion which is peculiarly compatible with democracy.

It would, however, be a miracle transcending human nature and contrary to all historical analogies, if Christian Science, as a great religious movement, should not, in its early enthusiasm, center all its interests on activities, narrower than its entire meaning, or if its early adherents should not tend to obscure the original appeal to reason by once more erecting an infallible and unquestioned authority in the literal words of their founder, and thus again binding the free

spirit in the chains of a rational servitude. But although such conditions have immense practical value in concentrating effort and in securing organic strength, it nevertheless remains that it is as, and only as, a religion of rational appeal and rational freedom that Christian Science can become the proper form which Christianity, theoretical and practical, takes on under the free and inspiring conditions of democracy. Christianity in its ritualistic and dogmatic aspects took form under scientific and political conditions far different than our own and when privileged authority held sway. It is inevitable therefore that, with our modern views of life, when science and democracy demand freedom of thought and action, Christianity should take on a more simple and spiritual form which, consonant with the conditions that surround it, makes a direct appeal to the rational freedom of the individual who is thus enabled to become possessed of the truth for himself and not merely believe it on the authority of another. This is what is meant by the freedom of religion, and although comparatively few may be capable of exercising it, nevertheless it represents that stage of rational maturity and self-realization which it is the aim of democracy to bring out in every man.

GERHARDT C. MARS.

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# THE HARVEST: A BRIEF INQUIRY INTO THE CONDITIONS OF CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND, M.A.

". . . For if you suffer your people to be ill educated and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves and then punish them?"—SIR THOMAS MORE.

"If there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth."—OLIVER CROMWELL.

## I.—THE SITUATION.

JUST two decades ago, Mr. James Bryce in his *American Commonwealth* paid tribute to the law-abiding spirit of our people.

Should his book be revised to-day, Mr. Bryce would unfortunately have to make some pretty radical changes in regard to this matter of keeping the law. The story he would have to tell would be a narrative of violence and crime, of public indifference to misdemeanors, and of non-enforcements of the law, essentially symptomatic of great and rapid changes now taking place in our Republic. At the end of Mr. Bryce's revision, he could hardly reach any other conclusion than that in America respect for law and order is passing, that our present status is highly deplorable and that our outlook is none of the most encouraging.

Typical of the present-day growth of crime is an addition recently made to the so-called "Murderers' Row" in the Tombs Prison, New York City. When this prison was built, nobody expected that there would ever be more than thirty prisoners awaiting trial at any one time; the Row therefore accommodates only that number. Not long ago it proved inadequate. A recent editorial in the New York *World* pointed out that thirty-one murderers were, at the time of writing, incarcerated in the Tombs. This form of crime has therefore, so far as New York is concerned, outgrown all probable expectation. Similar conditions confront us all over the country. That

the increase is out of all proportion to the growth of the population we shall very shortly demonstrate.

You, I suppose, are an average American citizen, reasonably well-to-do, well-fed and clothed, comfortable, satisfied and pretty well convinced that in spite of the wicked agitators and troublesomely inquisitive statisticians "things are going along well enough."

"Oh yes, of course," you are quite willing to admit, "there may be an abnormal amount of crime among the low, ignorant immigrants, herded in the slums. But our country as a whole, is sound."

Let us consider this.

If Mr. Bryce in his supposititious revision should institute that odious thing, a comparison, between the United States and Europe, he might surprise you by the remark that Americans are seven times as murderously inclined as Germans, and that with the exception of Russian Poland, Calabria and Sicily, our own country is the most criminal of all lands where Christian civilization spreads its beneficence.* Then, if you objected to such a libel on the United States, he might point to certain very dry and weighty-looking pages of tabulation, from which one salient fact at least deserves your notice—that every year in the United States something between eight and ten thousand human beings are slaughtered with intent by their fellow-men—to say nothing of the million industrially mangled or murdered through lack of decent labor law and its enforcement. "The Armenian outrages," he might say, "fill you with horror; yet greater ones, from a numerical point of view, are every year being perpetrated in your so-called 'Christian' country."

Incredible as such statements appear, you have only to consult the statistics of crime to verify them in detail. Probably one of the best available indices to the rapid increase of American lawlessness may be found in the figures relative to murder, homicide, suicide and legal execution, per annum, as compared with our increase in population. The figures (given for the earlier years biennially) are as follows:†

| Year. | Murders. | Number if rate had not increased. | Population of United States.[2] | Number of people per each murder. | Number of murders per 1,000,000 | Suicides. | Legal Executions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1881 | 1,226 | 1,226 | 51,316,000 | 41,856 | 23.9 | 605 | 90 |
| 1883 | 1,697 | 1,283 | 53,693,000 | 31,640 | 31.6 | 727 | 107 |
| 1885 | 1,808 | 1,341 | 56,148,000 | 31,055 | 32.2 | 978 | 108 |
| 1887 | 2,335 | 1,402 | 58,680,000 | 25,131 | 39.8 | 1,384 | 79 |
| 1889 | 3,567 | 1,464 | 61,289,000 | 17,182 | 58.2 | 2,224 | 98 |
| 1891 | 5,906 | 1,528 | 63,947,000 | 10,827 | 92.4 | 3,331 | 123 |
| 1893 | 6,615 | 1,588 | 66,456,000 | 10,046 | 99.5 | 4,436 | 126 |
| 1895 | 10,500 | 1,650 | 69,043,000 | 6,576 | 152.1 | 5,759 | 132 |
| 1897 | 9,520 | 1,713 | 71,704,000 | 7,532 | 132.8 | 6,600 | 128 |
| 1899 | 6,225 | 1,778 | 74,433,000 | 11,957 | 83.6 | 5,340 | 131 |
| 1901 | 7,852 | 1,858 | 77,754,000 | 9,902 | 101.0 | 7,845 | 118 |
| 1902 | 8,834 | 1,890 | 79,103,000 | 8,954 | 111.7 | 8,132 | 144 |
| 1903 | 8,976 | 1,920 | 80,372,000 | 8,954 | 111.7 | 8,597 | 124 |
| 1904 | 8,482 | 1,953 | 81,752,000 | 9,638 | 103.8 | 9,240 | 116 |
| 1905 | 9,212 | 1,986 | 83,143,000 | 9,026 | 110.8 | 9,982 | 113 |
| 1906 | 9,350 | 2,044 | 85,568,000 | 9,152 | 109.3 | 10,125 | 125 |
| 1907 | 8,712[1] | 2,079 | 87,000,000 | 9,986 | 100.1 | 10,782 | 104 |

[1]Incomplete returns. [2]No official figures except in census years. Figure for 1907 is a rough estimate.

**Social Progress*, by Dr. Josiah Strong, for 1906, p. 169, gives the annual average of homicides in Germany at 16.1 per 1,000,000. These figures, the latest available, date from 1882–6, and are reckoned on a basis of population over ten years of age. Including the total population, as the figures for the United States do, the proportion would be considerably smaller. Even allowing for an increase in crime abroad during the past few years, we may safely say that this country stands far in the van as regards criminality. Mr. Strong's table gives as the highest criminal averages those of Italy and Spain (150.4 and 119.1), while the lowest is that of Holland (11.0). On a basis of total population, the United States leads even Italy as a whole, though falling behind Calabria and Sicily. We average about 110 or 112 per 1,000,000.

†Largely from statistics compiled by the Chicago *Tribune*.

This table reveals some significant facts. For instance, while 1881 has a ratio of killings to population of 1 in 41,856, 1905 shows a ratio of 1 in 9,026; *i. e.*, murder had in the two and one-half decades intervening become more than four times as common. It will be noted (and this is of especial importance) that during the year immediately following the panic of 1893–4, killings were more common than at any time before or since (1895, 10,500), a ratio of 1 in 6,575 of population, the worst record in the history of the country.

Judge Thomas of Montgomery, Alabama, recently quoted figures to show that the number of homicides in the United States for 1901–1904 inclusive was a third larger than either the total number of persons killed on our railroads in the same time or the war losses of the British in the Boer war. The figures are: Killed on railroads, 21,847; British losses, 22,000; homicides in United States, 34,144.

One of our large cities, Chicago, stands on the bad eminence of being the most criminal city in Christendom. Numerous publicists (including Mr. Stead) have already called attention to that fact, so we can pass it lightly over with just the brief mention that Chicago murders six times as many people as the much larger London, and more than eight times as many as Paris. In 1905 Chicago *reported* 187 killings; how many actually took place we have no means of telling. Berlin, approximately as large, reported just six murders for that year, and the German police are noted for letting few crimes escape them. The whole of England and Wales had only 317 murders in 1906. I leave some ingenious person to figure out the proportionate wickedness of Great Britain and Chicago. Roughly speaking, England and Wales murder people at a bit less than one one-hundredth the rate of the Western metropolis. More killings are committed in Georgia alone, with all its chivalric traditions, than in the whole British Empire. South Carolina in 1903 had a record of 222. The Southern States as a whole hold the first place, with 3,914 murders in 1906 as against 2,843 in the Central Division and only 254 in New England. Precisely in the Southern States is it that the "low, ignorant foreigners" are fewest in numbers, while New England is full of them. This must prove disconcerting to such of us as have prejudices.

In the South and West, along with a rising murder-rate, we find a similar increase in the number of burglaries and kidnappings. Robbers were formerly loath to kill. To-day the contrary is becoming true. "Not only are robberies increasing in number in Chicago," says a recent statement in the Chicago *Daily News*, "but the highwaymen are more bold and more desperate than formerly . . . when they rarely resorted to violence. To-day the robber's weapon is used to injure, maim and kill." By way of corroboration it is interesting to note that in 1901 only 193 burglars committed murder, as against 338 in 1902. "Misdemeanors" have grown amazingly common. In 1905, more than 175,000 persons were arrested as "first-timers" on misdemeanor charges. While train-robbery has decreased—this branch of business probably having proved more hazardous and less lucrative than the others—easy and cowardly crimes have grown very popular. Police records show that child-robbings and thefts of church-ware, communion-cups and poor-box funds are on the increase. Crimes against property are becoming much more numerous than formerly. Superintendent Brockway, for many years in charge of the reformatory at Elmira, New York, states that of the 1,500 prisoners under his charge, 94 per cent. are confined for property-crimes. The New York State Code shows an addition of twenty-six new crimes during the last century.

"With our growing industrial disorder," says Professor Charles D. Bushnell, of Washington, D. C., "is associated a startling recent increase in crime and vice. Suicides have increased in the

nineteen years from 1885 to 1903 more than five times as fast as the population. Murder and homicides in the twenty years between 1885 and 1904 have increased more than three times as fast as the population. . . . Their growth has been almost steady, showing it is not the resultant of accidental causes, but of some sinister evil in the nation, which is steadily working increasing wrong.

"Of professional criminals, such as burglars, footpads, gamblers and other crooks, there are now known and estimated to be some 300,000 in the country, getting an average income each of perhaps $1,500 a year, and causing an additional national expense for police protection, to say nothing of extra expenses for locks, safes, alarms, etc., of $2,000,000 more, making a total annual loss to the nation from this source, more than counterbalancing the value of all our annual exports of manufactures, or nearly equal to the annual running expenses of all our churches, benevolent institutions, public schools, institutions of higher education and home missions of every kind."

Some conception of the tremendous increase of our criminal population may be gathered from the fact that during the years between 1900 and 1904, our so-called "criminal class" increased from one in 3,500 of population to one in less than 1,000. All indications go to prove that the tide of criminality is fast rising in the United States, and that the situation is at least deserving of thoughtful consideration.

Nor is lawlessness by any means confined to the proletariat. It flourishes rankly among the middle and upper classes. "Consecutive polygamy," scandals, suicides, breaches of trust, gigantic frauds and a variety of malodorous evils afflict even our plutocracy. In order to achieve the possession of wealth, no infamy seems too base. "*Pecunia non olet*" seems to be our motto; yet crime is crime, whether committed in an alleyway with a set of brass knuckles, or in the stock exchange with "fake" market reports. Who will deny that business to-day is for the most part carried on with little scruple either for law, when the law can be successfully evaded, or for the principles of ethics, which have of late grown rather moth-eaten in presence of this new "higher law" we have heard so much discussed? Lester F. Ward puts the situation aptly when he remarks that there is a kind of deception which may "almost be called the foundation of business. . . . There is a sort of code that fixes the limit beyond which this form of deception must not be carried, and those who exceed that limit are looked upon somewhat as is a pugilist who 'hits below the belt.' But within those limits every one expects every other to suggest the false and suppress the true."*

"Of professional crime in business and politics, in the form of 'graft,' it is impossible to make an accurate estimate," says Professor Bushnell, cited above, "but the annual natlonal loss from that source must be at least twice that from professional crime. This class consists of an oligarchy composed of three classes—saloon-keepers, gamblers and others who engage in business that degrades; contractors, capitalists, bankers, and others who can make money by getting franchises and other property of the community cheaper by bribery than by paying the community; politicians who are willing to seek and accept office with the aid and indorsement of the classes already mentioned."

Our big business interests, monopolies, railways and the like, set the pace in evasions of the law. The little chaps—small merchants, traders and manufacturers try to follow; and so it goes, even unto the bank-clerk who must keep up with the race even at the eventual cost of wearing trousers with horizontal stripes. Human beings take their cue from "the man higher up" with astonishing ease. One can trace the process of corruption from top to bottom of our society without

*Ward, *Pure Sociology*, p. 487.

any great effort. And everywhere one finds the proof of that old saying that the law is a net through the meshes of which the big fish break, while the little fish are firmly caught by the gills.

"Business is business," of course—but from the standard of that old-fashoined thing, the Decalogue, as well as from that of the common law, the let-down of our moral stamina is pretty apparent all along the line. We are becoming lawless.

. . . . . .

Now, lawlessness is a wonderfully fertile seed, and wherever it is sown, there will the harvest most assuredly grow. It is growing to-day in America at an unprecedented rate.

Part of it takes the form of 90,000 men and women behind bars, in this "Land of Liberty." Part exists under the guise of the 300,000 non-productive crooks and criminals at large, preying like wasps in a bee-hive on the honey-getters. Part, again, sinks to the bottom of the social sea and festers there most putridly.

"Ten million of our people," to quote once more Professor Bushnell, "are now constantly in such poverty that they are unable to maintain themselves in physical efficiency; and 4,000,000 of them are public paupers. In 1899, one of our prosperous years, 18 per cent. or nearly one-fifth of all the people of New York State had to apply for charitable relief; in 1903, 14 per cent. of all the families of Manhattan were evicted; and every year about 10 per cent. of all who die have pauper burials. The average wage of unskilled workmen throughout the country is less than the scientific minimum necessary for maintaining the average workingman's family in physical efficiency.

"The last three United States censuses, also, show that the insane in this country have increased faster than the population. We now have in the United States in continuous charitable care probably 5,000,000 abnormal dependents, including paupers, insane, blind, deaf and dumb, indigent and discouraged—representing a dead loss to the nation every year equal to the total wealth we have invested in all the colleges, universities and technological schools of the whole country. If we could abolish this one item of abnormal expense we could double the facilities of all our institutions of higher education every year, and do it with no extra effort at all."

And again he says:

"This country spends $6,000,000,000 annually on the criminal, pauper and vicious classes, and the annual increase of wealth is only $5,000,000,000. . . . Disease as a result of vicious habits is on the increase; suicides are increasing six times as fast as the population, and murder three times as fast; insanity is also gaining on population. . . . The $6,000,000,000 cost to the country is more than the amount spent on all the churches, public libraries and benevolent institutions. The average factory-hand earns $440 a year, while it is estimated that the average criminal costs $1,200."*

On top of all this we have 6,000,000 illiterates; 7,000,000 children not in school; half a million prostitutes pandering to our enlightened civilization (40,000 in New York City alone); 2,000,000 child-slaves; 5,000,000 women competing in the labor market with their lords and masters either *de facto* or potential, to eke out the skimpy family dole; and a drink-traffic of more than 1,500,000,000 gallons a year, with a per capita consumption more than double that of twenty-five years ago. All these conditions, and many more, form what we must call the Harvest of broken laws, whether those laws be man-made or the other much more just and inflexible ones of social economy.

"But," you object, "nobody is to blame for all this. Our unfortunates, whether criminal or defective, are simply the incapable plants overtopped by hardier ones in the garden of life. There lies no blame in any place; for in social conditions as in biologic or botanic ones, all

*Chicago *Daily Socialist*, July 20, 1907.

this destruction is simply the working-out of the inexorable Darwinian law."

How soothing, how very comforting indeed to our social conscience is this specious identification of unlike things, this wholesale dismissal of responsibility with a glib phrasing of "survival of the fit"! How convenient as an excuse; how indispensable! For if ever a nation needed excuses, that nation is the United States of America. And never more than at this present moment, when all our "normal" misery is rendered ten-fold more acute by this universal Panic, when more than 5,000,000 able-bodied men are out of work and three or four times that number of dependents are suffering with them! How firmly must we hold to any word or phrase which shall disculpate us for any share in this vast and increasing lawlessness which marks the whitening of the Harvest!

## II.—THE REASON AND THE REMEDY.

To trace the outlines of our moral break-down is an easier task than to analyze in detail its causation and its possible remedy. Cures by the dozen and score are being exploited daily from the house-tops. The social physician is more often than not laughed at for his pains, and with good reason, for in the majority of cases such persons are merely good-hearted "reformers," convinced that they have a panacea and begging a hard-hearted world to try it, only try it, even though it involve a trip to Cuckoo-Cloud-land.

Yet difficult and for the most part thankless as the problem may be, it seems to me worth a little consideration; and if we intend to go about it in a scientific way we ought first of all to get at some of the fundamental causes of the various crimes we have been considering. For if any general principles can be established, even though they fail here and there to account for every individual dereliction, such principles must prove useful to us in our consideration of remedial measures.

And, first of all, let us in our analysis take up the crimes of violence tabulated on page 293. The Chicago *Tribune* gives their causes in the following order of frequency:

1. Quarrels.
2. Unknown.
3. Jealousy.
4. Liquor.
5. Highwaymen.
6. Resisting arrest.
7. Highwaymen killed.
8. Strikes.
9. Self-defense.
10. Riots.
11. Insanity.
12. Race-prejudice.
13. Cupidity.
14. Revenge.*

If we eliminate 1 and 2 as incapable of present analysis, we can group the others into Primary and Secondary Causes. Primary we may best define as those which exist *per se* as intrinsic parts of that much-maligned thing roughly known as "human nature" in its lowest terms, as, for example, among a primitive race or among the atavistic members of an advanced race. Jealousy, self-defense, race-prejudice and revenge are fair examples. Secondary Causes are those which exist principally in and because of complex social conditions and a highly-developed economic struggle. Strikes, drunkenness, highway-robbery, riots, insanity and cupidity may be truthfully labeled special blessings of a highly civilized state. We may therefore call these Secondary Causes of crime.

It must be understood, however, that in a classification of this sort no hard-and-fast line is drawn or can be drawn, since causes merge and blend inextricably. Yet in general I think the division justifiable. If we accept it we are led to the conclusion that at least a majority of crime to-day is due less to the innate perversity and original sin of mankind than to certain anomalies or unfortunate circumstances of our social and economic system.

This brings us very close to the so-called "economic interpretation" or, if you please, the "materialist concept" of history, in which the "prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily follow-

*Regarding Classes 1 and 2, full data would very probably enable us to assign a large majority of these to some other and more specific class.

ing from it, form the basis upon which is built up and from alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of each epoch,* or, as Mr. W. J. Ghent more clearly puts it, "the prevailing mode of production and exchange is the main determining factor in human affairs . . . the relations of men to one another in the matter of making a living are the main underlying causes of men's habits of thought and feeling, their institutions of society and government. . . ."†

Human laws and the crimes which break them are in the main, from this point of view, adequately explained by the necessities which men as individuals and society as a whole labor under in order to live. No more striking illustration of this fact is to be met than the progressive changes in the status and punishment of crimes, which have paralleled the modifications of our social system itself during the past 200 years.

That this status since the last third of the eighteenth century has undergone changes hardly less profound and revolutionary than the change itself from hand to machine production and distribution of wealth, needs but an inspection of the facts to demonstrate.

The science of criminology dates back little beyond that time. Before 1774 there was, practically speaking, no such science at all. Crimes there were a-plenty, and the most drastic punishments; but these latter took the form of retribution rather than of safeguards to society. Despite all evidence to the contrary, the idea persisted from remote times that cruel and excessive penalties deterred prospective criminals. And not until Cesare Beccaria published (in the year already named) his *Dei Delitti e delle Pene,* which we may translate *Crimes and Punishments,* was any light shed on the real nature of misdeeds and social retribution.

Through this work, supplemented by the much later researches of Lombroso and Garofalo (1878), but most especially as a result of Enrico Ferri's labors, the truth concerning crime has come to be recognized.

Ferri, the master-mind of Italian Socialism, stands as the great popularizer of the Positive School of Criminology, as opposed to the now obsolescent Classic School. The latter concerns itself exclusively with the administration of definite punishments for this, that, or the other misdeed, largely irrespective of the antecedent circumstances. The former enunciates the principle that "the material requirements of life shape and determine also the moral and intellectual aims of human consciousness; that . . . in order to be a criminal it is necessary that the individual should find himself in such personal, physical and moral conditions, in such an environment as shall become for him a chain of cause and effect . . . disposing him to crime."‡

This principle reaffirms the idea of causality, extends its operation from the material to the moral life, and considers crime as the inevitable corollary of iniquitous social conditions. For the adherent to this school of thought, crime becomes "above all a natural and social phenomenon, to be studied primarily as such." Crime is no longer considered an extraneous entity working through men—an entity to be exorcised by tortures and revenge—but rather as a resultant of social forces, more often than not beyond the control of the criminal and moulding him, often from infancy, to its own ends. The Greek idea of Nemesis joins hands with modern science in this new social concept.

According to the Positive School of Criminology, the causality of crime falls into the tripartite categories of Anthropological, Telluric and Social.

In other words, to understand crime and correct it we must take into account,

*Frederick Engels, Introduction to the English translation of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1888).

†Ghent, *Mass and Class,* p. 8.

‡Ferri, *The Positive School of Criminology,* translation of Ernest Untermann, pp. 6, 22, 57.

first, the congenital nature of the criminal, next, the natural conditions of climate and locality which may have influenced his development, and, lastly, the economic and educational *milieu* in which he has lived.

Since the criminal's congenital nature comes to him as the result (to a large degree) of his parents' social status, using the terms in their broadest sense, we may safely attribute much of the "anthropological" causation to the third or social group, in determining the ratio of personal responsibility in most criminals. And as will soon appear, this still further strengthens the case of those who believe that in the majority of cases the criminal is more sinned against than sinning.

Conjointly with this modern outlook upon crime, there has come to birth a new social philosophy which aims to eradicate causes rather than to suppress symptomatic results; which works to lessen and even eventually to suppress crime by means of social improvements, rather than by individual punishments. In other words the idea of retaliation (almost inevitably futile) is to-day being largely supplanted by that of prophylaxis. It is the proverbial "ounce of prevention" decked out in scientific terminology, no less, no more.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson used to tell of a test applied by the head of an insane asylum to distinguish the sane from the insane. He took them to a basin of water under a running faucet and asked them to dip out the water. The insane merely dipped and dipped. The sane turned off the faucet and dipped out the rest.

Viewed with this simple case in mind, the whole problem of crime and its responsibility becomes strikingly simplified. We no longer patiently hear "original sin" hurled at us from pulpits. We are coming to think better of that thing called man. The moral nature of the human species stands at last almost on the threshold of its heritage. That men under decent conditions of life are not in the main criminally inclined, is at last becoming pretty widely recognized. "Normal conditions will produce normal beings; whatever bad is found in men comes from causes outside of men in the conditions that surround and make them. . . . Our quarrel is not with human nature but with social conditions."*

Whether we can explain *all* crime by this method seems, perhaps, doubtful. The puzzling and insoluble question of Free Will comes into play here, vexing us with many idle speculations which at this time were better left aside. Granting that *some* crime may originate spontaneously, it still seems highly probable that the Positive School maintains its case in the long run, and that the large majority of crimes present some abnormal social factor.

The abuse of intoxicants is such a factor; so is the close herding together, in the slums, of inharmonious races steeped in ignorance and hereditary hatred of each other; the prevailing poverty of the masses, with attendant poor food, improper housing and lack of decent privacy; the imperfect education, mental and moral, of the poor. Yet behind all these partial factors in the production of crime, stands a Fundamental Cause; and until that Cause is reached and overthrown, we may forever battle in Quixotic jousts with its *sequelæ*, yet never find ourselves very far advanced upon the road toward a purer and a more rationalized social state. I grant you that the reform of drunkards, the cleansing of the slums, the erection of "model" tenements in place of death-traps, the hundred and one admirable movements for social betterment undertaken by earnest and devoted adherents of some special plan all are instrumental in alleviating much woe, in preventing much crime. Yet withal, crime is increasing. In other words, the levees cannot be raised fast enough to hold back the river of evil.

The fact is, that river is being fed day and night from a thousand sources. To

*Murray E. King, *Socialism and Human Nature*, p. 7.

raise higher and still higher dykes against the flood is nothing but a task of Sysephus, unless the dyke-builders at the same time pay heed to the sources and strive to cut them off. These sources are, after all, only the protean manifestations of some greater evil. Against this evil our efforts should be directed; about it our questions should be asked; the thing, once for all, should be thoroughly understood.

Why (we should ask ourselves) are by far the greater number of our people propertyless ?* Why do the poor so often waste their small substance in liquor? Why do we have child-labor, illiteracy, wage-slavery? Why are human beings herded into Ghettoes like very beasts? Why must women sell themselves for the privilege of living at all? Why are our fellow-creatures harried and dereligionized and starved and brutalized till they not only revert to atavistic savagery but also bring forth children already branded with degenerate stigmata, children whose only probable destiny shall be that of crime? Why do we let some few favored persons pile up Alps of wealth, to the detriment of multitudes, all the while knowing that thereby is worked great corruption of the state? Why, among many Why's, do we "first make thieves and then punish them" ?

*Why?*

To this Sphinx of social questions comes the Œdipus of modern thought with his economic interpretation of history and institutions.

"Our economic system," he answers, "is fundamentally at fault—or rather our economic anarchy of competition run mad, our cut-throat Capitalism, a struggle for existence in which the strongest, the most wily and unscrupulous win, the others lose. Crime is the natural and necessary concomitant of a wolf-pack society like ours, cruel and cannibalistic, in which the losing members of the pack have little choice than to turn upon their victors or against each other with bared fangs."

Do you doubt it?

Look, then, at the criminal statistics for 1895–7, the years after the Panic which preceded our present one. "During the great industrial crisis in the 90's," says Rauschenbusch, "I saw good men go into disreputable lines of employment, and respectable widows consent to live with men who would support them and their children. One could hear human virtue cracking and crumbling all around. Whenever work is scarce . . . crime is plentiful."† The same conditions as were noted fifteen years ago are with us again to-day. Although general statistics are as yet unobtainable regarding the increase of criminality due to the present Panic, yet indications here and there tell the story. The papers are daily filled with stories of suffering and violence. A recent number of the Chicago *Daily Socialist* reports an increase of 300 per cent. in the suicide-rate of Chicago. On December 25, 1906, there were 191 prisoners in the Tombs, New York, 62 of them awaiting trial, 129 awaiting the action of the Grand Jury; and 541 cases standing on the calendar. The corresponding figures for December 25, 1907, after the Panic had struck, were 323, 238, 85 and 1,271. Comment is superfluous.

The fact is indisputable that the number of persons who commit crimes and go to jail increases in direct ratio with the price of food, fuel and other necessities of life—or, what is the same thing, in inverse ratio with the lowering of wages and the "tightness" of money. More men go to jail in winter than in summer. Shall we conclude that people become more wicked in winter, less virtuous as prices rise? When some monopoly gouges a little deeper into the national pocket, does that "change human nature" ?

*The United States census for 1900 gives the following division of wealth: Upper class, numbering 250,000, own $67,000,000,000, or 70 per cent. of national wealth; middle class, numbering 8,400,000, own $24,000,000,000, or 29 per cent. of national wealth; lower class, numbering 20,400,000, own $4,000,000,000, or 4 per cent. of national wealth. Conditions to-day are known to be far worse than eight years ago.

†*Christianity and the Social Crisis*, p. 238.

"Whenever the Standard Oil Company raises the price of oil . . . a certain number of girls who are seamstresses and who work night after night for somebody else, will . . . go out on the streets and ply another trade. Mr. Rockefeller and his associates are responsible, not the girls.

"First and last, people are sent to jail because they are poor. . . . The more that is taken from the poor by the rich who have the chance to take it, the more poor people there are who must resort to illegal means to make a living. . . .

"If every man, woman and child in the world had a chance to make a fair, honest, decent living, with all that this implies, there would be few jails, courts, lawyers."*

Who will affirm that market prices alter people's characters? Is there no more simple, obvious answer than this to our question why people commit crimes?—the question asked eight centuries ago by the Persian Poet, and for so long a puzzle to mankind:

> "Oh, Thou who didst with pitfall and with gin
> Enmesh the road I was to travel in,
> Thou wilt not with predestined evil round
> Ensnare, and then impute my fall to sin?"

Here is, in brief, the situation and the answer as the newer school of social economists are coming to see them. Our present competitive system—Capitalism—deprives millions of human beings of those things which they must have, will have at any cost, *ought* to have—and then preaches a virtuous resignation to them, thunders anathemas at them, loads penalties upon them. Logical, is it not? And well calculated to foster a love of righteousness among "the masses"?

The fact remains, above and beyond all restrictions of that class-rule instrument called "Law," that just so long as the necessities of life or its prizes are to be had by disregarding the rules of a game in itself essentially unfair, whether the weapon employed in playing the game be corporation trickery or the crude bludgeon, those rules will be persistently disregarded. No multiplication of penalties, no revisions of codes, no enlargements of prisons, no electric-chairs will be able to arrest that process. Men and women denied those legitimate things which human nature demands, will seize by fraud or by force the means of gratifying their desires. Who shall arise to say that the fault lies in human nature rather than in the artificial system which enlimes it?

Education is acknowledged to be a force making toward decent citizenship; and yet so long as economic conditions urge men to break the law in the pursuit of a living or of "success," as our false standards interpret the word, education *per se* will not stop crime. Dr. Buckley, the criminologist, states that among the prisoners under his observation at Elmira "more than one-third are well educated, and many are refined," and that "many had had all the advantages of the school, stood high in society and the church." Again, religious instruction is impotent in many cases. Mr. F. H. Starr, in an address on "Some Men I Have Met in Prison," says: "Statistics prove that 85 per cent. of criminals have been religiously inclined at some time of their lives. The criminal of to-day is bred from Christian homes." Mr. Channing Pollock's illuminating census of prisons shows that more ex-clergymen than actors are incarcerated in jails in the United States. As for severer laws and more formidable punishments, they have uniformly proved themselves unavailing. "Every time that punishment is inflicted," says Bentham, "it proves its inefficacy, for it did not prevent the committal of that crime."

"You may pass a law punishing every person with death for burglary, and it will make no difference. Men will commit it just the same. In England there was a time when 100 different offenses were punishable with death, and it made no difference. The English people strangely found out that so fast as they repealed the severe penalties and so fast as they did

*Clarence S. Darrow, *Address to the Prisoners in Chicago County Jail*, pp. 9 and 11.

away with punishing men by death, crime decreased instead of increasing; that the smaller the penalty the fewer the crimes."*

To the thinking man, vengeful and suppressive measures are nothing but plasters on the sores of our diseased society. They may cover up the trouble for a while, but they can never heal it. Some more radical and scientific treatment is indicated. The wise legislator will follow the expert physician in regarding himself more especially an agent for *removing causes* than for *eliminating results.* Recognizing that crime is a phenomenon due to the interaction of personal and social factors and that by far the major portion is determined by the criminals' physical and moral environment, he will aim at attenuating the plague less by means of the criminal code than by the application of just economic laws. He will follow up the diminution of penalties by an attempt to remove the stimuli to crime. He will employ, in other words, the rules of social hygiene in order to reach the roots of criminality and destroy them. From his view-point, penal justice as to-day administered in fixed doses solely as the result of certain specific and fixed offenses, becomes a denial of even elementary common sense.

"The most barbarian conditions of humanity show a prevalence of a criminal code which punishes without healing," says Ferri. "The gradual progress of civilization will give rise to the opposite conception of healing without punishing . . . will transform penal justice into a simple function of preserving society from the disease of crime, divested of all relics of vengeance, hatred and punishment, which still survive in our day as living reminders of the barbarian stage."†

"The physician who would treat fever or measles or diphtheria without considering the cause would be considered the veriest bungler and responsible for his patient's death," says a recent article in the Chicago *Daily Socialist.* "Not so very long ago the world believed that disease, deformity and sin came from the same cause—some sort of an evil spirit that found its abode in man. The way to destroy the evil spirit was generally to destroy the man.

"The world will perhaps grow wise enough not only to believe that disease, deformity and sin have a common cause, but perhaps so wise as to find their common cause. No skilful physician called to the bedside of a child suffering with scarlet fever would upbraid the child for the evil spirit that caused its pain; no more would he punish the consumptive for his hacking cough; he would understand perfectly well that the physical condition of each was due to some natural cause, and that the disease could be cured in these patients and avoided with others only when the cause was destroyed, or so well known that no one need fall a victim of the malady.

"Even in diseases of the most contagious sort, where the isolation of the patient is necessary to protect the lives and health of others, this isolation would be accomplished not in hatred or malice but in the greatest tenderness and love, and the isolation would last only for the purpose of a cure and a sufficient time for cure; and every pains would be taken to destroy and stamp out the cause which produced the disease. . . .

"If our physicians were no more intelligent than our lawyers, when called to visit a miasmic patient, instead of draining the swamp they would chloroform the patient and expect thus to frighten all others from taking the disease. . . .

"If work were sufficiently plenty or remunerative both jails and almshouses would be compelled to close their doors. Long ago it was ascertained from statistics that the number of crimes rose and fell in accord with the price of bread. All new communities, where land is cheap or free and labor has ample employment, or, better still, a chance to employ itself, are very free from crime. England made

*Darrow, *Address to the Prisoners in Chicago County Jail.*

†Ferri, pp. 13 and 45.

Australia its dumping-grounds for criminals for years, but these same criminals when turned upon the wide plains with a chance to get their living from the soil, became peaceable, orderly citizens, fully respecting one another's rights. England, too, used certain portions of her American colonies where she sent men for her country's good. These criminals, like all criminals of the world, were the exploited, homeless class. When they reached the new country, when they had an opportunity to live, they became as good citizens as the pilgrim fathers, who were likewise criminals themselves.

"As civilization has swept westward through the United States jails have lagged behind. The jail and the penitentiary are not the first institutions planted by colonists in a new country or by pioneers in a new state. These pioneers go to work to till the soil, to cut down the forests, to dig the ore; it is only when the owning class has been established and the exploiting class grows up that the jail and the penitentiary become fixed institutions, to be used for holding people in their place."

The fact must thus be recognized—is already becoming so—that crime is a by-product of faulty social conditions and that criminals cannot all be classified together; that the born criminal who is a victim of vicious neurosis cannot be judged on the same grounds with the occasional criminal, the passionate criminal or other types of social offenders. To dose them all out of the same bottle is pure absurdity. A grave crime is pretty conclusive proof of a pathological condition in the individual or his environment. "Want is the strongest poison for soul and body." As long as want endures, just so long will crime endure to shame us with our false pretensions of civilization.

We need, it seems to me, legislation concerning itself with more and better civic education for the young. In this respect Germany has more than one lesson to teach us in the methods of inculcating a sense of civic conscience. We need probationary instead of fixed sentences. The work of Judge Lindsey, so efficacious in its beneficence, ought to be extended into every court-room. We need the reimbursement of victims of crime, through the labor of the criminal himself. We need some system whereby accused persons who have been acquitted by trial may recover damages from the state, whose arbitrary power has so tremendously wronged them.

We urgently need the asexualization of confirmed criminals. We need a modernizing of the archaic forms and practices of law, as well as the introduction of some means whereby the poor may enjoy the protection of adequate legal defense. And, most of all, while working for the eventual overthrow of Capitalism, that fruitful mother of so many ills, do we need a great deal of legislation directed toward the physical, mental and moral betterment of the working-classes through appropriate laws controlling food-supply, housing and hours of labor, never, of course, forgetting for an instant the infamy of child-slavery, so that our producers of wealth may live their lives more fully for their own benefit, rather than for the purposes of commercial exploitation.

Could these things be, "Justice, guided by science, would discard the sword which now descends bloodily upon those poor fellow-beings of ours who have fallen victims to crime, and would become a clinical function, whose prime object should be to remove or lessen in society and individuals the causes which incite to crime."*

It seems almost superfluous to say that changes so revolutionary in our point of view and procedure concerning crime and its prevention must involve also revolutionary changes in our entire economic system. This point has been already touched; I need only remind the reader that our present *régime* of competition, Capitalism, is so delicately adjusted—or, rather, maladjusted—in all its parts that

*Ferri, p. 45.

modification of one necessarily involves modification of all the others.

The reforms roughly outlined above are impracticable under our present system of "disguised cannibalism." We need never hope for them in sober earnest much before the arrival of the Coöperative Commonwealth, in which the interests of the common good shall outweigh those of private greed. Never in this world, so long as Capitalism persists, shall we be able to eliminate the manufacture of criminals in the slum, the sweatshop, the child-labor hell, the deadening servitude of routine toil for scant wages and under execrable conditions.*

The Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, compiler of the *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, states the case well in a recent article in *The Churchman:*

"The evils of to-day," says he, "largely and all but inevitably spring from the foundations of our economic life, in the basing of industry upon the strife of individuals each pushing for himself. If we would really save the nation from the evils of intemperance, gambling, graft, divorce, prostitution" (and let us add, from violence and murder as well) "we must meet these evils in their economic roots."

Just a word, and the case goes to you for its verdict. We of the opposition to the present system hold that this land of ours is big enough and rich and fertile enough to give every human creature a comfortable living in exchange for socially useful work, if 1 per cent. of our people did not own 70 per cent. of our wealth while 70 per cent. of our people own but 4 per cent. of our wealth.† We hold that poverty and crime are root and blossom of the same bad weed of soulless competition, growing in the morass of Capitalism. We hold that the Harvest is natural and inevitable, until the morass is drained and the weed plucked up *in toto*. Pruning the weed will never kill it.

Pitiably futile are these prunings, these short-sighted, unscientific bourgeois reforms, these dallyings, subterfuges and evasions of the issue, these coquettings with the scissors, where nothing but a spade will serve.

The competitive system of Capitalism must go before crime ever can be checked. That much is certain. And while, through our sloth and blindness, Capitalism remains, we—you and I, brother—are "*particeps criminis* . . . in almost every sin that is committed. The girl who drifts into shame because no happy marriage is open to her; the boy who runs into youthful criminality because he has no outlet for his energies except the street; the great financial operator who organizes deceptive moments in the stock market and fleeces the mass who are crazy for unearned gain—they can justly turn against us all and say, 'You have led us into temptation.'"‡

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*For such as care to follow this branch of the social question, we should like to mention Vandervelde's *Collectivism and Industrial Evolution*, Ladoff's *American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty*, and Fitch's *Physical Basis of Mind and Morals. Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History*, by Kautsky, is also illuminating. For the condition of the American lower classes, see Robert Hunter's *Poverty*. For labor conditions, see Thomas Oliver's *Dangerous Trades*.

†The census of 1900 stated that 250,000 persons in the United States own over $70,000,000,000, while 20,400,000 (proletarians) own but $4,000,000,000, or $200 apiece.

‡Rauschenbusch, p. 360.

# THE MEANING OF SKEPTICISM.

By Rev. William Mitchell.

EMERSON in his admirable essay on Montaigne has used the word "skeptic" in its oldest, largest and noblest sense. The original meaning of the word, its root meaning, is, after all, its best and truest meaning. The Greek word, σκέπτεσθαι, means to consider, to inquire, to look into, to examine—σκοπεῖν—to look at, observe, to fix one's eyes upon. It is therefore a splendid word, a healthy word, capable of expressing a very large and important truth, descriptive as it were of a constant attitude of the human mind. Coleridge has said somewhere that "there is more in the history of a word than we sometimes think," and the remark applies to this very word, skepticism.

We may see in it only a narrow and wilful spirit of opposition to Christianity, or we may discover in it a larger and more vital meaning. We may see in it an essential spirit of inquiry into truth, of earnestness in the search for truth. There are the negations of unbelief, the denials of doubt; but there are, too, great positive elements in skepticism, mighty affirmations of truth as recorded by the skeptical spirit, silent witnesses of the presence of God even in places where the vision of God seems clouded and bedimmed.

By skepticism therefore in this essay is meant the spirit of inquiry, of earnest doubt, of hesitation and indecision in embracing Christian truth. Of all our words in present use which describe the general attitude of opposition the word skeptic seems to include the most, seems to be the most comprehensive.

The atheist is one who denies the existence of God. The infidel (*infidelis*) is literally one who is untrue, unfaithful. The materialist is one who begins and ends with the fact of matter but can conceive of nothing more than matter, nothing higher than matter. Again, to take another very common word, an old word with a new meaning—the word agnostic—by this, too, we mean one who says not only that he does not, but that he cannot know.

In every one of these words there is something negative, narrow, limited. They represent tendencies of feeling, movements of thought which express an opposition to the Christian religion, without offering anything in its stead. Their inner spirit is that of simple negation and denial. They arrest the progress of human thought and therefore they do not and cannot lead us anywhere.

The skeptic, on the other hand, is "one who stops to consider," "one who pauses to think," one who hesitates at the threshold of Christianity, but whose very hesitation implies the forward step. His doubt, whatever else it may be, is at least honest, and Tennyson interprets it beautifully when he says in those lines from *In Memoriam:*

> "You tell me doubt is Devil-born
>
> "I know not: one indeed I knew
> In many a subtile question versed,
> Who touched a jarring lyre at first,
> But ever strove to make it true:
>
> "Perplexed in faith, but pure in deeds,
> At last he beat his music out.
> There lives more faith in honest doubt,
> Believe me, than in half the creeds."

The skeptical spirit, then, is of that nobler sort which worked in Tennyson's friend—through which

> "He fought his doubts, and gathered strength,
> He would not make his judgment blind,
> He faced the specters of the mind,
> And laid them: thus he came at length
>
> "To find a stronger faith his own."

We must deal with the subject in its larger bearings rather than in any of its

smaller and more special manifestations. We are to consider, first of all, the fact of skepticism in our modern life, the causes of its growth and general prevalence in our day and age, and then we are to ask what it means. We must determine if we can its drift and tendency. Is it postive or negative? Is it essential or accidental to the development of the religious spirit? We must discover if we can what if any contribution skepticism as a living force makes to the larger life of humanity. Here, then, are four problems that confront us: (1) the fact of skepticism; (2) the causes of our present skepticism; (3) the essential aspect of skepticism; (4) the elements which make it vital.

I.

First of all, then, what shall we say as to the fact of skepticism? At the very outset we are confronted with two opposing tendencies. There are those who would apparently overlook the fact itself and consider it to no appreciable extent, and there are on the other hand those who would consider it final. To some minds truth must always clothe itself in garments of infallibility. The human mind *must* accept, the human reason *must* receive the truth of Christianity from without, solely on the authority of the Oppe, or the Bible, or the ecumenical councils of the early church. Doubt here is "devil-born" indeed, and means heresy and sin. On the other hand, there are those who are so intent on the search for truth, so perplexed and bewildered by the mazes of that search, that they lose sight of truth itself and stop at the very point where a solution might be found. Life to them is a riddle, a puzzle, a huge enigma. Infallibility, therefore, of the Roman, or the High Anglican, or the extreme Protestant type, is, strangely enough, very near to modern agnosticism. The principle of authority leads sooner or later to skepticism in its final form, unless the opposite principle of private judgment be introduced as a check or balance-wheel.

But the fact of skepticism can neither be overlooked nor considered as something final. It would seem, rather, to mark that transition stage between the faith of childhood and the faith of manhood. There comes a period, an epoch, a moment in our lives when we have neither the one nor the other. The past is gone and with it the faith of the past; the future is not yet here. We live in the present, and the present affords us no sure relief, no inner satisfaction. Truth seems far away and the search for truth involves a struggle. The skeptical moment therefore lies in this very struggle of the human soul in its search for truth. It is the feeling of bewilderment and drift, the discovery that we have lost our moorings, the desolation, emptiness and loneliness which are so sure to follow. Skepticism is a fact, whether we like to admit it or not. It is a fact of the individual experience, a phase of life which meets us everywhere, a fact written deep in our own spiritual history, and a fact which meets us in the larger life about us, in biography, in literature and social movements, in human life as a whole.

The life of Frederick William Robertson may be exceptional in the tone of its skepticism, in the intensity and depth of his struggle with doubt. His was a great soul and therefore the experience through which he passed was great and critical, but his life remains as typical of that same sad process which seems to be inevitable to any who really grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. All do not pass through this experience, but many do. There are minds so constituted that they seem to perceive truth, as it were, by intuition. They have an immediate perception of truth. They are like St. John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, who leaned upon the Master's breast. But there are others more like St. Paul, who can grasp the truth only after they have struggled for it and

fought hard for it. St. Augustine, Martin Luther and Coleridge are representative men in whom we can trace this power of doubt and inquiry in all of its fullness and through all of its various stages. In minds like these we can mark the rise and growth of the skeptical spirit, discover its causes and its source, follow its later course and development, its tone of mere negation and denial, of restlessness and violent opposition, of sadness and intense earnestness, and its later hopefulness and splendid victory.

While most of us may regret the bitterness and pain of skepticism like theirs, still it is impossible to overlook the greatness of the truth which came to them and the love with which they held it. The very struggle which they were forced to make only adds to the preciousness of the truth itself. They are representative men because they embody a common spirit. They speak directly to the heart of our humanity and in that heart they find an immediate response.

You may read the life of Charles Darwin or the life of Abraham Lincoln; you may study the biography of Goethe or Heine, of Carlyle or Benjamin Franklin, of Emerson or Theodore Parker, of Renan, Tolstoi or Maeterlinck—and in every instance there is the same skeptical spirit at work, sometimes asserting itself in a destructive and violent way, sometimes leaving the heart empty, the soul bitter and sad, sometimes urging the soul onward and upward to a larger conception of truth, a more potent and vigorous defense of the truth.

If we turn away from biography and turn towards literature, we can see distinctly this same current of thought. One great reason why George Eliot holds her high place as a novelist and will always continue to hold it is because of this element of doubt, this spirit of inquiry, this natural skepticism which pervades her greater characters. The moral tone of her books is high, the ethical tendency is dominant, but all through and through, in and between the lines, there is this constant movement, this play and interchange of feeling, this doubt and hesitation between the utter rejection of faith and the absolute acceptance of faith. The permanent helpfulness of George Eliot, apart from the charm of her stories, lies in their truthfulness to human nature. They interpret the great needs and yearnings and crises of the human soul.

Why was it that a book like Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere* had such a large sale a few years ago and was so popular? Was it not because of the very skepticism of the book; because it touched upon those questions which were perplexing people the most at the time—the questions of inspiration, of miracles, of the higher criticism, and the supernatural element in Christianity? People were interested in those things and looked to *Robert Elsmere* for help, for an answer to their problem. The fact that the book was soon dropped and had to make way for something else only shows that the negative result contained therein did not satisfy the intellectual needs of the time.

Matthew Arnold may be cold and at times cruel in his criticism of Christian theology, but there are those who have found help even from him. They have learned from him to look beneath the theories of inspiration and thus to discover the essential meaning of inspiration. Mr. Arnold has helped others to reconsider the truth of the Trinity and to lift it up above the plane of mathematics into the very highest regions of spiritual experience and reality. Like Carlyle, Matthew Arnold has by his very skepticism served a noble purpose and done a great work as a preacher of righteousness.

II.

The skepticism of to-day, like that of any other age, comes from that native impulse for freedom, that desire to cut loose from outward authority, and to do one's own thinking.

The modern revolt against theology may be considered rather a revolt against the rigidness and fixity in presenting Christian truth, which are characteristics of so many of our dogmatic systems. It is not so much a spirit of opposition to Christianity itself as it is that spirit of antagonism to the accidents and outward accompaniment of Christianity. One great factor in the development of our modern skepticism is what we may call the scientific spirit. Science and all that science means has been a "Gospel" to many minds in the nineteenth century, emancipating them from the narrowness and bigotry of dogmatic systems, revealing something of the mystery and largeness of truth, disclosing something of the real nature of religion, its essence and inner significance, as distinct from its trappings and formulæ.

The scientific spirit has made men listen once more to the voice of God in nature, to the Divine Presence in the natural order, and if it has led many astray, if it has made some abandon the old positions, it has also helped many of the best thinkers within the church to restate the true position of Christianity, to deepen its meaning, to enlarge its scope and to vindicate its supremacy.

Again, modern skepticism can be traced back to the sectarianism of much of our religious life. The earnest searcher after truth finds so many cross-roads, so many forms of Christianity, such various and divergent claims, such endless division and opposition among the multiplicity of sects, that it is no wonder he is tempted to give up all search in disgust. He prefers to remain outside of the church rather than enter a church which is so divided and at war with itself.

The decay of home culture and home training, the large surrender which the home has made of its own legitimate work, the withdrawal of the Bible from the place which it once held in our American life—in short, "the decay of sentiment, the abandonment of weakening of the moral sense," as Agnes Repplier would say—these are some of the many reasons why the growth of the skeptical spirit in our day has been so rapid.

Contrast, if you will, the old New England meeting-house and the place it occupied in the life of the town, with the place of the modern church in any community, and you will see the difference. There was formerly a natural leadership, a position of preëminence given to the church which in a measure she does not enjoy to-day. The social movements, the industrial upheavals, the labor agitations, the alienation of the masses from the church—these things indicate a certain loss of leadership. In short, the modern world is coming to feel that the church does not have a monopoly on religion, that religion itself is larger, broader, greater than our theological or ecclesiastical systems.

III.

Now the question recurs as to the essential aspect of skepticism. Is it positive or is it negative? Is skepticism after all a mere accident—an unfortunate blunder into which we have come all at once in the evolution of our Christianity, or is it essential to the growth of the religious spirit? Does it contribute anything to the cause of Christ? If it opposes Christian thought and Christian theology, has it not also a message for Christian theology? Must we turn away from skepticism and renounce it altogether as bad and corrupt and "devil-born," or may we not enter into its meaning, gather up its scope and purpose, sympathize with its griefs and sorrows and learn something from its struggle with truth?

Here again it will be well to remember that the skepticism under consideration is that spirit of inquiry and search, that attitude of the earnest thinker who hesitates before he embraces the truth of Christianity because he wishes first of all to satisfy himself of its truth. This

paper has nothing to do with the sneers of the mere scoffer.

It is easy enough to gather from what has already been said that skepticism in any and all of its several manifestations is essentially a transition movement, an epoch in the evolution of faith. Back of the mere fact of skepticism we can discern its true purpose, its *motif*. The longer we study the thing itself, the more certain do we become of its inner drift and meaning. It seems to tell us that truth, religious truth, Christian truth, is like any other truth and must be won only by a tremendous struggle, only by the mighty effort of the whole man, the upward and forward outreaching of the mind and heart and soul of man.

Skepticism tells us that truth is like character. They are neither of them given to man outright, but man must work for them, struggle for them, reach out after them, and fight for them if he would make them his own. The possession of truth involves the wrestling for truth, and skepticism is this very struggle. The pain, the bitterness, the opposition, the apparent defeat and even hopelessness of the cause, do not mean that skepticism itself is negative and evil. That which we call evil, as Dr. Royce has pointed out in *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy*, is often good in the making, the effort after good. The same process which takes place in the moral sphere as we work out our character, the same conflict with sin and selfishness, the same struggle after righteousness, all of this takes place in the intellectual sphere as we endeavor to grasp the truth of religion. The mind pauses, hesitates, stops and considers, chafes under its bondage, claims its native right to find truth for itself, and make truth its own even though it comes by toil, pain and battle.

Skepticism is positive, therefore, not negative; essential to the growth and development of the religious spirit, not accidental. It is critical, of course, and very likely destructive, but these are only passing moods, temporary characteristics. Skepticism maintains itself from age to age because of the vital truths which it contains.

IV.

Skepticism marks a transition in the development of the religious life, and therefore it serves a noble and healthy purpose in the very recognition which it gives to that profound truth that progress is the law of all life. The modern emphasis on the great law of evolution, the tendency to trace those ideas of order, gradation and progressive development in nature, in history, in the life of man and in the life of nations—all of this receives recognition here. To state the same thought in different language, we may say that every advance which we make in the religious life, especially that great advance from childhood to manhood, that forward movement of the human soul as it endeavors to grasp the eternal truths of religion, must be marked by this same pause and hesitation, this spirit of inquiry and criticism. Only through successive efforts, only through various struggles after truth, can truth itself be found. Skepticism therefore finds its basis in the fact that it is an essential part of the law of progress as that law is applied to the religious life.

Skepticism is the assertion of man's individual freedom in the search for truth. It is the constant protest against having our religion always made for us, of getting it second-hand. The true nobility of the skeptic is to be found here. "I must do my own thinking," he says; "no man can do it for me. I am responsible for my thoughts, for my mental convictions, as well as for my moral acts."

Man is made in the image of God, made by God, made for God, made with a native capacity for finding God. The human soul stands in organic relationship to God, and therefore direct com-

munion with God must be universal. The truth of God, the truth of Christ, the truth of the higher life, must come home to each individual soul with direct, clear and absolute certainty. In other words, religion must be a matter of personal conviction, a personal possession. It is the right of each man, the duty and privilege of each man, to search for truth, to satisfy himself, his mind, reason and his whole being, of the truth of Christ's religion. In the words of the Master, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Skepticism implies that inward satisfaction as its highest good.

Again, skepticism lends earnestness to life, gives seriousness to life. Life, it seems to say, is full of meaning because it is full of conflict. Religion and the religious life are earnest, and he who would enjoy them or make them his own must himself be in earnest. Skepticism of the nobler sort brings a message to Christian thought because it insists on going down deep in its search for truth. It scorns the superficial aspect of religion, the mere crust and surface character of so much of our piety and devotion. It pleads for depth, depth in Christian thought, in Christian theology, and depth, too, in our Christian life.

The skeptic is one who stops bewildered at what we may call a split in truth, and that split, that gulf, comes in the divorce which we too often make between religion and morality. When religion narrows itself and hardens itself into a dogmatic system, and holds itself aloof from morality, as something essentially different from that, then it is that the unity of truth is lost sight of and the mind becomes perplexed at the parting of the ways. It longs for religious peace and comfort, but is not willing to obtain these at the sacrifice of its own moral ideals. It gives up religion as a *system* in order that it may hold fast to morality as a *life*, and in that very act it gains for itself consistency and strength. It makes the effort to ground truth itself, all truth, and certainly religious truth, on an ethical and moral basis. Those great and primary and cardinal intuitions of humanity itself which we call the moral law, these furnish a solid foundation upon which to build. The ethical impulse of skepticism, therefore, its moral quality, is its redeeming force, the very power by which the skeptic himself returns to religion.

Skepticism has a message for Christian thought and theology in the fact that it leads in the direction of simplicity in matters of faith. It obliges theology itself to be careful and discriminating, to distinguish between what is essential and what is non-essential in Christianity. It means the rediscovery and the reassertion of those larger truths and those larger aspects of our divine religion, the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of man, the Personalness of Christ, the awfulness of sin.

Skepticism is a plea for the largeness of truth, the richness and fullness of truth, the mystery and wondrousness of truth. It is a constant protest against all partial and petty statements of Christianity, all bigotry and intolerance. It is a plea for large-mindedness and for a more general spirit of Christian charity.

Behind the skeptical spirit there lies the deep conviction that religious truth must meet and satisfy the whole man, the total manhood, his entire being. It implies tacitly though not directly that man is made in the Divine image, that there is a kinship between man and God, and that God's truth must be capable of meeting and satisfying man's reason. If there is a God in the universe He must be our Father and we must be His children. We must know Him before we can really love Him. The knowledge of God, the revelation of God, the manifestation which God has made and continues to make of Himself to man—this, which constitutes the message of Christianity, describes at the same time the very need of skepticism. It seeks to know God, it is eager to know

the Christ, it is anxious to understand the Bible and the wonderful gospel of redemption; and it is the duty of the Christian thinker, the privilege of Christian theology, to make these things clear. Here is the power of the Christian pulpit, the inherent worth and dignity of the Christian ministry, that ministry of reconciliation. It is given to those who are ministers of the Gospel to guide, to lead and to direct the earnest skeptic in his search for truth. It is a tremendous responsibility, a tremendous task. There is such a thing as the teaching power of the parish, and the earnest Christian minister may learn something helpful even from the skeptics in his parish. The only way to reach them is by trying honestly to enter into their difficulties, appreciate their struggles and recognize the positive elements in skepticism itself. The permanent power of the pulpit, as the late Phillips Brooks has so beautifully pointed out, lies in its two-fold relationship. "It is truth passing through personality"; the truth of God, of Christ, passing through the ever-changing medium of human personality. It is therefore by the richness and fulness of the minister's inward experience, by the deeper sympathy and larger appreciation of those difficulties which others feel, and by the recognition of those simple and essential elements in Christianity which distinguish it from everything else and which have given to it such wonderful uniqueness among the religions of the world, making it the great and splendid power for good which it is—these are the messages which we find in skepticism. The everlasting need of the human soul for Christ, which is the one great positive element in skepticism, is met by that other great positive aspect in Christianity, the perpetual presence of Christ Himself, who is forever manifesting Himself and giving Himself to the heart and mind and soul of man.

The great need of skepticism finds its supply and fulfilment in the great gift of the Christ. That which is most positive, most fundamental and most personal in Christianity, the Person of Christ, comes in as the completion of skepticism. Christ is at once the ideal, the consummation and the redemption of the skeptical spirit. He reveals its inner significance. He satisfies its noblest aspirations. He redeems its antagonisms, discords and bitter pain, making even skepticism a new witness to His own divine supremacy.

Wlliiam Mitchell.
*Jacksonville, Illinois.*

# THE PROMISED SHIPPING POLICIES OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

By William Wallace Bates, N.A.
Former United States Commissioner of Navigation.

IT IS NOW within the public knowledge that, whereas, once, we had a marine of our own, the best on the ocean, engaged in carrying our foreign trade, now we are nearly destitute of suitable shipping. Once, our commerce was conducted by our own people; our commercial independence was undisputed; our country was fast becoming the richest and most prosperous in the world; whereas now, foregin nations not only command our commerce and its carriage, but nearly monopolize both, to the exclusion of our merchants and our ships. Commercial and shipping dependency has become established; we are under spoliation, and

monetary panics may be expected with regularity. Every thoughtful American deplores the situation; many feel that it is disgraceful—perhaps a sign of our incapacity for self-government. Few would impute to a lack of ability or patriotism the neglect and indifference of the ruling party and its grave delinquency in duty plainly apparent, but the time has long passed by when it should have caused the recovery of our carrying trade and commercial independence, together with the prosperity consequent upon doing our own work on the ocean and in the marts abroad. Out of these circumstances arises the question whether or not the Republican party should now step down and out of power at Washington. True, it pretends that it will yet redeem its former good name, but, really, will it ever? Will it ever enact the constitutional and necessary law for shipping restoration? Does it promise this remedy in its platform?

What does a platform promise amount to? Thirty-six years ago the Republican party declared it was the *duty* of Congress to legislate for shipping restoration, then, as now, only to be accomplished by returning to the policy of the fathers—the encouragement of navigation through the regulation of commerce—a policy proved very successful in bringing forth and maintaining the best marine in the world, at no cost to the people. Under this policy, in 1825–6, our vessels carried, of our own trade, 95.2 per cent. of imports and 89.6 per cent. of exports, besides serving other countries.

### HOW AND WHEN OUR SHIPPING SITUATION ORIGINATED.

On account of peculiar relations with Great Britain, Congress was induced, in 1828, to pass an act for "maritime reciprocity" with any country desiring it, thereby to bring about a settlement of the "West India question." Accordingly, from time to time, as nations wanted to make "conventions" for the enjoyment of the *privilege* and *advantage* of carrying our trade in their vessels on the footing of our own—no preference to exist—our government assented, and the hands of Congress were tied for a term of years, either party free to terminate the agreement after a notice of one year from the time fixed. The idea was, to permit the merchants of any country to bring goods to our ports, in their own vessels, from other countries than their own. The only ship protection of the different nations then was trade regulations. "Aid" by bounties and subsidies, or discriminating insurance, was not in vogue. Nobody supposed gift policies would ever obtain. it was imagined, on our part, that the conventions would be honestly and honorably observed in spirit and in letter, but we misplaced our faith. Our rivals long ago resorted to different means of protection and now have all they need. Our government has been imposed upon by foreign nations; it has sacrificed our marine, and the ruling party has had forty years in which Congress might have terminated by a single joint resolution every one of our impolitic conventions for a fraudulent "maritime reciprocity."

### OUR EARLY SHIP ENCOURAGEMENT.

When, from time to time, we made conventions, our ship protection to be cast off consisted not only of discriminating tonnage and tariff duties, but loaded vessels of the nation entering into the agreement had been obliged to come "direct" from their own countries. After the War of 1812, this was our marine's best defense. To illustrate: A British or French ship could not land a cargo from China or Brazil—only from places under the flag of the ship. A foreign merchant about to ship a cargo from China or Brazil to the United States had to employ an American ship, there being no Chinese or Brazilian. Now, our law being "suspended," more than half of all the goods imported in British ships come from ports not under their flag; while from 50 to 60 per cent.

of our total imports come in the same way—in ships not of the country of production. This carriage belongs by right to our own vessels, and thus our government gives away the transport of five to six hundred millions of import business to our rivals and possible enemies every year, but it will not, if it can avoid it, charter a single American collier to attend upon the navy.

In 1827, before the present policy was adopted, our carriage in our own foreign trade was, for imports, 94.3 per cent.; for exports, 87.5 per cent. In 1861, on the opening of the Civil War, our carriage of imports was 60 per cent.; of exports, 72.1 per cent.—an average loss of 24 per cent.—due to our conventions. We came out of the war with a carriage of 24.6 per cent. for imports; and 26.1 for exports—an average loss of 30.6 per cent. due to the war, mainly from British-Confederate privateers. For a few years gains were made, and in 1870 the figures reached, for imports, 33.1 per cent.; for exports, 37.7 per cent. For 1907, they were respectively, 13.17 and 8.52—a loss of 24.8 per cent., for which the Republican party cannot escape responsibility.

### THE INCONSISTENCY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Consider for a moment the inconsistency of this great party. In its industrial policy, it professes to defend against the world all the industries needing encouragement, yet we have the disgusting spectacle of the most important maritime interest sacrificed to the cupidity of foreign nations—that they may call us "good fellows" and laugh at our greenness in government. Our policy of 1828 was a serious mistake, which the Republican party has refused to rectify. This may easily be done, as was agreed upon, whenever either chose so to do. No nation can expect us to quit the sea for its advantage, and simply because economic conditions prevent our success. None can justly complain if we take measures to overcome these conditions, by returning to the policy under which our marine originally flourished. Then, our footing was equalized by regulations, and adverse conditions counted for nothing, just as they do to-day in our domestic shipping trade.

But, no, the Republican party continues conventions for the unprotection of our marine in the foreign trade—conventions that have ruined it—and that are disregarded by our rivals.

### AN EXAMPLE OF PARTY IMPROBITY.

In 1896, the Republican platform promised a return to "discriminating duties," and its Presidential candidate highly approved this course, saying it should have been taken years before. Friends of American shipping of different parties gave Mr. McKinley many votes on account of his promise that his administration would return to the constitutional policy of the first five Presidents. Did he honor his engagement? To the shame of many of his supporters he did not. Mr. Hanna had the matter in hand, and the "Hanna-Payne" "ship-subsidy bill" was put forth. After hours of vain endeavor to stiffen McKinley's backbone, a disgusted Senator gave it up and declared that the Presidential vertebra was "as limp as a dish-rag." Hanna had one of iron. (Poor man! he may have had hard "interests" to serve!) His bill was unconstitutional, besides being unfit for its work. All the same, in one form or another, it has held the boards with Republican leaders for the past ten or eleven years. Once in a while, Congress, in House or Senate, takes a nip out of it, as out of a green apple that is tested for acidity, but it does not become law and only serves to keep the shipping people pacified.

Judge Taft has said he "does not think that ship subsidy is unconstitutional," but he has been careful not to endorse it in his letter of acceptance. The convention, too, was cautious, and placed the shipping

plank on the top rail of the fence. It avoids a declaration for a gift policy in so many words, but promises to do something—when the tide favors. A positive course is not taken.

Judge Taft has been urged to interpret his platform pledge to shipping. Here is the best he can do.

JUDGE TAFT ON THE SHIPPING QUESTION.

"The only respect in which nothing has been done is in the development of our foreign marine (1). As long as we uphold the system of protection for our home industries, we must recognize that it (2) is inapplicable to assist those of our citizens engaged in the foreign shipping business, because there is no feasible means of excluding foreign competition (3), and that the only other method of building up such a business is by direct aid in the form of a mail subsidy (4). I am in favor of the bill considered in the last Congress as a tentative step (5). The establishment of direct steamship lines between our Atlantic ports and South America would certainly do much to develop a trade that might be made far greater (6). On the Pacific, the whole shipping trade threatens to pass into the control of Japan (7). Something ought to be done, and the bill which failed was a step in the right direction"(8).

(1) "Development" is not the word for use here. Restoration, replacement, or reëstablishment are more fitting. Our "foreigh marine" was developed before the War of 1812, and flourished down to 1830, when our present policy took the place of the original.

(2) Any one wanting an example of political and economic nonsense has it here. The protection given to industries of all kinds is authorized by Clause 3 of Section 8 of Article I. of the Constitution —the power for foreign trade regulation. There is no other warrant for trade encouragement. James Madison has been called the father of the Constitution. He reported the first tariff bill. In this were provisions for the protection of our "foreign marine"—consisting of nearly double duties on China and India goods imported by foreign vessels, or from ports in Europe. This protection "developed" the Oriental commerce and carrying which our people enjoyed for a century. Other regulations subsequently made in connection with tonnage and tariff bills produced the best marine of the time. Under the power to regulate our foreign trade, embargo laws have been passed, and our ports have been closed to vessels from certain ports. Also, we have confined foreign ships to "direct" trade, and forbidden them to bring cargoes from countries not their own—all these things regardless of protection or unprotection to landed industries.

(3–4) "Mail subsidy" is constitutional —payable under Clause 7 of Section 8 of Article I. of the Constitution. The government may own or charter the vessels—do anything on the sea as on the land in regard to mails. But an ample marine would consist of vessels of all sorts to the extent of seven to eight million tons. Only 8 to 10 per cent. need be mail-carriers. The British marine has a less proportion. How will Mr. Taft procure the nine-tenths of the marine wanted? He favors having as much marine as can be subsidized, *but that appears to be all.* There is a method that he may not have thought of, and may not favor, but which possibly he may regard with complacency—that is by annexation to Great Britain. Mr. Taft was chief authority in the government of the Philippines. He was in position to favor the extension of our coast-wise law to the business between them and the United States. This was a benefit that might have been realized from our relations to them, and would have largely helped our vessels to employment and our merchants to trade. Only Spain was entitled for ten years to carry in this commerce, but Mr. Taft saw to it that a British shipping combination continued in it. In 1904, Congress passed an act enforceable in 1906, that American vessels

only should carry on freighting in the Philippine trade. Between Mr. Taft and President Roosevelt, an act was passed in 1906 extending the time of the enforcement of the act of 1904, until 1909. We had vessels building for this trade that, with others, were denied their rights.

(5–6) The "tentative step" mentioned was regarded by those opposed to it as just an entering wedge to a ship-subsidy system, not merely for mail-carriers, but for vessels generally. An honest mail bill will provide a system for establishing all the lines needed to every part of the world, just as a system of law provides for the carriage of mails across our country in every direction. There is no lobbying of Congress for mail carriages by land, nor need there be by sea.

THE PACIFIC OCEAN AS A JAPANESE SEA.

(7–8) For the attitude of Japan we may blame ourselves. We voluntarily made a treaty with her in 1894 by which we gave her people the same footing as our own, to be our rivals in trade and transportation. We allow her ships to come with cargo from every port of the world, as well as from her own. In return, our ships (ridiculous!) are privileged to take cargo into Japanese ports from every port in the world, as well as from our own. Is this a fair and just arrangement? Japan can build and sail her ships much cheaper than we can ours. Every economic advantage is on her side. Would not any nation fairly disposed be satisfied with Japan's natural advantages? Not content, the treaty coming into force, she immediately added strong protection by subsidies for building and running every vessel in foreign trade. Now Mr. Taft, seeking to become President, tells us the subsidy bill which failed was "a step in the right direction"—to prevent Japan thronging our ports with ships bringing cargoes from every part of the world. What a ridiculous statement! Would he continue the Japanese treaty? It will expire before the end of his term, if elected. He should tell the country, now, what his policy will be as to the continuation or termination of all the conventions responsible for our shipping situation. We know the policy of his party. The friends of shipping, asking for bread, have been offered a stone. Ship subsidy, were it constitutional, is no remedy at all. It would not go to the root of our difficulty. This is the change from protective regulations to "maritime reciprocity," every nation free to over-reach our government, by substituting any and every possible device for the discriminations that prevailed—our vessels strippid to the blast. Now, if we substitute ship subsidy for effective trade regulations, permitting our ruinous conventions to continue—will it mean that our marine is ever to be restored? Or will it mean that humbug and delusion is the best bane at hand? May it not be taken that this whole thing means the return of the Democratic party to power, as the one standing ready to do a proper work in a legitimate way?

THE DEMOCRATIC SHIPPING PLANK.

Some years ago, acting as critics of the Republican party, the Democratic leaders made some mistakes. It was imagined that "free ships" and "tariff reduction's' would so improve conditions that no other measures would be necessary for shipping prosperity. The whole subject was then obscure. Time has brought light. The conditions that have destroyed our shipping trade are not all of our own making—most of them are unfairly set up by our rivals. Our only way of reaching them is through the original method of commercial regulations. Their shipping must be so handicapped as to break up their combinations and equalize footing for competition. No subsidies to the general marine are indicated. The Democratic shipping plank, which Mr. Bryan declares shall be honored along with others, contemplates this:

"We believe in the upbuilding of the American merchant marine without new

or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury."

This very well describes the policy of the fathers. Indeed, there is but one way to "upbuild" an American marine, and that way is a matter of *constitutional compact*, without which no Union would have been effected by a vote of the several states. They were all independent, and nearly all had "navigation laws" for the "encouragement" of their vessels. Each state legislated for itself and protected against the others, as well as against foreign nations. Such a condition of things was rather adverse. A youthful nation could not develop at its best except through a "closer union," and with national law for its navigation. The shipping laws of the states, with the power to make them, must be given up. Congress must be empowered to pass and maintain suitable trade regulations. This compact, like all the others made by the Constitutional Convention, is not at the pleasure of Congress to set aside. *It is the supreme law in perpetuity*, subject only to constitutional amendment. It was in violation of this compact that Congress, in 1828, "suspended" ship protection, and provided for the present ruinous policy in place of the original. There is, therefore, no authority for "maritime reciprocity" conventions; and our marine with its carrying trade, the rights of our citizens, and our commercial and shipping independence—sacrifices to a mistaken notion—has come about by violation of as plain a compact as the Constitution contains. With the history of the case in view, how can any American patriot refuse to accept the pledge of the Democratic party, and oppose its purpose to restore our flag to the sea—by the only means provided therefor? In view of the history of this case, "ship subsidy" is a silly proposition, even if it had merit. The Constitution having provided a way, all other ways are *precluded*. Our difficulty having come through a violation of fundamental law, it must be overcome by retracing our steps and yielding obedience to its requirements. This is what the Republican party does not promise.

WILLIAM WALLACE BATES.
*Denver, Colorado.*

## WHY MR. TAFT SHOULD BE DEFEATED.

BY REV. R. E. BISBEE, A.M.

THERE are two great reasons and several minor ones why William H. Taft should never be elected President of these United States. I will state the two great reasons first and then touch upon the minor reasons.

The first great reason is that Taft is utterly without the democratic spirit. He has no adequate conception of what genuine democracy means. Now the great struggle of the day is a struggle for a better democracy and more of it. I will not bring into this discussion the struggle for industrial democracy, but will confine myself to the question of political democracy. Taft is opposed, point-blank and openly, to that political democracy in which our fathers believed. He denies in his acts the most sacred traditions of American patriotism. In proof of this two instances will be given. The first is the case of Oklahoma. Senator Owen's article, in THE ARENA for June, 1908, sets forth so fully and clearly the nature of the greatest and most fundamental issue ever presented to a people, namely, whether or not they have a right to govern themselves by instructing their

representatives or by invoking the Iniative and Referendum, that it is here drawn on at length. No lover of his country can afford to ignore the points here made. At bottom, when all other issues are searched to their roots, this question of the people's rule will be found to be the only one before us.

Under the title of "The People's Rule in Oklahoma," Senator Owen writes:

"Under the Constitution of Oklahoma the people are sovereign and may veto an Act of Legislature and have the direct power to propose and compel legislation, and to propose amendments to the Constitution and put such amendments in force.

"Five per cent. of the voters can compel the submission of an act of the legislature and the will of the majority of those who vote on the measure is the law of the land.

"Eight per cent. can propose a statute, and if approved by a majority of the votes cast at the election it will become a law.

"Fifteen per cent. of the voters can propose an amendment to the Constitution which will become the law by a majority vote of the electors voting. No constitutional convention can be called unless approved by the voters of the state, and the proposals of a constitutional convention cannot become law until approved by a majority of the electors voting thereon. In short, the people of Oklahoma have reserved to themselves a veto power through the 'referendum,' and the power of direct-legislation through the 'initiative.'

"This is merely an improvement in the system that existed in this country before the rise in 1823-32 of the state and national conventions, under the manipulation of political parties.

"THE PEOPLE'S RULE IN AMERICA, 1776–1798.

"The people ruled in America prior to 1823–32, when the artful political contrivance of party conventions was established. The people previously to that time instructed their representatives. For example, in the Boston Town Meeting of 1764, their representatives in the legislature were instructed as follows:

"'The townsmen have delegated to you the power of acting in their public Concerns in general as your own prudence shall direct you, always reserving to themselves the Constitutional Right of expressing their mind and giving you such Instructions upon particular matters as they at any time shall judge proper.'

"What clearer declaration of principle could be made?

"Take the following minutes of the town clerk of Weston, Massachusetts, at the meeting on the twelfth day of January, 1778, at one o'clock P. M., called for the purpose,

"'To instruct your representatives to act and to do as you shall judge mostly for the advantage of this and ye United States, etc.'

"In which they voted as follows:

"'(1) Voted to accept of the consideration of perpetual union as adopted by the Congress and that the representatives be instructed to act accordingly.'

"These town meetings could be called at any time. It was a common practice throughout New England.

"The above illustrations show that the people of Massachusetts possessed a complete and thorough direct-vote system for public questions, and instructed their elected representatives at will. The Legislature too instructed the members of the Continental Congress, and could recall them. Such was the system in New England.

"In other states the voters elected pledged candidates and instructed at mass meetings and through the legislatures. In some states the mass meetings were termed Conferences. The complete sovereignty of the voters is shown in the following resolutions of North Carolina, November 1, 1776, at Mecklenberg, called for

"'The express purpose of drawing up instructions for the present representatives in Congress.

"'To Waighstill Avery, Hezekiah Alexander, John Phifer, Robert Erwin, and Zecheus Wilson, Esquires:

"Gentlemen: You are chosen by the inhabitants of this country to serve them in Congress or General Assembly for one year and they have agreed to the following instructions, which you are to observe with the strictest regard, *viz:* You are instructed:

"'(1). That you shall consent to and approve the Declaration of the Continental Congress declaring the thirteen United States Colonies free and independent States.'

"Eighteen additional paragraphs of instructions follow (Vol. 10, Colonial Records of North Carolina).

"These examples can be multiplied indefinitely.

"In Pennsylvania a constitutional con vention assembled July 15, 1776, and declared in the Bill of Rights, as follows:

"'(16). That the people have a right to assemble together to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, etc.'

"In 1780 the people of Massachusetts put in their Bill of Rights as express recognition of the right to instruct their representatives. The right existed at all times, in all the thirteen states, and furthermore, the governors were not clothed with a veto power and the courts were not permitted to veto a law, so that the representatives in the legislature were the ruling power, subject to the instructions of the people."

Against the People's Rule in Oklahoma, Secretary Taft, at the behest of President Roosevelt, took a decided stand and urged the people of Oklahoma not to adopt their constitution with this provision in it.

Now the constitution of Oklahoma is the product of the greatest and best experts in all phases of our social economy. Its section on the treatment of juvenile criminals was drawn by the celebrated Judge Lindsey of Denver. Other experts drew its other criminal and insanity sections. The wisdom and experience of the ages were exploited to produce the most perfect instrument possible in the interest of equity and human progress. In it has been reached the high-water mark of real political democracy. And yet against this best modern expression of American independence, interpreting to us the real spirit of the founders of the Republic, this man Taft inveighs with all his strength and with the backing of the administration of which he is a part. This act alone should be sufficient to bar him forever from any important office.

The second instance demonstrating Taft's utter inability to appreciate American democratic ideals, is the case of the Philippines. On this point I leave this would-be President largely to the tender mercy of that master of logical arraignment, the Hon. Moorfield Storey. In his pamphlet on *The Duty of the United States Towards the Philippine Islands*, a reply to Secretary Taft, Mr. Storey quotes from Taft's Cleveland speech of January, 1908, as follows:

"'Since the foundation of our government the people of the United States, that is, the states as distinguished from the territories, have been engaged in governing other people. We did it in the case of Louisiana. We have done it in the case of every territory that was subsequently admitted to the United States, and we are doing it to-day in the case of New Mexico and Arizona. What in principle is the difference between the assertion by Congress of the right to pass a law which shall be obeyed by men in New Mexico who have no voice in the selection of the representatives and Senators who vote that law, and the passing by Congress of such a law for the government of the Philippines or Porto Rico? . . . If the latter is a violation of the Declaration of Independence we have been violating the Declaration of Independence for a hundred years.'"

Think of such a statement as the foregoing from a man who aspires to the Presidency of the United States. A school-boy could not have done worse.

To such folly Mr. Storey's reply is all that could be desired. He says:

"We may almost ask if the Secretary knows what the Declaration says. Its words are:

"'We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.'

"The people of the United States, beginning as a fringe of inhabitants on the edge of a continent, adopted a constitution to which they consented. This constitution gave to Congress control over the unoccupied land not belonging to any state, and in the exercise of that power Congress has adopted the policy of letting persons settle on this land and organize territorial governments, and as these settlers have become sufficiently numerous in any region, of admitting that region as a state. To this policy the people as a whole have consented, and every man who has settled in a territory has done it with knowledge of this policy and has consented to it. The governed in each territory have consented to the government just as the man who enlists in the army consents to obey the orders of his officers.

"We acquired Louisiana by purchase and by the treaty bound ourselves to incorporate its inhabitants in the Union and give them all the rights of American citizens, and we kept this obligation faithfully and promptly.

"In the Philippine Islands there are some eight millions of people who have never consented to our government, and whom we govern to-day simply because we were strong enough to overpower their resistance by force of arms. They are a people united in desiring their independence, and we refuse it because we say they are unfit to govern themselves.

"Is it possible that so able a lawyer as Judge Taft has never detected this difference between the cases of Arizona and the Philippines? If he has not, what must we think of his legal acumen?"

The foregoing is sufficient to stamp Mr. Taft as an imperialist, a benevolent one, perhaps, but nevertheless an imperialist, a name forever hateful to every true American, and, except through the violation of every principle held sacred since we became a nation, we have no right to elect an imperialist to our highest office.

To get an adequate comprehension of this Philippine iniquity, this grossest violation of our ideals, this blackest stain on the pages of our history, one should read Mr. Storey's pamphlet in full. If then he is not convinced, it is because he has no spirit of an American in him.

So much for the first great reason why Taft should not be elected President. He is a man void of the American democratic spirit.

The second great reason why Taft should not be elected President is because of the character of the people behind him. What was dimly understood twelve years ago is now as clear as the day. We, as a people, are in a life and death struggle with mighty powers of wealth that are bent on overthrowing this Republic. Not that they care for the form, or the name, so long as they can control, and in the language of Tom Lawson this money power called by him "The System" has already become the greatest power in all the land—a power so absolute that "it controls the ballot-box, creates Presidents, harnesses the Senate and Congress, directs legislation, manipulates courts, dictates to labor, regulates the prices of necessities and luxuries, and makes the American people as so many dumb beasts of burden." Some of us perceived the struggle against this power to be the true nature of the conflict in 1896. In the first political speech the writer ever made he affirmed that the question was greater than one of finance, it was a question of the life and death of the Republic. Henry George who was not a free-silver

man at all, recognized the true nature of the strife and fought with all his might for Democracy. In 1900 the struggle was intensified and again Democracy was defeated. In 1904 there was no real fight. The battle was largely sham. To-day the greatest, most momentous battle is on that America has seen since the sixties. What a few dimly saw and many denied twelve and eight years ago now we know. The evidence has been brought out in courts of law. It is unanimously acknowledged. There is a great money power which is perverting this Republic and is using it for its own despotic purposes, and this power is behind Taft, satisfied with him, betting at great odds on his election, banking on his conduct after election, already displaying the arrogance of coming victory. The idea that he will perfect the Roosevelt machinery for restraining predatory wealth is an iridescent dream. He could not if he would, he would not if he could. He is not that kind of a man.

Such are the two great reasons why Taft should never be elected President—he has not the democratic spirit—he is the tool of privileged wealth.

Among the minor reasons why Taft should not be elected President are:

1. His lack of independence. He seems incapable of positive convictions. When he has anything to say he consults interest and authority rather than fundamental principles of right.

2. He is a blundering administrator. The Brownsville affair is one of the greatest mistakes in American history, and though Roosevelt now assumes the responsibility of this arbitrary and cruel performance, Taft did assume the responsibility at the time. A man of keener discrimination and of nobler spirit would have resigned rather than give his hand to such a deed.

3. Taft has no proper conception of tariff reform. This is demonstrated by his Philippine policy, a policy which if carried out would wreck American invested capital to the extent of $200,000,000, and this, too, in the interest of a small band of exploiters. For further light read "The Philippine Menace," an editorial in the *American Economist* for March 27, 1908.

4. His opposition to the guaranty of national-bank deposits stamps him the subject of the big financial institutions. His utterances against the guaranty are inconclusive, even childish. They are decidedly those of the henchman.

5. If Taft is elected President he will appoint at least three justices of the Supreme Court. As thus constituted the Court will probably rule out the Initiative and Referendum as unconstitutional. This will leave no escape from bondage for the American people except through revolution. If this probable court action were sure, this would become the greatest issue of all. Its probability should be enough to cause the American people to sit up and think.

These conclusions concerning Taft are reached after years of careful study of our political conditions. I mean no carping criticism. I admit Mr. Taft's many good personal qualities, but I affirm his general unfitness to guide this great nation in paths of justice and for the greatest good of the greatest number.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

# A SOCIALIST ON THE ASPECTS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

By Allan L. Benson.

I DO NOT know who is going to be victorious in the impending Presidential election. Mr. Morgan, or Mr. Ryan may know, but I have seen the checkbook of neither. I only know that the people are not going to be victorious. The people are going to do the best they can—the best they know how—but the best they know how to do is going to be very bad, as it usually is. For the plain truth of the matter is that the people do not yet know very much. If they knew much they would not tolerate such conditions as exist. They would not consent to see so many of their number live and die as they do. And the spectacle of hunger and suffering stalking through a land that is capable of producing much milk and honey would move them to swift, indignant action.

But the people only murmur softly at things that should cause them to bellow like bulls, and therefore I look for the election of Mr. Taft or Mr. Bryan.

This, however, should not be construed as equivalent to a declaration on the part of the present writer that, in his opinion, the election of Mr. Taft or of Mr. Bryan would be equally foolish. Even inanity has its gradations and its differentiations. These little variations, however, it is not usually worth while to consider. Only to seek to choose between two impending evils without trying to avoid both of them is stupid. If any gentleman of judgment were to meet, in a narrow street, an asphalt-roller and a truck loaded with pig-iron he would hardly waste precious moments in considering which would be most likely to leave his remains in the best condition.

The Republican party is the asphalt-roller of American politics. It is a ponderous device—enormous in its crushing power. Mr. Roosevelt, on occasions, sought to convert it into a flying-machine, but he never got more than one wheel off the ground at a time, and such ascents as he made were occasioned by the curbstones and hydrants that he struck. That, however, is one of the strong features of the roller. It can be trusted with any driver, and can always be depended upon to flatten everything that it rolls over.

Fat Mr. Taft is now trying to clamber up on the seat, and Mr. Roosevelt is giving him a hand. Mr. Taft, let it be recalled, is the only candidate for the place who is licensed as a regular Roosevelt chauffeur. We are assured that if he be given the wheel he will steer in the direction of "My Policies." He will turn the old thing into a flying-machine sure.

Are we idiots enough to believe that he will? I am afraid we are. We are idiots enough to believe almost anything. What we will not stand for in the line of political bamboozling has not yet been discovered. Otherwise, we would ask Mr. Taft how it happens that all of our Wall-street enemies whom it will be necessary for him to drub if he helps us, are working and are going to vote for him?

Passing from the Republican asphalt-roller, we come to the pig-iron-laden truck of American politics—the Democratic party.

Mr. Bryan is on the driver's seat.

"Behold the fine rubber tires on this vehicle," he says to the populace along the roadside as he points to the iron ones. "They are guaranteed not to crush the softest head. And you fellows with masks on your faces, plug-hats on your heads and brass-knuckles in your pockets —*you fellows who held me up the other two times I was out*—please notice what I

*have n't* got on my load *this time.* What a fellow *has n't* got on his load is just as significant as what he *has* got. Giddap!"

Are we idiots enough to believe that Mr. Bryan's iron tires are, in fact, made of the softest rubber? I 'm afraid we are. We are idiots enough to believe almost anything that would leave men with a grain of sense as if they were rooted to rocks. That is why I am alternately afraid that Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan will be elected.

If we were otherwise—*more* wise—why should we expect that the election of Mr. Bryan would have any material effect upon existing conditions? Think of the childishness of indulging such a hope! Here we are—many of us—giving heed to Mr. Bryan's noisy claim that if we will let him be President he will "crush" the trusts and put the trust magnates in jail. Rubbish! If Theodore Roosevelt could not even collect a $29,000,000 fine from John D. Rockefeller what chance is there that Bryan would run John D. and the others out of business and put them in stripes. Depend upon it that if it were possible to put any "rich malefactor" back of bars that Mr. Roosevelt would have put Harriman there. Many things Mr. Roosevelt does not *want* to do—but he *did* want to bag Harriman. And Harriman got away from him so easily that he looked like a coyote outfooting an elephant chained to a brick-block.

And what a fine prospect there is that if Bryan were President and his party were in control of both branches of Congress—an impossibility now, by the way—that the condition of those who do the real work of the country would be improved! What has the Democratic party ever done in the South, where, for more than a century it has been in complete control, to justify such a hope? Nothing but to permit the existence of the worst labor conditions that obtain anywhere in the country—child-labor, peonage, lax or no factory legislation and all the rest. Bryan could not get a bill through Congress that the Southern Democrats would not help him put through—and the kind they put through for themselves at home is a standing scandal.

The best thing that Mr. Bryan could do if he were President would be to take advantage of every opportunity to appoint a justice of the United States Supreme Court who would not consider everything that the people want unconstitutional. But strangely enough, that is the very subject that he carefully avoids, not only in his platform, but in his public speeches. Twelve years ago he struck at the court as if he meant business. He *did* mean business then. He was eager even to enlarge the membership of the tribunal in order to give him an opportunity to put some men on it who would give the corporationists blow for blow.

But he is a different Bryan now. He knows that sort of thing, though it brings out tremendous enthusiasm, also brings out $9,000,000 campaign funds against him. And he does n't like to fight $9,000,000 campaign funds. He wants to be President. Se he is throwing overboard his baggage of other years—government ownership of railways, initiative and referendum and the rest. Probably if he were President he would appoint justices who would uphold these measures if they should become laws, which Taft most assuredly would not. But Bryan does n't dare now to say he would.

Beat about the bush as one may, there is no escape from the fact that the people are poor because they are stupid.

For their condition there is no other explanation that explains.

A great majority that permits a small minority to rob it cannot have much sense.

Artemus Ward's friend who stood still and let a mule kick him three times in the same place was no imaginary person—he was the typical human being.

We *never* move until the mule has nearly worn his shoes off.

It took us hundreds of years to figure out that a few feudal barons did not *really* own all the land—and us, too.

We have yet only dimly begun to realize

that the feudal barons resorted only to *one* crude way to rob us, that there are many ways to rob—*and that all robbery is wrong!*

We have scarcely begun to think how many such ways there may be.

We fling into jail the man who despoils us by holding a club or a forged check—and fling into a mansion the man who robs us by holding, as his private property, the great machinery of modern industry with which we must work or starve.

We would n't stand it to have a man eternally in front of us who continuously called upon us to pay him to get out of our way. But we *will* stand it to have men always getting hold of the land to-day that they know we shall want to use to-morrow, and charging us fancy prices to get out. We stand this because it comes under the head of "real-estate investmen-," which we ignorantly consider a perfectly proper proceeding.

In short, we have no conception of the fact that money is not wealth, but an order for food, clothing and other things, to make which men have worked hard, and that the only justification for the possession of money is services rendered.

Therefore, money-getting by almost any means short of murder is considered a legitimate occupation, and we erroneously speak of "making money" when we mean "getting" money that represents wealth created by others.

Moreover, we assume that the "getting" of much money is an indication of great intelligence on the part of the getter, instead of positive proof of great greed and great cunning.

Why we do not also attribute great intelligence to successful safe-blowers and train-robbers I do not know, unless it be that we are seldom consistent in anything.

More than that, we are exceedingly selfish—the wolfishness of the competitive system has made us so—so grasping that, in trying to get as much as possible, at the expense of others if need be, most of us get next to nothing.

We have not yet awakened to the fact that the invention of the steam engine, with its consequent marvelous transformation of the methods of production, has solved the problem of how to create enough things for the needs and comfort of us all.

We are still living on the plan that we did in the miserable days when in fact there was *not* enough and *could not* be enough for us all.

And so we are savagely fighting, each to get as much as possible for himself, when if we had the brains to realize it, all we need to do to be comfortable and happy is justly to distribute what we produce so abundantly; in other words, to make sure that the producers get the value of their products—which now they do not.

Yet, here we sit in a stupor, imagining that:

1.—We are a self-governing people, living in a republic, when, in fact, all we have done is to permit a horde of modern industrial monarchs to wield most of the power that George III. once held over us;

2.—And that Taft, or perhaps Bryan, is all that is needed to set things right—any little things that may be out of order.

Things will never be set right in this or in any other country until every man who is able to work *can* work and *can* get the full value of whatever his toil may bring into being.

It is idle to talk about Taft or Bryan setting things right, when the election of either one means the continued existence of the same old crowd of millionaires and the same old endless battalions of the struggling poor.

Yet the millionaires and the poor will be with us so long as the former own the great tools of modern industry that the workers can never hope to own, and the latter can gain access to those tools only by accepting bare-living wages—wages that represent only a part of the value of their product.

Arthur Brisbane, editor of the New York *Evening Journal,* said in a political

speech in New York the other day that in his opinion the present rule of corporations will last five hundred years. I have great admiration for Mr. Brisbane, both on account of his ability and his warm sympathies, but in making this estimate, I hope he has not taken into sufficient account these two facts:

1.—That the world is ruled by ideas;

2.—That ideas were never before exchanged in such numbers and with such speed as they now are.

Human beings, for the first time in the history of the race, are giving certain signs as a mass that they are doing some thinking that may soon become mighty. All over the world, the workers are firmly convinced that they are being *wronged;* that the grime and the sweat, the dirt and the death of poverty should not be the lot of those who make themselves useful by labor, while all the cleanliness, the daintiness, the luxury and the perfumed-ease shall go to those who labor not.

All over the world these workers are crying for an Idea—a remedy—*and, watch what they 'll do when they believe they 've got the right one!*

Here in the United States their voices are heard in a swelling chorus.

They ask Mr. Taft for an Idea and he says "God knows."

They ask Mr. Bryan and he says, "A platform is as binding in the things it omits as it is in the things it contains," thereby calling attention to the principles he has thrown overboard.

They ask Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate for President, and he says, "I stand for the collective ownership of all the tools of production and distribution that are collectively used—*everything for the man who toils, nothing for the man who does n't.*"

There is an IDEA!

It is the idea that, even in these desperately hard times, has brought from the flattened pockets of impoverished American labor twenty thousand dollars with which to hire a special train to take Debs from the Atlantic to the Pacific on a speech-making tour.

Think of the awful earnestness, the sublime sincerity of those poor toilers who, never looking in the bread-box, or considering where the next dollar was coming from, made up this amount with their nickels and dimes!

*Is there an Idea behind such splendid devotion as this, or is it only the product of a summer day's delusion?* Where is its counterpart in modern American politics? Among all the millions of voters in the other parties who have not this Idea what sign is there of such passionate, burning interest, such heroic self-denial? On the very day that I write this, I read that in response to Mr. Bryan's appeal for funds, made six weeks ago to his six or seven million followers, he has received up to date, $19,000!

Is there any indication that the Nebraskan's adherents feel the force of a genuine idea in their camp? And how much do you think Taft could raise among wage-workers and small farmers?

Our Idea is the one that has captured thirty millions of workingmen in its sweep around the earth, and is enrolling others as rapidly as it can travel.

It is the Idea that shook an Old Age Pension Law out of the British Parliament. It is the Idea that makes monarchs toss on their pillows. It is the Idea that gives hope to the world.

Yet, we who are again about to vote for Eugene V. Debs know he will not win, though we shall double the vote we gave him four years ago.

But to the capitalist exploiters who may rejoice thereat, we have this to say:

*We are going to beat you if it take the full five hundred years that Brisbane talks about.*

*We or our sons will rule this country when you and your corrupt, unjust government shall be but a page in history.*

*We are going to beat you because we are right and you are wrong.*

ALLAN L. BENSON.

*Ardsley, New York.*

# THE MARCH OF TEMPERANCE.

By Pere G. Wallmo.

THE PROGRESS and importance of the temperance wave, at present gradually extending all over the country, may be gauged by the large number of temperance bills introduced during the session of Congress just closed, and the careful consideration these bills received at the hands of our national legislators. Less than a dozen years ago a temperance bill was likely to be laughed to scorn on the floor of the House of Representatives. For many years it was a standing joke to have the House pass some temperance measure, confident that the Senate would kill it, until the latter body finally got tired of that, and refused to carry out the program. Liquor was openly sold in the Capitol a few years ago, and to propose any restriction of the use of intoxicants was looked upon as an effort to curtail personal liberty, and the member of Congress who fathered such a bill was generally called a crank.

All this has gradually been changed, until it seems as though the high-water mark must have been reached last session. Some sixty odd temperance measures were presented in the Senate and the House during the first session of the Sixtieth Congress, some in the shape of separate bills and others forming a part of larger bills. Many of them are on the same lines, and propose the same remedy; some of them are identical in language, while others are clearly impossible and not to be seriously considered. All are earnestly advocated by the men who introduced them, although not always prepared by them. The present agitation in Congress is, therefore, not a hot-house outgrowth of temperance societies, but a healthy effort to try to find some solution of a very trublesome problem.

The most talked of bill on the subject is the one popularly known as the Littlefield bill, because it was introduced by Representative Littlefield, of Maine, and he fought it through the House last Congress. Last session several Senators also introduced, in the Senate, bills identical with the Littlefield one. There are something like twenty-five bills of the same general character, all seeking to place intoxicating liquors, shipped from one state into another, absolutely under the police powers of the state into which they are shipped, thus effectively stopping shipments of liquors from a "wet" state into "dry" territory. While these twenty-five bills aim at the same thing, they vary greatly in language, each man striving, evidently, to make his bill constitutional and binding. Representative Acheson, of Pennsylvania, goes further than any one, and he has presented a bill, which provides that no intoxicating liquors shall be transported from any state, territory or district of the United States into any other state, territory or district.

The Littlefield bill was, however, the one considered by the Judiciary Committee of the House, while seven bills of a similar nature were considered by a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Early in the hearings, the members of this sub-committee announced that it was not within their province to consider the wisdom or the policy of prohibition, but that they were prepared to listen to arguments as to the constitutionality of the proposed legislation. Arguments were, therefore, confined to questions of law, purely and simply, and the committee was in no way influenced by sentiment. The question of allowing each state to regulate its own liquor traffic was dwelt upon considerably, and appealed, with great force, to such able constitutional lawyers as Senators Knox, Clay and Bacon, who all

favor the rights of the states in the regulation of their own internal affairs, and in protecting themselves against violations of their state laws.

After listening to the arguments on both sides of the question, Senator Bacon drew up a bill, which is an amplification of the Littlefield bill, and which was supposed, by its framer, to meet all the requirements of the constitution of the United States. It provides: "That spiritous, vinous, malt and intoxicating liquors of all kinds within the borders of any state, and also the regulation and control of the same in all particulars and to the fullest extent, are hereby declared to be within the lawful police powers of such state, and, subject to the limitations expressed in this act, to be in all respects as fully subject to the laws of such state wherever and whenever found within the territorial limits thereof, and from whatever source they may come or be derived, as if produced therein, and shall not be exempt therefrom by reason of being introduced in original packages or otherwise." This is a clear statement of the powers of a state to regulate the liquor business within its own borders, even though the liquor is sent from outside the state.

The second section of this bill makes liquors shipped from one state into another a special class of interstate commerce, subject to the regulatory powers of Congress. It also makes all such liquors subject, in all particulars and to the fullest extent, to the police powers of the state, upon arrival at the place of consignment, within the borders of the state, and before delivery to the consignee. This section is somewhat different from nearly all the other bills on the same subject. The Littlefield bill—and practically all the others—provide that the interstate commerce character of all liquors shipped from one state to another shall terminate immediately upon their arrival within the boundary of the tate in which the place of destination is situated, and thus become subject to the police powers of the state as soon as the border line is crossed.

Later Senator Bacon amended his bill, by striking out the first section, but retaining section two of his original bill, and adding to it several sections forbidding any railroad company, express company, or other carrier, or their agents, to collect the purchase price of liquors from any consignee, or to act in any capacity except that of carrier. Senator Bacon's bill also prohibits the consignment of liquors to any fictitious person.

But even as amended this bill was not acceptable to a majority of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and the bill that was finally reported to the Senate, drawn by Senator Knox, has no reference whatever to the police powers of a state. It is a short bill of only three sections, and is intended to stop express companies and other carriers from acting as agents of liquor dealers; from delivering liquors to fictitious consignees, or from shipping any package containing liquor from one state to another, unless such package be so labeled on the outside cover as to plainly show the nature of its contents and the quantity contained therein. All of which was contained in the Bacon bill, in somewhat different language.

The second group of bills in importance, judging from the number introduced in Congress, is the one relating to the issuing of special tax receipts by the United States Internal Revenue Office. Of these bills there are twenty-five now before Congress, most of them providing simply that no such tax receipts—or United States liquor licenses, as they are commonly called—shall be issued in prohibition territory. (The law at present allows any one to secure a government license from the internal revenue officers of the United States, whether in "dry" or "wet" territory.) Such a bill as that might be seriously objected to because it is not general enough. Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, and Representative Hill, of Connecticut, (by

FELLOWES ATHENÆUM



request) have therefore introduced two bills very similar in effect and in language, which provide that no United States government tax receipt—or license—shall be issued to any firm or individual, until such person or firm shall first have secured a valid license to sell liquors from the state, county or municipality, where the liquor is to be sold. This bill would treat alike those who sell under a high license, and prohibition territory; in fact, would leave the question—as in the Bacon bill—absolutely within the regulation of each state.

Of the other temperance bills, the one to stop the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors in the District of Columbia, is of more than local interest. The prohibition people want some day to pass such a bill, because it would show to the rest of the country that the nation's law-makers favor prohibition. The moral effect on other localities would be great and far reaching. But there is a very serious obstacle to the passage of this bill. Many members of Congress believe that the residents of the District of Columbia should be allowed to have more than a voice in determining such an important local issue as this, and should be given authority by Congress to vote on it. A bill on these lines has been introduced by Representative Lamb, of Virginia, which provides that all male citizens of the United States over twenty-one years of age, who have lived for at least six months within the District of Columbia, shall be permitted to vote for or against the proposition. With the fluctuating population of Washington, such an election might very likely cause endless trouble, and it is hardly probable that a bill of this kind can go through Congress.

Realizing the difficulties, not to say impossibilities of securing any legislation on these lines for Washington, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia have prepared a bill, which has been introduced by Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire. This bill might be termed a model high-license measure, and it is understood it will be pushed next session of Congress. It provides for a wholesale license fee of $600 per annum and $1,600 for a barroom license. Every application for a license must have the written permission of a majority of persons owning real estate and a majority of the residents keeping house within the square in which it is desired to locate, and within the three other squares located nearest to such place of business. It also provides that whenever a majority of the owners of real estate and of residents keeping house within any number of city squares shall file a petition with the excise board, praying that the sale or manufacturing of intoxicating liquors be prohibited within the squares described, said petition shall operate as a prohibition of the granting of any licenses within the said squares for three years. A license cannot be granted to any place, not even a hotel or club, within 1,000 feet of a public school-house, public park or playgrounds, any private school or any place of religious worship, nor to any place opposite a government reservation. The pitcher or bucket trade is also prohibited.

Other bills prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in all buildings owned or controlled by the United States government, upon warships, in navy yards, in parks, and, in fact, everywhere that the United States government has control. Mr. Sims, of Tennessee, has introduced a bill forbidding any mail route contractor from carrying intoxicating liquors, and there are bills to stop the sale of liquor in Alaska, upon Indian reservations and in the Panama Canal zone. Representative Acheson, of Pennsylvania, has, however, the most radical bill in the lot. He proposes to forbid the transmission, through the United States mail, of any newspaper, circular, pamphlet, or publication of any kind containing an advertisement of any intoxicating liquors.

The prohibition people have also

drawn up and had introduced a constitutional amendment, prohibiting the manufacture, sale and importation of intoxicating liquors in the United States. At first glance this amendment looks like a very radical proposition, for, if passed by Congress and ratified by the necessary number of states, it would forever do away with intoxicating liquors in the United States. But, after all, the amendment simply would leave the entire question in the hands of the citizens of the various states, and would relieve Congress of all further temperance legislation. It is really another states' rights bill.

As against this array of temperance bills, there are exactly three measures on the other side, and they all relate to the reëstablishment of the army canteen. Two of these bills have been presented by Germans, representatives Bartholdt and Kustermann. Mr. Parker, of New Jersey, has presented the third. Mr. Kustermann's bill provides only for the restoration of the canteen in the army, while Mr. Bartholdt's also includes soldiers' homes.

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In studying the provisions of these various bills, it is noticeable that the most important ones—the one regulating interstate traffic of liquors and the tax receipt bill—do not aim at any radical departure in legislation, but simply to regulate the evil of violations of state laws. The temperance advocates claim that the wholesale liquor men and the brewers are shipping their goods into prohibition territory, under the protection of interstate commerce, and in direct violation of local laws. The state officers cannot seize this liquor in transit, because the courts have decided that goods shipped in such a way—from one state to another—are not subject to the police powers of the state into which they are shipped, until actually delivered to the consignee.

The result has been that a state can enact laws forbidding its own citizens to do something within the borders of that state, while it cannot prevent citizens of other states violating these laws, under the protection of the interstate commerce law. The change advocated is that all liquors should become subject to the state laws as soon as the goods cross the border. This, to the layman, looks like a very small matter, but constitutional lawyers in the Senate and in the House are greatly divided as to the constitutionality of this change, and even the Bacon bill, which provides that the goods can be seized as soon as they reach the point of destination and before actual delivery to the consignee, goes too far, according to a majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Senator Knox, in his report to the Senate, reaches five conclusions, entirely different from Senator Bacon's argument. They are as follows: "Interstate shipments are not completed until they reach the consignee; an interruption or interference with interstate shipments before they reach the consignee constitutes a regulation of commerce; regulating interstate shipments is an exclusive function of Congress; Congress cannot delegate any part of its exclusive power to the states; and to remove the bar or impediment of exclusive Federal power which shuts the states out of the Federal domain and thereby allows them to enter that domain is to permit or sanction a state law in violation of the Constitution and in effect to delegate a Federal function to the states."

In explaining the bill reported to the Senate, Senator Knox writes: "The principal cause of difficulty in restricting the liquor traffic in the states prohibiting such traffic has been the misuse of the facilities furnished by railroad companies, express companies, and other common carriers in bringing in liquors from outside states, to be paid for on delivery. By the proposed substitute, if it be enacted into law, Congress will, under its constitutional authority, bring its powers to bear directly upon the common carriers prohibiting them from

acting as agents of the vendors of liquors in other states. Further, by requiring that all interstate shipments of liquors shall be plainly marked as to their contents, the substitute hereby submitted will enable the several states to trace and to control the disposition and use of such liquors under their own police powers."

The second bill in this class—prohibiting the issuing of a United States tax receipt to any one who cannot show a local license—is obviously a measure to stop violations of local or state regulations of the liquor business. It is a well-known fact that there are a great many more United States tax receipts than state licenses issued in a year, and the plain reason is that no one dares to sell liquors without a United States license, but many are willing to risk violations of local statutes. Every speakeasy in the country, every house of ill-fame, every club, no matter how disreputable, has a United States license, but does not, or cannot, secure a local license. The aim of this bill is, therefore, not to stop the issuing of United States licenses to legitimate dealers, but only to those who have no right to exist under the state laws, with the possible exception of legitimate clubs, many of which would not object to paying a license to the state. It is purely and simply a states' rights bill, and as such is advocated by the temperance people.

These two bills—with the addition of the District of Columbia bill—were the ones that the leading temperance advocates decided to specially urge upon Congress the past session, and which they hope to pass in the near future. To select only two bills for action—or possibly three—is somewhat of a new departure in temperance work around the national Capitol, and there is also a noticeable change in another respect. Heretofore temperance advocates have never been able to agree. What one society wanted, another did not care for. There was no unanimity of action, nor was there the spirit of compromise that is now apparent. These reformers wanted all or nothing, and usually got nothing, for Senators and Representatives have notions of their own, and cannot be dictated to. Some of the bills urged could not be passed by Congress under the constitution. Now the men who are appearing before the committees of the two Houses are willing to listen to reason and to accept the best they can get, rather than get nothing at all.

It is not to be presumed that the temperance people are having things their own way before Congress. Quite the contrary, for the liquor men, especially the wholesalers and the brewers, realize that they have to fight for their lives. They have engaged the best legal talent available to present their side, just as the temperance people have sent their best men to fight their cause, and both sides are spending their money freely in paying these men. The liquor men base their claims on the unconstitutionality of the two important bills, and fight the others on the theory that they are bad and useless. The bottle manufacturers and the labor unions, whose members are employed in the manufacture of liquors and beers, have also appeared before the committees, and presented their arguments.

The organization known as the German-American Alliance, composed of Germans from all over the country, has made a special appeal to Congress against all temperance measures, because, in their opinion, the restrictions imposed by these measures interfere with personal liberty. Every member of Congress has received resolutions from branches of this organization located in his own district, to be met by counter petitions from temperance societies, showing that these bills in no way interfere with the personal habits of any man, but are simply intended to stop violations of local laws and regulations. They are not so worded as to prevent any man from following his own taste, but they are intended to make those engaged in the liquor business obey the laws of the states, and not evade them

with the assistance of the United States government. The bills in no wise attempt to regulate the habits of men. The position of the prohibition party can perhaps be best understood by quoting from a recent statement of Mr. O'Brien, in behalf of the Littlefield bill, before the Senate sub-committee. He said, in closing his argument: "The German-American Alliance contention must be made, if made at all, before the legislatures of the various states, and not before Congress or any committee of the Congress of the United States. There is where they must necessarily appear to protect what they consider their rights, and what undoubtedly are their rights. They have no grievance with the passage of this bill. It in no wise affects them. If a state attempts to pass a law that will affect their habits, that is the place for them to make their fight, and not before this committee."

Efforts have also been made to enlist the aid of the labor unions, notably the American Federation of Labor, against temperance legislation, because such legislation would tend to injure industries that employ many men. While in some of the states these efforts have been successful, and state labor unions have declared against temperance legislation, the recent national convention of the Federation of Labor refused to go on record as against prohibition, and the subject was promptly dropped. One can readily see how those employed in the manufacturing of beers and liquors, in the raising of the ingredients that go to make them, and in the handling of the output must, of necessity, be opposed to legislation that is likely to throw them out of employment, but to show the ramifications of this intricate subject, it is claimed that the cigar-makers of the country are against prohibition, because to shut up the saloons would tend to lessen the sale of cigars, the argument being that men who patronize the saloons will generally also smoke.

It was, perhaps, unfortunate that this agitation came just before a Presidential election, when everybody plays politics in Washington, and members of Congress are more or less influenced by fear of defeat or hope of political success. At such a time every move in the House has some political bearing, and every measure is carefully scrutinized as to its probable political effect. It was also pretty well known that Speaker Cannon did not want much legislation of a general character to go through the past session, and no doubt these temperance bills came under that head. Still, there are many who believe that it would have been a wise move, politically, to allow some of these measures to become laws, for the wave of prohibition is a growing one, and not confined to any particular section of the country, though more apparent just now in the South and in the West than in the East.

While, therefore, none of these bills has actually become a law, the two most important ones—the interstate commerce bill and the government license bill—are in such shape that they are almost sure of getting attention at the next session of Congress, unless the bill introduced the last week of the session, providing for a commission of five senators and five members of the House to investigate the whole subject, is pushed through Congress. Such a commission would probably spend two years investigating, and in the meantime all legislation on the subject by Congress would be postponed.

The leaders in the Prohibition party declare that they will have something to say about the outcome of the Presidential campaign this fall, and will endeavor to show their full strength. If they carry out their present program, it may come to pass that temperance, prohibition, high license and all the ramifications of the liquor question will become a burning campaign issue this fall. Stranger things than that have happened, and political campaigns have been won or lost on less important issues than that.

PERE G. WALLMO.

*Washington, D. C.*

# SINGLE TAX IN INSTALMENTS.

By William Thum.

NO ATTEMPT is here made to show whether or not the Single Tax plan is better than our present plan of taxation, nor is any attempt made to show whether it would be unfair to those who have accumulated property and adjusted their investments under the present system of taxation if this system were to be replaced by the Single Tax System. However, it can hardly be denied that Henry George's Single Tax idea is commanding respectful consideration of a slowly increasing number of thoughtful, fair-minded men.

There are many who would be interested in having men that are fully conversant with the details and the principles of taxation discuss the question as to whether it would be practicable for a county and any cities that might be within its borders to introduce Single Tax in annual instalments. Would it not be feasible to combine the two systems of taxation during a transition period of possibly twenty years' duration? Let us imagine such a dual system of taxation. One part of this dual system, let us say, requires that assessments be made on personal property, on land, and on structural and agricultural improvements on the land, and that the tax on each taxable unit be calculated by the methods now employed, with the exception that for the first year of the twenty-year period, only nineteen-twentieths of the amount so calculated for each unit be charged against that unit as a part of the annual tax.

The other part of the dual system is the Single Tax part and this requires that the taxable units of land be taken at the valuations fixed by the assessors for the foregoing calculations, and that one-twentieth of the entire amount to be levied as taxes for the first year of the transition period be apportioned between the various taxable units of land on the basis of these valuations. The amount of tax so apportioned to any certain land-unit is charged against the unit as the remainder of the annual tax thereon.

For the first year of the twenty, each taxable unit of personal property and of improvements pertaining to land is taxed an amount that is equal to nineteen-twentieths of what it would have been if our present system alone were used. Each taxable unit of land is taxed not only nineteen-twentieths of what the present system would demand, but in addition is taxed its proportion of the one-twentieth of the entire general tax. By entire general tax is here meant the sum total of taxes on personal property, real property, and the improvements. The term, however, does not cover special taxes which may or may not have to be maintained as at present. For the second year of the transition period the taxes are calculated on a basis of eighteen-twentieths according to the present system, and two-twentieths according to the Single Tax system. Should this rate of change from the present tax system to the Single Tax system be continued for twenty years, the latter system would, of course, be in full operation. If land values become lower, the tax rate would necessarily rise relatively with the lowering of the selling price of the land independent of the improvements. On an average, however, the rate of the tax in relation to the combined income from both the land and the improvements thereon would not be increased; a greater share of the burden would simply be shifted upon unimproved land.

Such a slow transition from one system to the other could work no unjust hardship on present investors in land, although it would to some degree check speculative profits.

If we understand the Single Tax theory

correctly, and if this theory is true, a plan as above outlined would by slow degrees lower the price of land or at least retard the advance in price, and the results anticipated by Mr. George would perhaps be accomplished in like degrees until in twenty years we might see a full realization of his predictions.

After ten years of trial of this dual system, the benefits of Single Tax, if substantial benefits accrue, would become apparent. In this event other communities might inaugurate some plan based on the experience thus gained, and introduce such modifications of Single Tax as might by that time seem wise. It would have been marvelous indeed if any man a generation ago, could have outlined a taxing system which at this time could not be improved by some addition or change. It may appear after due trial that the best results can be accomplished by a continuance of the dual system as developed to a certain stage. It may also appear that the relative proportion of taxes to be raised by each part of the dual system must be varied in different sections of the country in order to meet the needs of those sections. It seems apparent, however, that the nearer we approach an equitable distribution of the products of labor, the more feasible Single Tax will become, and Single Tax, it is claimed, will further this equitable distribution.

There are reasons of a practical nature why Single Tax, if adopted, should be introduced by degrees:

If introduced by degrees, the opposition will be less.

The change from city to country life, and from farm-laborer to farm-proprietor would in any event be gradual.

Even if Single Tax were introduced in full operation and the taxes stopped on structural and land improvements and business enterprise, the general public would nevertheless be given the benefit only by degrees.

If the change were made gradually, *bona fide* investors who merely wanted a safe place to put their earnings and who were led to put them into land by reason of existing tax conditions, would have less cause to complain.

This gradual introduction, would, as previously suggested, give the public a good opportunity to discover any defects in Single Tax, and would give sufficient time to remedy these defects. This opportunity would also win the conditional confidence of those who cannot yet make up their minds that Single Tax is altogether feasible.

Although it may hasten the good result, Single Tax alone cannot adjust industrial opportunity and industrial reward equitably. At best this reward and opportunity can be made more fair only by degrees; and only a little in advance of the degree that they are made more fair, may it become feasible and wise to relieve personal property, improvements, and business enterprise from taxation.

To introduce Single Tax gradually would lessen the risk of any possible financial disturbance and industrial stagnation such as might follow a sudden and decided change in our taxing system.

In trying to establish a permanent reform, the length of time allowed, even if twenty or more years, is of little importance as compared with the importance of the question as to which is the best way to accomplish the reform. The greatest good in our reforms is that good which accrues to future generations.

WILLIAM THUM.

*Pasadena, Cal.*

# THE IDEAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CAPITAL OF VERMONT UNDER DIRECT-LEGISLATION.

By C. A. G. Jackson.

NEW ENGLAND'S town meetings, where every citizen has voice and vote in directing the affairs of his town, afford one of the best illustrations of the workings of direct-legislation, and the manner in which New England towns in general have been governed for two centuries is evidence of the desirability of this kind of government.

As the increase of population consequent on the development of industries or other causes has semed to make it desirable that some towns, or parts of towns should have certain rights and privileges that can best be secured by a special charter they have been incorporated as cities, and often the results have not been satisfactory, since the governing power was taken from the people and placed in the hands of a small governing body. For this reason the town system of government is still retained by some large New England municipalities that might properly be incorporated as cities.

There are certain advantages in a city government and certain other advantages in the old town government, and a system combining the two would be almost ideal. Such a system has been devised and has been working satisfactorily in Montpelier, the capital of Vermont, for fourteen years.

There are six wards in the city, each of which elects an alderman, and these, with the mayor, constitute the governing power. Voting at the annual city meeting in March is not conducted in the various wards, as in most cities. All the voters assemble at the city hall, and a separate booth is set aside for each ward. The warning is like that for an old-fashioned town meeting. When the officers have been elected the city business is taken up, policies are discussed and debated, appropriations are questioned and defended; every citizen has a voice, and when every one has been heard a vote is taken, by ballot or otherwise as the voters direct.

Thus all the city's business is in the hands of the voters themselves, and they must bear the responsibility for any misgovernment or mistake. The mayor and aldermen are only executive officers to whom are left the direction of details.

In the event of any unusual matter arising during the year a special meeting is called and the voters have an opportunity to express their sentiments, and by this expression the city council is guided. The voters not only elect their own officers but they fix the tax rate, decide on public improvements and pass on all special appropriations.

The results are satisfactory. The city has a splendid system of water-works, macadamized streets, concrete sidewalks, one of the best school systems in the state, a low tax rate, a decreasing debt and efficient public servants.

The school board, composed of some of the most competent men in the city, serves without compensation; the mayor receives $300 a year, and each alderman $150, an amount that will not pay for the time they actually spend at their regular meetings. For several years the mayor and aldermen served without pay, but the charter was amended to give them the compensation stated. In spite of the small salaries good men have been willing to accept office, and there has never been a suspicion of scandal in the city government.

Since the city charter was granted there have been numerous and heavy extra expenses, such as erecting new bridges over the Winooski, replacing bridges and repairing streets injured by floods and freshets, the Dewey day celebration (Admiral Dewey being a native of the

city), Senator Morrill's funeral, the centennial celebration in 1905, yet the tax rate has been kept at $1.50 on $1,000, much less than the average in the state, and no public interest has been neglected.

Not all the credit can be given to the system of government; a part must be reserved for the non-partisan methods that prevail. No party caucuses are held and no party nominations are made. A citizens' caucus nominates mayor, listers and other officers without regard to their party affiliations, and similar caucuses in the wards nominate candidates for alderman and school commissioner. Although the city has a large Republican majority two of its mayors have been Democrats, nominated by the citizens' caucus, and the Democrats have always had a representation on the board of aldermen larger than their proportionate vote would entitle them to. Fitness is the sole consideration in making nominations. When men are chosen for that qualification alone and set to work under the system of government that prevails there, the management of municipal affairs is as nearly ideal as can be expected in a New England town, and the results furnish a strong endorsement of direct-legislation.

C. A. G. Jackson.

*Montpelier, Vermont.*

# THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

By B. O. Flower.

## ROBERT BROWNING'S "RABBI BEN EZRA."

I.

IN "SAUL" Browning sang as have few bards of the joy of life. In "Prospice" he sounds the exultant note in the face of death. But it is in "Rabbi Ben Ezra" that we have one of the most splendid pictures of the worth of life known to literature. It is a poem instinct with lofty philosophic thought, a psychical monologue in which the seer and sage speaks as one of the illuminated who has dwelt on the heights, and as the scholar whose long life and deep research have given him the experience that warrants his speaking with authority.

II.

In order properly to understand this noble monologue, which is justly considered one of the greatest short religious poems in our language, it is important to bear in mind certain facts.

Rabbi Ben Ezra was a real personage, a great Hebrew scholar and philosopher. He was born in Toledo, Spain, about 1090, but most of his life was spent in Italy and England. He died in 1168. He was famed as a philosopher, astronomer, poet, grammarian and commentator. He taught that the real or essential life of man was the spiritual essence or soul. It is in our spiritual nature that we find our superiority to the lower animals.

This learned Hebrew sage had his disciples or students who loved to commune with him and drink wisdom from his rich, ripe experience and profound intellectual and intuitive insight. They were not, in the nature of the case, idle, frivolous or dissipated young men. Such would have fled from the presence of the great spiritually illuminated sage as bats fly from the light of day. On the contrary, they were high-minded, fine normal youths, and it should be observed that in comparing youth and age, in the early part of this poem, the venerable philosopher speaks only of sane, healthy or normal youth untainted by animalism or degradation.

The opening lines of the poem suggest a fact that it is well to keep in mind as we consider the lines. Some loved disciple or young

friend of the Rabbi has expressed the regret that he should be growing old. The friends of his youth are dying on every hand. The snow of age has powdered his brow and beard. He is slowly descending toward the valley. And the old man, after gazing a moment on his loved young friend, while a beatific smile illumines his countenance, places his arm around the youth and leads him to a marble seat beneath a flowering and fruited orange tree, or, perchance, the shade of a century-old olive; and as they seat themselves the Rabbi thus replies to his friend:

"'Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life for which the first was made:
Our times are in his hand
Who saith, "A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid!"'"

This stanza states the ripe conviction of the sage. It is the master thought which he endeavors to prove to his friend. The inability of inexperienced youth to appreciate in a great or true way the deeper things of life, its immaturity of judgment, its lack of confidence born of ignorance, its sighing for the impossible, its want of a deep, unshakable faith or trust which later glows with Grail-like brilliance in the heart of the true philosopher—these things render youth, even at its best, far less perfect or rich in power and capacity for enjoyment than full-orbed manhood in the rich beauty of age. Only after one has traveled far on the way, life becomes rich and meaningful; and therefore it is not in the raw and callow youth but in the rounded maturity of advancing years that the deepest and purest joy and most profound content are to be found. These are the major thoughts suggested in the opening lines.

"Not that, amassing flowers,
Youth sighed, 'Which rose make ours,
Which lily leave and then as best recall?'
Not that, admiring stars,
It yearned, 'Nor Jove, nor Mars;
Mine be some figured flame which blends, transcends them all!'

"Not for such hopes and fears
Annulling youth's brief years,
Do I remonstrate: folly wide the mark!
Rather I prize the doubt
Low kinds exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark."

Concision marks the writing of Browning. Often a single line or a phrase is thrown out to form a mental image that most writers would require a page to present. In this manner in the above two stanzas youth is pictured—the youth of the clean-minded, normal young man or woman. In the first place, youth is a time for the searching for and possessing of the beautiful, a time of dreaming. Its eyes are on the flower-decked fields or the star-jeweled sky. This, however, is not the phase presented by youth upon which the Rabbi desires to touch, but rather the doubt and indecision that mark this period; the hesitancy even in the midst of flowers, the vain longing for the impossible, the impatience to have at once that which comes only with time and toil, the spurning of the little things that are the steps that lead to the heights, because the duty that lies nearest is not the great thing to which it aspires. The picture presented is of indecision and unsatisfied yearnings due to hope and fear born of immaturity of will and thought, or to ignorance. And this condition often annuls or renders futile, as it were, some of youth's brief but precious years.

Yet, lest the friend imagine he is remonstrating against or condemning youth, the sage hastens to disclaim any such purpose. Indeed, he does not condemn the doubt that annuls "youth's brief years"; for that doubt is the prophecy of a faith that is to come. Where there is doubt there is life and potential growth. From the doubt and the dream, the pondering and the aspiration, man moves from the brute plane Godward. The "finished and finite clod" is "untroubled by a spark." This thought of the worth of doubt because of its promise or what it leads to, suggests a great truth which the venerable master wishes to impress on the plastic mind of his young friend. Doubt stirs the stagnant waters of ignorance and leads to inquiry, to investigation—the search for truth. It speaks of something resident in man unknown to the brute.

So after his manner, the Rabbi with the serene smile of perfect faith lighting his brow, proceeds to emphasize a lesson he would have his disciple take to heart. Man is not the creature of an hour, satisfied with a full stomach and desiring nothing beyond the fleshly gratifications of sensuous appeals and desires. If he reached for nothing beyond this, death would mark his end. The "crop-full bird," "the maw-crammed beast," seeks for naught else and is untroubled by doubt, dream or aspiration. Not so with man.

"Poor vaunt of life indeed,
Were man but formed to feed
On joy, to solely seek and find and feast;
Such feasting ended, then
As sure an end to men:
Irks care the crop-full bird? Frets doubt the maw-crammed beast?"

In bold contrast with the profound satisfaction of the "crop-full bird" and "the maw-crammed beast," the Rabbi sees man, the creature of doubt and dream, the aspiring soul, who after seeing the vision sets to work to realize it. Man is not, beast-like, satisfied with ministering to his own wants. He provides for others. As the Father of Light, Love and Life is a provider, so also man, in his small and finite way seeks to provide. More than this, in striving to think God's thoughts after Him, he is led to create things beautiful, helpful and needful. Hence we find the Rabbi exclaiming:

"'Rejoice we are allied
To that which doth provide
And not partake, effect and not receive!
A spark disturbs our clod;
Nearer we hold of God
Who gives, than of his tribes that take, I must believe.'"

It is more blessed to give than to receive. Love is of God, and love manifests itself by tirelessly outreaching in helpful ways. The spirit that gives to aid the needy, little recking of self, speaks of the presence of that spark of Divinity that "disturbs our clod" and proves our near relationship to God, our high heritage as children of the Infinite, created in the image and likeness of Deity.

Perhaps at this juncture the young man propounds a question born of one of those doubts that beset youth, or it may be that the philosopher is now reminded of questions asked at other times when other subjects were in hand and it was not possible to take time to reply. If man is a child of God, so infinitely above the care-free bird and beast, why is he buffeted at every turn? The implied question which is next met had peculiar significance for the Hebrews, for from the destruction of Jerusalem the Jews had been wanderers and outcasts, put upon, often maltreated, and persecuted from city to city and nation to nation throughout Christendom. Doubtless many of his young friends had frequently bitterly complained of the hard lot of the Chosen People. But he as a student of history, a philosopher and a seer, gifted with interior vision, knew that one of the greatest perils that can beset men or nations is the primrose path of dalliance, the condition that favors ease, luxury and gratification of sensuous life. The story of Israel, no less than that of Egypt, Chaldea, Greece and Rome, bore melancholy testimony to the fact that with great wealth and luxury came the forgetting of God, the turning from the star to embrace the clod, the absorption in the fleeting things of sense rather than the yielding to the compulsion of moral idealism; and then came, as surely as night succeeds day, moral enervation and the dominance of animalism, followed by national decay and death.

And what is true of nations is true of individuals. Moreover, in life man is given a large measure of freedom. He can choose to do right or wrong, but if he elects to transgress the law, he suffers until he learns by experience that only by conformity to the higher ethics or the recognition and acceptance of the eternal moral verities, can victorious peace and joy unalloyed be achieved. Finally he learns through experience that every new birth is accomplished by pangs. Growing pains assail the developing nature.

It is hard to discard long-cherished ideas that have been accepted as truths, even when the broadened vision renders the old concepts no longer tenable. The climbing of the mountain requires far more fatiguing exertion than traversing the broad and fertile valley at its base. Yet he who would enjoy the wider vision must undergo the fatigue of the difficult ascent. Such are some of the things suggested by the Rabbi's words:

"'Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
Be our joys three-parts pain!
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!'"

It is the high prerogative of man that he can and oftentimes does derive spiritual or real gain from material loss. The last lines of the above express one of the most inspiring thoughts of the poem—a thought very precious to Browning, as is shown by the fact that he constantly expresses the idea in varying words. He would have us all morally courageous, daring and fearless in a spiritual sense. Then we need dread little. Even our failures to

reach the high mark to which we aspire will not prove real defeats:

'For thence—a paradox
Which comforts while it mocks—
Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail:
What I aspired to be
And was not, comforts me:
A brute I might have been, but would not sink i' the scale."

Dr. Gerhardt C. Mars in his masterly work, *An Interpretation of Life*, says:

"The consciousness of defeat has in it the promise of triumph. The mind that has become aware of error and limitation has of necessity already conceived the possibility of truth and freedom, in which there is no error and restriction, but knowledge of totality and reality. It is toward a comprehensive ideal knowledge of the truth that man stubbornly bends his most earnest effort, with as much fervor as the saint who yearns for the vision of God. The scientist and philosopher pursue the truth. Like errant knights amidst privation and struggle, they follow the gleam in search of some Holy Grail the sight of which will banish all error and doubt and fill the mind with healing light."

In the next six stanzas the soul and body in their various relationships command the attention of the master. Here, in true Browningesque manner, various phases of the question, that have been the subjects of thought and oftentimes of discussion with his friends and disciples, are successively touched upon. The passing from one view of the grave question to another is so marked as to suggest the idea that his young friend may have interposed a question from time to time. In the following stanza the Rabbi sets forth the supreme truth that must be learned by all persons who would possess the key to the Kingdom of Life and rise above the mere existence that marks the brute.

"'What is he but a brute
Whose flesh has soul to suit,
Whose spirit works lest arms and legs want play?
To man, propose this test—
Thy body at its best,
How far can that project thy soul on its lone way?'"

Yet lest his friend infer that he would have him despise the body, as did many of the Christian ascetics of the age who mortified and even lacerated their flesh and treated it as if it were a thing vile and evil, the Rabbi hastens to point out that the God-given body, dowered with sight, hearing and other senses, enables the soul to take cognizance of the wonderful works of God throughout the universe, of the power and perfection everywhere present. Its senses are channels or avenues for enlightenment of the brain, awakening the power born of wisdom or understanding, that renders possible the spiritual apprehension or realization of the perfection and completeness of God's whole design comprehending power and love—a plan which when it dawns on the brain exalts man and makes him feel his real nature, his kinship with God, and fills him with reverence and trust for the Divine Architect and Creator of all. Such is the thought given in these lines:

"Yet gifts should prove their use:
I own the Past profuse
Of power each side, perfection every turn:
Eyes, ears took in their dole,
Brain treasured up the whole;
Should not the heart beat once, 'How good to live and learn?'

"Not once beat, 'Praise be thine!
I see the whole design,
I, who saw power, see now Love perfect, too:
Perfect I call thy plan:
Thanks that I was a man!
Maker, remake, complete—I trust what thou shalt do!'"

The philosopher has advanced far enough to see the deeper meaning of life, to know that "all 's love, yet all 's law." He has perfect trust in the Divine Mind; but in looking forth on life he notes the vast army of young people who are blind to the august truth of being, deaf to the call of the soul. To them the seduction of the flesh is greater than the lure of the spirit. They not only lack the wisdom of experience and suffer from the indecision of youth, but they have been snared by the Venus-world, with the soul sleeping in the "rose-mesh" of the flesh. They drift through the most precious years of life and undergo the hard penalty and suffer the bitter consequences which follow grave mistakes, before their soul "yearns for rest," before the film falls from their eyes. And seeing all this waste of life's finer energies leads the sage to lament that some light of the spirit should not early fall on life's pathway, so as to overmatch "those manifold possessions of the brute" which draw the soul earthward. In life, and especially to the young, it often seems that the path of duty and virtue is strewn with shards

and fringed with thorns, while the paths of sensuous indulgence are carpeted with flowers. It is often not until after long and bitter lessons in life's school of experience have been learned that youth comes to see that its early concepts were illusionary and unreal. This thought, it seems, is in the Rabbi's mind, as following his invocation to God to mold his life, he continues:

"'For pleasant is this flesh;
Our soul, in its rose-mesh
Pulled over to the earth, still yearns for rest:
Would we some prize might hold
To match those manifold
Possessions of the brute—gain most, as we did best!'"

Next he reverts to the idea of the soul that has gained dominion over the flesh but which is inclined to regard the latter as an evil rather than a potential blessing and aid. To such persons who understand that the test of the body is found in its power to further the soul "*on its lone way*," the poet says:

"Let us not always say,
'Spite of this flesh to-day
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole!'
As the bird wings and sings,
Let us cry, 'All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul!'"

He who understands the right relation of life and has a firm grasp on his will, finds his spirit thrilling in accord with these inspiring lines. The Rabbi has progressed far on the way of life. He has learned from experience the wisdom which youth is ignorant of, and hence he summons age

"To grant youth's heritage,
Life's struggle having so far reached its term."

He is near enough to the end of the pilgrimage to feel that when the hour for his promotion comes,

"Thence shall I pass, approved
A man, for aye removed
From the developed brute; a God though in the germ.

"'And I shall thereupon
Take rest, ere I be gone
Once more on my adventure brave and new:
Fearless and unperplexed,
When I wage battle next,
What weapons to select, what armor to indue.'"

These lines voice the conviction that this life is but one of a series; that after it is over, comes another battle in which the victories and achievements of to-day will tell in favor of the individual during his next adventurous career.

This idea of life being but one of a series is a favorite thought with Browning. He recurs to it very often in his poems, and it is interesting to note that it was a conviction entertained not only by Browning, who was the greatest philosophical poet of the Victorian Age, but also by the most illustrious French poet of the last century, Victor Hugo, and by Ralph Waldo Emerson, the greatest ethical philosopher of the New World. In speaking of death or the great transition, Victor Hugo said:

"I am like a forest which has been more than once cut down. The new shoots are stronger and livelier than ever. I am rising, I know, towards the sky. The sunshine is on my head. The earth gives me its generous sap, but heaven lights me with the reflection of unknown worlds.

. . . . . .

"When I go down to the grave I can say, like many others, 'I have finished my day's work'; but I cannot say, 'I have finished my life.' My day's work will begin the next morning. The tomb is not a blind alley; it is a thoroughfare. It closes in the twilight to open with the dawn.

"My work is only begun; I yearn for it to become higher and nobler. . . . Let me rise superior to the perils, the passions, the agonies that age after age may be before me, and who shall say whether I may not rise to the council chamber of that Supreme Ruler who controls all, and whom we own as God."

Emerson in his "Essay on Experience" says:

"Where do we find ourselves? In a series of which we do not know the extremes and believe that it has none. We wake and find ourselves on a stair; there are stairs below us which we seem to have ascended; there are stairs above us, many a one, which go upward and out of sight. But the Genius which, according to the old belief, stands at the door by which we enter and gives us the lethe to drink, that we may tell no tales, mixed the cup too strongly, and we cannot shake off the lethargy now at noonday."

Again, in "The Sphinx," he says in speaking of our life:

"Out of sleeping a waking,
Out of waking a sleep;
Life death overtaking;
Deep underneath deep."

And still again:

"To vision profounder,
Man's spirit must dive;
His aye-rolling orb
At no goal will arrive;
The heavens that now draw him
With sweetness untold,
Once found, for new heavens
He spurneth the old."

The Rabbi divides life into youth and age. He is descending toward the neutral zone of age, but is not yet old. Hence he says:

"'Youth ended, I shall try
My gain or loss thereby;
Leave the fire ashes, what survives is gold:
And I shall weigh the same,
Give life its praise or blame:
Young, all lay in dispute; I shall know, being old.'"

While the fires of youth are blazing he cannot take the gold from the dross; when he is in the front of the fray he cannot be judicial, see clearly, judge calmly or wisely in meting out praise or blame. In youth all lay in dispute but when he enters the gray zone of age he shall know. And then, to impress his thought; he employs a striking and suggestive illustration from nature:

"'For note, when evening shuts,
A certain moment cuts
The deed off, calls the glory from the gray:
A whisper from the west
Shoots—"Add this to the rest,
Take it and try its worth: here dies another day."'"

Who has not gazed on the splendor of sunset, beholding a sea of glory that rivaled the gorgeous outburst of autumn, ere the leaves fall and the gray gains on the gold and crimson. Suddenly, while the eye has been feasting on the glory of cloud and sky, the splendor fades almost as by magic, and where was purple and orange and gold and flaming scarlet, now is faint pink, flushing gray masses; and then all is gray. We are in the midst of the quiet twilight hour; a time to be added to the rest—the moment of silence and revery worth often all the turmoil of the day to the contemplative soul; the silent hour that marks the death of another day.

The Rabbi applies the illustration to age. Age is the neutral zone before the transition that is to mark the next pilgrimage. It is the waiting time after the "certain moment" that "cuts the deed off, calls the glory from the gray." It is the time when the soul, still in this life, is lifted above the strife and is enabled to discern, compare and pronounce the verdict.

"So, still within this life,
Though lifted o'er its strife,
Let me discern, compare, pronounce at last,
'This rage was right i' the main,
That acquiescence vain:
The Future I may face now I have proved the Past.'"

Reverting again to youth, the Rabbi says:

"For more is not reserved
To man, with soul just nerved
To act to-morrow what he learns to-day:
Here, work enough to watch
The Master work, and catch
Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's true play."

When we are hard at work in the exacting school of experience, the most we can do is to watch for hints and learn from the Master, and then carry into effect what we learn.

"As it was better, youth
Should strive, through acts uncouth,
Toward making, than repose on aught found made:
So, better, age, exempt
From strife, should know, than tempt
Further. Thou waitest age: wait death nor be afraid!"

Here we are again brought face to face with a direct comparison between youth—the active, often blundering and indecisive but learning period of youth, and the repose of age. Age! Ah! that is the hour of serene repose, of calm judgment, of clear vision based on experience, which lifts the wise old man above the wrangling, jangling and shallow sophistries that mark youth. And speaking of youth reminds the sage of the bitter contentions and loud disputes which in early days vexed the judicious when shallow and opinionated youth with shrill voice contended not with reason and argument, but with much noise against great ideas, philosophic concepts and opinions that were held by the more thoughtful few. In the warfare of youth the many often go with the more shallow and superficial. Often the work that may be the result of injustice or the fruit of oppression and iniquity wins applause from those who never weigh the thought-life, the aspirations and motives that are the well-spring of character.

"Enough now, if the Right
And Good and Infinite
Be named here, as thou callest thy hand thine own,
With knowledge absolute,
Subject to no dispute
From fools that crowded youth, nor let thee feel alone.

"Be there, for once and all,
Severed great minds from small,
Announced to each his station in the Past!
Was I, the world arraigned,
Were they, my soul disdained,
Right? Let age speak the truth and give us peace at last!

"Now, who shall arbitrate?
Ten men love what I hate,
Shun what I follow, slight what I receive;
Ten, who in ears and eyes
Match me: we all surmise,
They this thing, and I that: whom shall my soul believe?

"Not on the vulgar mass
Called 'work,' must sentence pass,
Things done, that took the eye and had the price;
O'er which, from level stand,
The low world laid its hand,
Found straightway to its mind, could value in a trice."

While over against this false valuation based on externals, on shallow, plausible sophistries or mere effects that may be the fruit of wrong and injustice, the sage places the things which make for soul growth or decay, life or death. All the high instincts which, even if immature, press upward; all the aspirations that bore the spirit aloft, even if on wavering wings; all noble thoughts, fancies, dreams and the great reaching of the spirit for the heights; the "Love of the Best"—all, all these things count with God, who as a potter is silently shaping the pitcher or goblet in the school of experience, on the wheel of time.

"But all the world's coarse thumb
And finger failed to plumb,
So passed in making up the main account;
All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's account:

"Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,
Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
All I could never be,
All men ignored in me,
This, I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped."

The suggestion of the wheel calls forth another mental picture in the luxuriant imagination of the Hebrew sage. From time immemorial the society-loving Orientals in the land of the vine and the olive have ever loved to meet with friends around the festal board; and in the succeeding verses the philosopher presents two figures, one the potter molding the goblet, and the other the festal occasion for the use of the cup. God, the Potter, is here represented as fashioning or molding man's soul into a thing of beauty, strength and utility. Something that is needed for the perfection of the end in view is shadowed forth. The mole-like materialist prates of the small fraction of life that marks man's fleeting passage here as all of life, parrotting about everything being ephemeral, fleeting and dying. To the Rabbi nothing that really is, is ever lost. God and the soul of man, or the image and likeness of Deity, are the great facts of the universe. The materialistic or that which from the view-point of the physical senses is phenomenal or material, changes and passes; but the Divine Mind and its offspring of necessity persist.

"Ay, note that Potter's wheel,
That metaphor! and feel
Why time spins fast, why passive lies our clay—
Thou, to whom fools propound,
When the wine makes its round,
'Since life fleets, all is change; the Past gone, seize to-day!'

"Fool! All that is, at all,
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What entered into thee,
That was, is, and shall be:
Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter and clay endure."

God's overruling spirit sees all, and, seeing all, understands our true need. Man in his short-sightedness would arrest the present, which is but the machinery meant to give the soul its bent, impress the spirit and prepare it for something better, if it will but look up and not down.

"He fixed thee 'mid this dance
Of plastic circumstance,
This Present, thou, forsooth, would fain arrest:
Machinery just meant
To give thy soul its bent,
Try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed.

"What though the earlier grooves,
Which ran the laughing loves
Around thy base, no longer pause and press?
What though, above thy rim,
Skull-things in order grim
Grow out, in graver mood, obey the sterner stress?"

Life at first is careless, free and innocent of any grave sense of responsibility and the deeper and nobler moods come after the journey has been made and man enters the twilight zone of age.

"Look not thou down but up!
To uses of a cup,
The festal board, lamp's flash and trumpet's peal,
The new wine's foaming flow,
The Master's lips aglow!
Thou, heaven's consummate cup, what needst thou with earth's wheel?"

In the above stanzas the philosopher strives to lift the attention of his friend from the fleeting incidents and experiences connected with the whirling wheel of time, to the supreme use or the real meaning of life—the purpose and design of the Cosmic Mind, and toward the realization of which the experiences of life directly or indirectly tend. The metaphor of the festal board, where all is joyous, and peace, and concord and happiness reign, typifies the state of felicity that comes of perfect harmony through all the warring interests of life being brought at last into voluntary harmony with the perfect Cosmic Mind, for which all earth's experience has been as the wandering of the prodigal in the far country, that at length ends in the happy reunion in the Father's house.

And now once more the old man returns to the life he is now living and with musing and prayer he closes the noble picture of earth's pilgrimage.

"But I need, now as then,
Thee, God, who mouldest men;
And since, not even while the whirl was worst,
Did I—to the wheel of life
With shapes and colors rife,
Bound dizzily—mistake my end, to slake thy thirst:

"So, take and use thy work:
Amend what flaws may lurk,
What strain o' the stuff, what warpings past the aim!
My times be in the hand!
Perfect the cup as planned!
Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same!"

The eye of sense may not see and the ear of the body hear, but the soul in the silence often beholds and hears that which lifts and transforms it; and he who once sees and feels the august meaning of life never entirely loses sight of the goal—the perfected purpose of existence, even when the dizzy whirling of the wheel of life makes all things look confused.

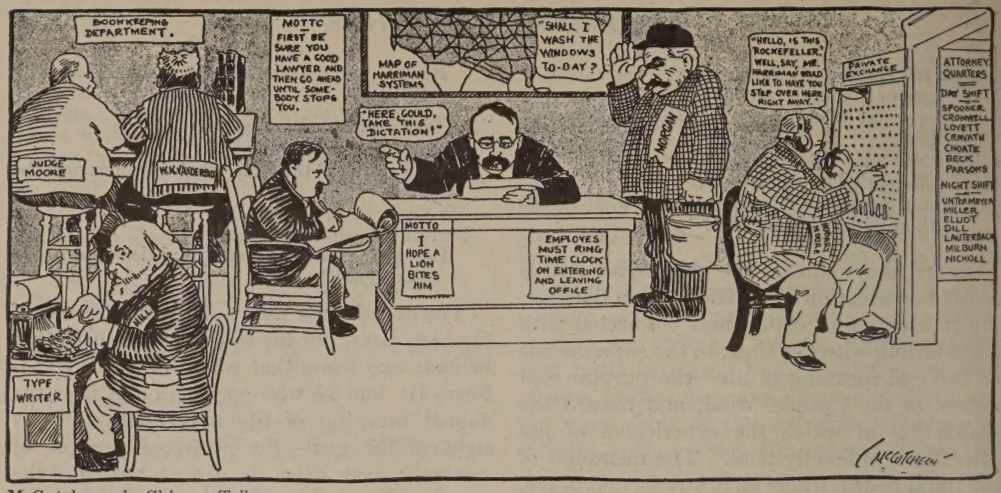
"My times are in thy hand!" Happy the soul that can approach the neutral zone of age conscious that however it may have fallen short at times of that it aspired to be, on the whole it has striven faithfully and resolutely to express that which was fine, worthy, noble, just and true, and which experiences that lofty serenity and trust which finds utterance in the words: The last is best. Trust God, be not afraid. And again:

"My times be in thy hand!
Perfect the cup as planned!
Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same!"

B. O. Flower.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

# POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.


BOOKKEEPING DEPARTMENT.
MOTTO FIRST BE SURE YOU HAVE A GOOD LAWYER AND THEN GO AHEAD UNTIL SOMEBODY STOPS YOU.
MAP OF HARRIMAN SYSTEMS
"SHALL I WASH THE WINDOWS TO-DAY?"
"HELLO, IS THIS ROCKEFELLER? WELL, SAY, MR. HARRIMAN WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOU STOP OVER HERE RIGHT AWAY."
PRIVATE EXCHANGE
ATTORNEY QUARTERS
DAY SHIFT
SPOONER CROMWELL LOVETT CRAVATH CHOATE BECK PARSONS
NIGHT SHIFT
UNTERMEYER MILLER ELLIOT DILL LAUTERBACH MILBURN NICHOLL
"HERE, GOULD, TAKE THIS DICTATION!"
MORGAN
JUDGE MOORE
W.K. VANDERBILT
MOTTO
I HOPE A LION BITES HIM
EMPLOYES MUST RING TIME CLOCK ON ENTERING AND LEAVING OFFICE
TYPE WRITER
McCUTCHEON

McCutcheon, in Chicago Tribune.

Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.
UNCLE SAM CAN'T SEE.

Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.
TRY, TRY, AGAIN.
T. R.—Looks like we'd have to scalp him over again.

Bowers, in Indianapolis News.
TAFT SAYS HITCHCOCK HAS A WONDERFUL GRASP.

WE WILL PUBLISH THE CAMPAIGN FUNDS
LET US HAVE POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS
I AM FOR THE WORKINGMAN
COME IN WITH THE COAL BOYS, IT'S ALL RIGHT
WE CAN'T TRUST THE PEOPLE, THEY DON'T KNOW
STAND PAT
WILLIE TAFT
TRUST JIM
REPUBLICAN PLATFORM
YEP SONNY IT'S UNDER PERFECT CONTROL CAN MAKE EITHER SIDE SAY WHAT I WANT
THE TRUSTS
THE WEST
THE EAST

Bow, in Salt Lake Herald.
PLAYING BOTH ENDS.

Johnson, in Philadelphia Press.

THE FIRST BOLT.

Macauley, in New York World.

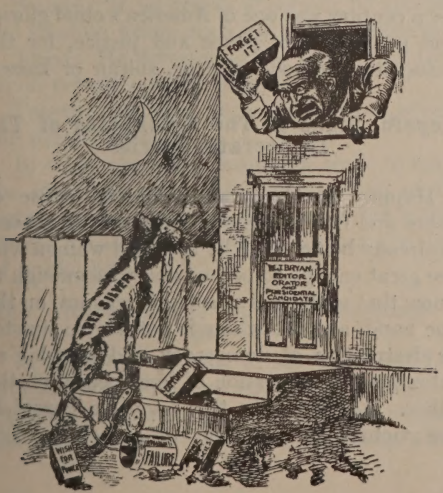
THE CROSSING.

De Mar, in Philadelphia Record.

THE PHOTOGRAPHER—"HOW DO YOU EXPECT ME TO TAKE A MOVING PICTURE OF THAT?"

Bow, in Salt Lake Herald.

ROCKING THE BOAT.




Johnson, in Philadelphia Press.

SHOO!

From the Denver Times

"THE PEOPLE ARE IN THE SADDLE."—TAFT.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE BATTLE FOR FREE SPEECH: AN ISSUE VITAL TO THE LIFE OF THE REPUBLIC.

### The Issue and The Result: Russia and England as Illustrations.

THE STEADY encroachment on the rights of free speech guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, during the past two decades, since privileged interests have largely gained control of national, state and city governments, marks in a striking way the rapid overthrow of the ideals and principles which differentiate a free and popular government from class-rule, where despotism and oppression in some form is bound sooner or later to be manifested.

If freedom of speech was productive of overt criminal acts and lawlessness, England would be the most lawless and anarchal nation in Europe. If suppression of free speech fostered peace, order and popular security, Russia would be the most conspicuous example of law, order and popular content in Europe. There is no one thing so fatal to the orderly operation of law as the arbitrary attempts of cities, states or nations to prevent the people discussing their grievances. Yet since the Russianization of America began, with the increasing power of privilege and corporation control of government and the rapid growth of the imperialistic and military mania in the Republic, there has been attempt after attempt to suppress free speech and exchange the American or democratic ideal for the Russian or autocratic ideal in the presence of popular discontent. This is one of the most sinister and ominous facts confronting America to-day. It is something that all conscience-guided and broad-minded patriots should resolutely oppose, for it strikes at the vitals of public security, of rational progress and of popular rights.

### Systematic Attempt to Confuse The Public Mind as to The Fundamental Issue.

A systematic attempt has been made on the part of reactionary and unprincipled journals and machine-governed party organs, to confuse the public mind in regard to the fundamentals involved in this vital controversy, and to make it appear that all who stand for freedom of speech and insist on a continuance of the sacred rights for which Jefferson and the noblest of the fathers contended, are in sympathy with all the views of those who desire to express their opinions in public, or are upholders of crime which some individual degenerate from some alien race may have committed. This ignoble and dishonorable attempt to confuse the public mind and cast odium on friends of enduring peace and progress is nothing new. It was indulged in by the upholders of the infamous Alien and Sedition Laws in the early days of the Republic; but happily for the friends of freedom, we were too near the attempted oppression of reactionary class-rule of Britain and the cost paid for the right of free speech was too fresh in the minds of the people, to render possible a continuance of the repressive measures then attempted. Now, however, powerful corporations and monopolies representing distinct special privileged classes, and scheming politicians a large number of whom have fled from a land where one of the chief grievances was the denial of the right of free speech, are seeking to exchange the order-preserving freedom of speech which for a century was one of America's chief glories and guaranties of peace and justice, for the autocratic methods of czar, sultan or kaiser.

### Hopeful Signs of The Awakening of The Democratic Spirit.

Happily for humanity and the cause of peace and free government, a powerful protest is already being made by men and women who are great enough to be just and wise enough to know that nothing is so safe as freedom, on the one hand, and that there is nothing so sinister or destructive of democracy and popular as attempts at suppression of free speech, on the other. Elsewhere in this issue we chronicle the victory for freedom of speech in Los

Angeles, California. Since then other victories scarcely less notable have been achieved: one in San Francisco, and a very notable triumph in Dayton, Ohio.

**The Victory for Free Speech in Dayton.**

The success which has attended the friends of free speech in the Ohio city is the outcome of a two-years' battle between the reactionary and privilege-seeking element and those who understand that the suppression of freedom of speech in the open streets in cities will quickly be followed by suppression in halls and the passing of laws that foster corrupt, autocratic and bureaucratic despotism, such as has rendered possible the appalling oppression and exploitation of the millions of Russia and which has brought about a chronic condition of anarchy, crime and violence which has long made Russia the dark and bloody land of Christian civilization.

In Dayton, a city ordinance had been secured by interested parties which vested autocratic power in the hands of the chief of police. Under the ordinance some Socialist speakers were arrested and thrown into prison. When they came up for trial before Judge Long, the defendants were acquitted, the judge declaring the ordinance unconstitutional. The following is a summary of his ruling:

The ordinance in question seeks to reduce the right of the citizens to use the streets for any lawful purpose. It further seeks to confer upon the chief of police the following unrestricted, arbitrary, discretionary powers.

First: To grant or refuse to grant the citizens permission to use the streets for a lawful public purpose.

Second: If he grants a permit, he specifies the location where such use may be exercised.

Third: He determines the hours and dates when permit may be used.

Fourth: He may in his discretion, revoke the permit granted.

In other words the ordinance seeks to make the chief of police the sole guardian of the rights of the people to the use of the public streets for all public purposes except the right of public travel.

**The Police Adopt Russian Methods in Boston.**

In Boston, the home of the Cradle of Liberty and long the great bulwark of democratic freedom in America, an outrage was recently perpetrated against the rights of citizens which would never have been possible had it not been for the steady blunting of the public conscience and morality through recent years of boss-rule and domination of state and city politics by public-service corporations. The old spirit of popular rights has rapidly given way to subserviency to desired ends and the interests of privileged classes, and officials who are as wanting in the larger vision of true statesmanship as they are contemptuous of the fundamental demands of justice and democracy have become more and more in evidence as privileged classes have advanced in influence and domination, both in state and over public opinion-forming agencies.

Recently some atrocious robberies and shootings occurred in Boston, in which the inability of the police to cope with the bandits was only equalled by the daring and the success of the criminals in the presence of a large number of blue-coats. One of the criminals was finally killed and identified as a member of the Lettish community in Boston. Now the Letts are quite numerous in the city. They, in common with the inhabitants of Lithuania, Poland and other sections of Russia, have fled from their native land on account of the terrible and intolerable persecutions waged against the people by the bureaucrats of the Czar's realm. Many of these refugees have settled in Boston, where for the most part, like the great majority of Russian immigrants, they have proved industrious, frugal and peaceable citizens. They are struggling with splendid spirit to get homes and to provide for the proper education of their children. The hard times have been felt by them in common with all the poor, and some of their number have been long out of work. That in a community numbering some thousands of these immigrants, there should be a few desperate characters who when urged by the pangs of hunger became bandits, is more deplorable than surprising. That such should be apprehended and punished just the same as other thieves and murderers, no right-minded person will deny. That the Boston police were amazingly inefficient in their attempt to arrest the two or three criminals whom they pursued in large numbers, is a humiliating fact and does not reflect creditably on the practical value as guardians of public safety of the Boston police. It is not, however, with their inefficiency that we are at present concerned, but it is against an essentially unjust and indefensible aggression

of police power, practiced on inoffensive people in a manner that would excite the admiration of the Russian bureaucrats, that we wish to protest, no less than against the way the Boston press lent itself to an infamous attempt to inflame and prejudice the public mind against people who were for the most part peaceable and law-abiding. The facts are briefly as follows:

After the crime and the failure on the part of the police to apprehend the guilty parties, the Boston press suddenly seemed to have received a revelation—a revelation that would make possible popular acquiescence in an attempt to introduce Russian autocratic tactics in place of American methods. On one morning the various newspapers seemed simultaneously to have received a dispensation of wisdom. They pretended to have discovered, and they widely heralded, the alleged facts that the Letts were a bloodthirsty, murderous people, lawless, criminal and altogether undesirable citizens. Had not one of their number committed the atrocious crime of shooting innocent people, and in return been shot and killed by the officers of the law? Yes. Was it not possible that the other two criminals were Letts? Yes, it was possible, but by no means a proved fact, while it was an indisputable fact that the vast majority of the Letts were peaceable, industrious and worthy citizens. Now what could be at the heels of this sudden spasm of newspaper hostility, which was as false as it was wicked? The poor Letts were to be terrorized by American police officials in the most approved Russian manner. Their houses were to be broken into between three and five o'clock in the morning, and numbers of men and women against whom there was no shadow of evidence or charge were to be dragged to jail as common criminals.

At our request Mr. Saul Beaumont, one of our valued contributors, a very thoughtful Russian Hebrew, has furnished the following facts relating to this outrage:

"In all thirty odd Lettish houses were broken into by the police. The raids took place, in most cases, between four and five A. M. About thirty Letts were taken into custody and kept locked up from twelve to twenty-four hours. One man of education, formerly a teacher at a high school in Riga, Russia, but here a workingman in a rubber factory, was kept imprisoned for three days, starved and otherwise maltreated, and all for no reason at all. Another victim was Mr. John Klawa, the editor of the Lettish Socialist paper, *The Worker*. He is a highly educated gentleman."

**Denial of Right of Protest in a Public Hall.**

Naturally enough, the breaking into the homes of peaceable citizens in the night time and the dragging of innocent men and women to jail, aroused feelings of bitter resentment in the minds of the poor immigrants who had fled from Russia to escape just such treatment. The sudden newspaper onslaught, so like Russian methods, and the police outrage they naturally felt to be the result of a conspiracy on the part of the ruling forces; for they came from a land where the press is largely the voice of the government. Moreover, at that very time our government was preparing to send back to Russia a prominent Russian patriot who had fled to this country.

Two calls were issued: one for a meeting to protest against the outrage and indignity which the Letts had suffered from the Boston police; the other to denounce the proposed action of the national government in extraditing their prominent compatriot, the revolutionist, Purin. They therefore determined to resort to what in America has been the time-honored method of those feeling they had a just grievance—a public meeting to protest against the newspapers' libelous outrage against them and the inexcusable introduction of Russian methods by the police.

The Letts have a hall on Washington street where their regular meetings were held, so arrangements were made for a public assembly to protest, and to make the remonstrance as effective as possible they arranged for Squire Putney, a descendant of American Revolutionary heroes, to be one of the speakers. Next they published hand-bills in Lettish, announcing the meetings which had been called. When the hour for the meeting arrived, the Letts found their hall barred by the police who announced that they were forbidden to hold their public protest. Mr. Saul Beaumont, who was to be one of the speakers, remonstrated with the police captain, only to be shortly and insolently informed that no meeting should be held. Mr. Beaumont is a Socialist, and he remembered that the Socialists had a permit to use one of the great trees on Boston Common for public speaking on Sunday afternoons. He called the leading Letts together and told them to tell their people to march peaceably down to the Com-

mon, and he would go in advance of them and lay the case before the Socialists who held the permit and ask them to permit Squire Putney, who is secretary of the Massachusetts Socialist party, to deliver the address he had intended to give at the Lettish meeting. This was done, as will be seen by the following extended extracts from the news report of the Boston *Journal* of August 3d;

"With their battle-cry, 'On to the Common!' ringing hoarsely from their throats, and with desperation written on every face, hundreds of Lettish men and women—young, old and middle aged—marched in the broiling sun through the streets of Roxbury and Boston to the Common yesterday afternoon, determined that on that sacred ground, at least, they should be allowed to air their grievances, every hall in Roxbury having been refused them by the police. The scene of the struggle for free speech was like a picture from the French Revolution or our own war times.

Scheduled to begin at 3 o'clock, in Putnam Hall, 1165 Washington street, Roxbury, 500 of the Lettish people, most of them members of the Lettish Workingmen's Society, waited for their big mass meeting of protest against wholesale police-searching of their houses and causeless arrest of members of their race, to begin. They stood about Tremont street in little groups, with anxious faces and with serious mien. They are a wholesome-looking people, in general—big, blond, with open, frank faces and with intelligent expressions.

"The women, many of them elegantly dressed, others bare-headed, their golden hair —for they are all golden-haired—glistening in the sun, stood, like the men, in little knots, discussing the outlook with the deepest concern. In contrast to the way of most foreigners, the Letts do not carry children about wherever they go; hence there was not a child in the crowd. Moreover, it was not a gathering into which a child fitted—it was not a social, it was an earnest meeting of indignant men and women, protesting against the deepest outrage that could be inflicted upon them—the outrage of suspicion.

. . . . . .

"Three o'clock struck. There was a general movement to the doors of Putnam Hall. Then it was seen that for every ten Letts there was one policeman. But what was the surprise of the throng when they found the doors shut against them.

"It was true—the expected had happened—the police were forbidding them the use of the hall. Although they have a right to the hall for meeting on every first and third Sundays, they were not permitted to assemble. That they had paid for the hall, that they had every right at least to enter, made no difference.

. . . . . .

"Then some one raised the cry which has been heard in Boston since the day when the boys went to the British governor and protested against their coast being destroyed—that cry of 'On to the Common!' One man spoke it, and the rest took it up. 'On to the Common!'

"Marching down the street, the hot rays of the afternoon sun only serving to increase their enthusiasm, the hundreds of raging Letts, talking excitedly amongst themselves, headed for the Common. They went down through Tremont street, through Columbus avenue, and finally landed at their destination.

"With a mighty rush the crowd crossed Park square and entered the historical forum at the lower end of the Common—that place where the Socialist, the Anarchist, the Mormon, the faker, the Salvationist, the Adventist all have a right, given them years ago by tradition, to give their ideas and thoughts voice.

"There were already a mass of impromptu lecturers on the field. But when the newcomers arrived all were deserted. There were also the ever-present police, a squad from the Lagrange street station having appeared on the ground at the same moment with the Letts. They quickly formed a sort of cordon around the crowd, but it was done so that only the eye trained to watch the movements of the police on these occasions could notice it.

"Scarcely had the throng spread themselves over the Common when a sergeant approached John Klawa, the seretary of the Lettish society and an acknowledged leader of the greater Boston Letts.

"'Are you the head man in this crowd?' asked the officer.

"'I am,' replied Klawa.

"'Do you intend to speak here?' further inquired the sergeant.

"'I do not,' replied Klawa.

"'That 's all we want to know,' was the rejoinder, and the sergeant retired.

"Among the speakers on the Common yesterday were the Boston Socialists. They have a standing permit from the city, which allows their members to hold meetings on the Common. Among their speakers was Squire E.

Putney of Somerville, secretary of the Massachusetts Socialist party.

"Seeing that the Letts themselves would not be permitted to speak—for word was passed around that should Klawa or Beaumont, another of the Lettish faction, attempt to address the meeting—arrest would follow, Mr. Putney said:

"'These Letts are mostly Socialists, I am a Socialist, I will speak for them!' With a cheer like that which greets the nominee at a convention Mr. Putney rose upon the box and began to harangue the crowd.

"'We have only heard of these Letts within a few weeks,' said Mr. Putney, 'and because one of their nation had the misfortune to be mixed up with this shooting affair. They are a law-abiding, quiet people, and do not harm any one.

"'This being so, I consider it scandalous, outrageous and illegal for the police of Boston to treat these inoffensive people in the way they do.

. . . . . .

"'These Letts have been called "gangs of robbers," "undesirable citizens," "cut-throats," bandits—in fact, everything. Some of them have even been accused of being the same as those who helped to sink Russian warships in the Russian-Japanese war. Some of them have been accused of being revolutionists in Russia and of leading the movements against the autocracy of the Great White Czar.

"'If this latter be true, O citizens of America, all honor to them! Glory to them! Shall it be counted a disgrace in this country, sanctified by the blood of Washington and Lincoln, to oppose tyranny and to destroy tyrants? No!'

. . . . . .

"He then, from the platform, read the resolutions drawn up by the Lettish Workingmen's Association. They will be presented to Governor Guild in a day or two. They read as follows:

"'We, the officers and members of the Lettish Workingmen's Society of Boston, in mass meeting assembled on Boston Common, unanimously express our protest and indignation against the persecution of innocent and inoffensive Lettish workingmen and women by the police authorities and the local and daily press in the following resolutions:

"'*Whereas*, some bad characters, Letts by birth, committed a crime in the vicinity of Boston the local police began a systematic hunt of all Lettish residences in Boston and suburbs by breaking into the homes of peaceful and law-obedient workingmen and dragging scores of them into lock-ups and other degrading places as though they were the worst kind of criminals, and,

"'*Whereas*, the local press, being misinformed as to the character of Lettish workingmen and women, kept printing daily all kinds of wild stories about them, classifying them as Anarchists, cut-throats, society destroyers, etc., and therefore giving our people a bad reputation in the eyes of the general public. Therefore, be it

"'*Resolved*, That we hereby condemn the brutal tactics of the police department against us and our country-people, and also demand in the name of justice that the persecution cease at once; and be it further

"'*Resolved*, That the Boston papers are hereby requested to immediately right the wrong they have done us by publishing in their next issues a public apology to us for their gross misrepresentation of our character and reputation. Per order,

"'EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, LETTISH WORKINGMEN'S SOCIETY OF BOSTON.'

"The resolutions, weak in syntax and rhetoric, are strong in spirit, and the reading was cheered to the echo. After the reading, and after numerous speakers had addressed them, the crowd of indignant Letts walked back to their homes."

The *Journal* reporter interviewed some of the prominent Lettish women and reported thereon as follows:

"More indignant, perhaps, than any of the men were the women, who had courageously walked through the blistering heat, block after block, till they reached their goal. Many of them, women of refinement and education, spoke bitterly of the persecution they were undergoing and denounced in no uncertain terms the police and their actions.

"'Is n't it terrible?' confided Mrs. Marie Dadse, one of the finest appearing women in the society, to the reporter. She spoke German. Tall and straight, she quivered with indignation. 'We can 't even get together and talk it over. It 's bad enough to have them going into our houses and bursting in upon us at all hours, but that we cannot even talk—where is the boasted freedom of the United States? Why, if we were dangerous people, inclined, like the Anarchists, to violence, there might be reason for precaution.

But, as we are not bad, only as decent as we can be, why all this harshness?' And she joined a group of other tall and straight women to hear their views.

"Mrs. John Klawa, who is the wife of the leader among the Letts, and who is also his private secretary in his publishing business (Klawa being editor and publisher of the only Lettish newspaper in Boston), is a woman of education. She told her story quietly, but firmly: 'It almost makes us feel as though we were back once more in darkest Russia, where free speech is denied us, and where liberty is but a tradition, something unknown. We are not bomb-throwers. We are not red-flag wavers. We do not even want to preach Socialism—that being considered a crime, it seems. We simply want to get together and state facts, simple facts, telling of wrongs endured by our people, which no other people would have stood so long. And with what result? The police drive us from the hall engaged, refuse us a meeting place, and force us to stand in the heat while talking to an audience composed to a great extent of strangers, who neither know nor care about us and our troubles.

"'Only recently, in a list giving persecutions endured in Russia by our countrymen, one was mentioned which said: "Were refused the right to meet and discuss their grievances." Does not the action of the police in refusing us this right put this country on the level with that scourge of mankind, the Russian government?'"

The Boston *Post* published the following admirable editorial after the high-handed attempt of the police to prevent the Letts having their grievances made public:

"There is a very grave question of the authority by which Lettish people resident in Boston were shut out of Putnam Hall, Sunday afternoon, and forbidden to hold the meeting which had been planned there. Even if the authority exists, in the exercise of discretion to avert a possible public disturbance or breach of the peace, there is a yet more pertinent doubt as regards the wisdom of exercising the power.

"If there is any one right held peculiarly sacred by people living under our system of government, it is the right of free speech. Seditious language, incitement to violence or lawlessness, is properly and necessarily forbidden and may be suppressed. But the airing of common grievances in public, the voicing of demands for what any group of persons may regard as common rights, has been held to be an inviolable privilege. And this appears to have been the purpose of the meeting called at Putnam Hall for Sunday afternoon.

"The terms in which the call was expressed in some of the circulars used—if accurately given in the translation—were unquestionably derogatory of established authority, inflammatory, indecorous. But the alien temperament of the people to whom the call was addressed and their foreign manner of expression should be taken into account; and it should be considered whether a suppression of the offensive document would not meet the requirements of the situation, even if it were not advisable to ignore it altogether.

"In any case, the closing of the hall, preventing the meeting of the Letts for the purpose of protest against what they consider harsh treatment of them as a people, was a direct interference with the freedom of speech before it had become known whether such speech would be of a character to warrant suppression by authority.

"The action was ineffective. The people who were excluded from the hall simply marched upon the Common, where their resolutions were read and adopted and their speeches made under the regulations governing assemblies on that ground.

"Was the net result of this demonstration of authority worth what it cost? Was it not an unwise, unnecessary, pitiful mistake?"

Alice Stone Blackwell, the talented editor of *The Woman's Journal*, wrote a letter of protest and sent to all the Boston morning dailies. The *Herald*, *Transcript*, *Post* and *Journal* refused to publish it. The *Post*, however, as has been observed, did publish an excellent editorial. The *Globe* took no notice of the letter for several days, but finally, on August 13th, printed it. This letter was as follows:

"A question has been very properly raised as to whether there was legal justification for suppressing the indignation meeting of the Letts the other day. The circular that had been distributed advertising the meeting had nothing treasonable in it, and no effort has been made to punish the persons who wrote and printed it. It contained sharp criticism of certain acts of the government; but the right to pitch into the government, verbally, has always been one of the cherished privileges of the American citizen. I cannot see that the

police had any more right to forbid the meeting than they would have had to forbid a meeting of the anti-imperialist league on the ground that the league has over and over published articles 'derogatory to the government.'

"No doubt the police thought that language which would be a breach of the law might be used at the meeting.

"Hon. William Dudley Foulke, a distinguished lawyer and an intimate friend of President Roosevelt, lately explained very clearly the rule that should govern in such cases. An advocate of unpopular doctrine had been forbidden to speak in Chicago. Mr. Foulke wrote to the Chicago *Record-Herald* protesting. He said that any one abusing the right of free speech could be punished for it after the offense; but that to forbid a man in advance to speak, on the assumption that he was going to say something illegal, was a clear violation of the Constitution. Mr. Foulke said: 'Such a precedent cannot be permanently maintained and America remain a free nation.'"

Putting aside all questions of right and justice and the very vital fact that no free government can live if it denies the people the right to publicly express their grievances when they feel they have been wronged, no fact in history is better established than that such repressive measures as attempted above are in the long run fatal to the peace, prosperity and moral and material advance of the recreant nation or state that would substitute for freedom of speech the repression of a Turkey or a Russia.

## A NOTABLE TRIUMPH FOR FREE SPEECH IN LOS ANGELES.

ONE OF the most important events of recent months was the compelling by a popular uprising and protest of the rescinding of an infamous municipal order under which the reactionary police strove to suppress free speech in Los Angeles, California. This was one of the many odious recent attempts to Russianize America that have been made by the reactionary and class interests which are ceaselessly seeking to nullify the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence and the rights guaranteed the citizens by the Federal Constitution.

The Socialists in Los Angeles, as elsewhere, were unpopular with a large class of the prosperous and ruling element. They were conducting an educational propaganda in the city and apparently were making many converts. Certain it is that they aroused the enmity of the enemies of free speech and popular rights, and it was determined to check the spread of Socialism by resort to suppression of rights that have been enjoyed and most highly prized by free Americans since the foundation of the Republic. But happily for the cause of free and popular government, there were in Los Angeles and her sister city, Pasadena, many men and women of intellect, wealth and influence who still possessed the spirit of 1776. Among these was the Rev. E. A. Cantrell, pastor of the Unitarian church of Pasadena.

When the citizens who insisted on the exercise of their constitutional rights were arrested, they were promptly fined, and on their refusal to pay the fines, they were remanded to jail, Among their number were many prominent and high-minded citizens, including the Rev. Mr. Cantrell. Their incarceration with common criminals soon aroused a storm of resentment, and in spite of the determined attempts of the reactionary and unrepublican press and officials, the power of public opinion was such as to force the Council to act.

The following dispatch to the New York *Evening Call*, dated July 21st, contains the brief story of this triumph, which is one of the most inspiring and important victories for the rights of citizenship and free institutions that has marked recent years, in which the steady march toward despotism and official usurpation has only been less clearly marked than the subjugation of the producing and consuming millions of America to the control of the great corporations, trusts and monopolies who through political bosses and machines so dominate politics that they sneer at all attempts to punish the great criminals and curb unbridled avarice and cupidity.

"The war for free speech in Los Angeles is over. Overwhelmed by the popular protest against the arbitrary and unconstitutional action of the City Council and the police, last night the City Council revoked the ordinance under which they claimed authority to abridge

the right of free speech on Los Angeles streets and ordered the men and women confined in the jail for violations of this ordinance to be released.

"During the past five weeks the police commissioners have not only refused to allow the Socialists and other advocates of free speech the right to talk from the street corners and second-story windows but on the refusal of those arrested for the offense charged to pay the fines levied illegally they have confined them in the common jail. There women of gentle birth and men of refinement and education for demanding their constitutional rights have been compelled to undergo shameful indignities and associate with thieves, drunkards and the lowest of the city's unfortunates.

"Demanding the release of the Rev. E. A. Cantrell, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Pasadena, Cloudsley Johns, a well-known writer, Mrs. Dorothy Johns, formerly Countess Pointkowsky, and thirty-five other men and women held in the city jail on the charge of speaking on the streets, 5,000 persons besieged the city hall yesterday, and, thronging the Council chamber and the corridors, demanded that the offending ordinances be revoked and that those who were held in violation of both the Federal and state Constitutions be immediately released.

"Early yesterday morning the advocates of free speech began assembling at the city hall and the Councilmen were so overawed by the crowd that they postponed their meeting until afternoon. But when the hour arrived the crowd had more than doubled and as the members of the Council arrived they were greeted with concerted shouts of 'We demand the right of free speech!'

"When the Council finally met the question was at once brought up as to the repeal of the ordinance making it necessary for street speakers to obtain the permission of the police commissioners before holding street-corner meetings.

"As soon as action had been taken revoking the offending ordinance, notification was sent that the prisoners should be liberated and the martyrs were carried in triumph from the jail to their homes.

"The action last night is the culmination of a fight that has roused the entire state as the ordinance under which the men and women were arrested and imprisoned was a distinct violation of the rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution and also by the state Constitution and one after another the capitalistic papers have been forced to take the side of the Socialists in their fight for free speech.

"In addition to Johns, Mrs. Johns and the minister there were confined in the jail Mrs. Vail Holloway, a wealthy resident of Pasadena, daughter of Dr. Isaac Vail, honorary member of the Royal Philosophical Society of London. Mrs. Holloway is a graduate of Bryn Mawr. Many of the others imprisoned were among the most prominent citizens of Los Angeles and almost all of them were property owners but refused to pay the fines imposed or to give bail for their appearance in court, preferring to go to jail for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of the ordinance. One of those arrested was former Councilman Arthur Houghton, who voted against the ordinance when it was originally up before the Council for passage.

"After the Council took action this evening a great throng marched through the streets escorting the prisoners home."

Let us hope that this victory is the first of a series of popular triumphs that shall beat back the wave of deadly reaction that threatens to destroy the fundamentals of free government and make the Republic a class-ruled despotism masquerading under the robe of republican government.

## THE ISSUE: A WORD TO SERIOUS VOTERS.

THERE are many issues involved in the pending election, but one question overshadows all others. It is so vital to the life of government as rightly to be termed *the* issue, and rightly it was given the first place in the Democratic platform, and Mr. Bryan's opening appeal to the American electorate was devoted to this paramount question: Shall the people rule?

To the thoughtful citizen acquainted with the legislation of the past score of years, the statement that the people rule ought to brand the person having the turpitude to advance the claim, as one reckless of truth and wholly

unfit to be trusted. The truth of this is so apparent that one has only to turn his gaze backward during the past four years and take the messages which President Roosevelt has sent to the Congress which was thoroughly in control of his party, which happens to be the party of privilege. Here we had a spectacle of the Republican President sending message after message exposing the mastership of business and affairs in general by rich malefactors and lawless corporations, and demanding some measure of palliation at least for the worst abuses; and we have witnessed the amazing spectacle of Speaker Cannon, aided by Vice-Presidential Candidate Sherman and three other mouthpieces of the privileged interests, strangling or mutilating message after message, to the delight of the privileged few who are the real masters of government—the corporation chiefs and high financiers whose contributions are the secret strength of the political boss and money-controlled machine; while in the Senate the same spectacle has been witnessed. During the whole of the time President Roosevelt has been attempting to save the vote of the nation to the party of privilege, by granting some measure of reform, the great masters of the Republican party who control the Senate have ignored the President's recommendations, or when impossible to do this, they have strangled, smothered or mangled them at every turn. And this is but one illustration of the fact that the people no longer rule.

Even in the Republican party, he is a brave man indeed who would have the hardihood to intimate that Mr. Taft was the candidate who would have been named if the party had been permitted to choose as the masses desired. If no patronage and steam-roller methods had been employed, either Governor Hughes, Senator LaFollette or Governor Cummins would probably have been the nominee. The liberal or progressive Republicans to a man would have supported Senator LaFollette if they had from the first believed that Mr. Roosevelt would not run, and they had been left free; while the great bulk of the conservative Republicans not beholden to corporations and high financiers and who might not have favored Senator LaFollette, would have supported Governor Hughes. But the powerful interest of patronage and the vigorous use of the steam-roller, together with the determined effort of President Roosevelt to force his own selection on the party, and the further fact that Wall-Street high financiers and corporation chiefs had no deep-seated grievance against the man who discovered how the injunction could be used to defeat labor in its battle against the railroads, rendered possible the nomination of Mr. Taft.

To claim that the present control of public affairs by political bosses working through a money-controlled machine that is dominated by privileged interests, is rule of the people is to insult the intelligence of the voters. All the great evils that are afflicting the nation at the present time, the degradation of political and business ideals, the corruption of government in all its ramifications, gross extravagance in the use of public funds, and shameful oppression of the people by lawless corporations and trusts whose extortions are yielding untold millions to the privileged ones and impoverishing the millions of wealth-producers and consumers, have been only possible because the people do not rule and cannot rule while a party of privilege and pelf is entrenched in all branches of government. So long as men like Cannon, Sherman and Payne in the House, Aldrich, Platt, Lodge, Penrose, Knox, Depew, Crane and Hopkins in the Senate, are master spirits in the national legislative branch of government, the trusts, corporations and Wall-Street gamblers will hold high carnival, prices will soar, the wealth of the masses will decline, and government will become more and more reactionary.

## WALL STREET AND THE SUPREME BENCH.

MEN LIKE J. Pierpont Morgan do not express profound delight at the nomination of a Presidential candidate unless they absolutely know their man; and the exclamation made by Mr. Morgan when he heard that Taft was nominated—"Good! Good!" indicated the satisfaction felt throughout the high-finance circle of the nation's capital. The corporation chiefs, the monopolists, the trust magnates and the great gamblers of Wall

street who are striving so determinedly to get the government completely into their hands and the wealth of the people absolutely under their control, are perfectly willing for Mr. Taft to clamor for President Roosevelt's policies and to utter all manner of fair words before the election. They are quite as willing for him to do this as they are willing to have the list of campaign contributions given to the public after the election; for well they know how much depends on the coming election. They know that it is a battle between the people and privileged interests; between the creators of wealth and the great gamblers and exploiters of the people; and they know, moreover, that in the nature of the case certain men will be elevated to that most important of all positions, the Supreme Court, after the November election. Already in their glee and confidence, it has been bruited about that in the event of Taft's election, Elihu Root is to be be made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, to take the place of Justice Fuller who has reached the age limit. It seems almost incredible that such a thing as this could be seriously contemplated; and yet, when one looks over the field of American politics since the plutocracy has become the arrogant master of the nation, so many moral crimes have been committed, so many wrongs against the people perpetrated, so many attempts to substitute imperialistic, autocratic and bureaucratic government for the orderly working of law under conditions of free government have been made, and so many sword-thrusts have been given to popular rule, that even this preposterous proposal may be made, in the event of Mr. Taft's election. The possibility of such a catastrophe has led the New York *American* to make an editorial protest in which it gives the following record of Mr. Root's career that all voters should be familiar with; and when becoming familiar with the facts, let the reader remember that Mr. Root is the kind of man whom Wall street finds most useful and the Republican party loves to honor.

"Root's first job that attracted attention to him was when he was counsel for Tweed, who had stolen over a million dollars from New York city. For Root's eagerness to free his client, by fair means or foul, he was censured by the court, Supreme Court Justice Noah Davis using this language:

"'*Good faith to a client never can justify or require bad faith to your consciences, and that, however good a thing it may be to be known as successful and great lawyers, it is even a better thing to be known as honest men.*'

"But such a lecture as that, the wisdom and the philosophy of that sentence, fell upon the ears of Root with as much effect as if Justice Davis had talked to the winds. In 1886 we find Mr. Root as counsel for 'Jake' Sharp, sent to Sing Sing for bribing Aldermen in obtaining the Broadway franchise; in 1892 he defended the Whisky Trust; in 1898 he formed the Watch Trust; the year following he framed and had introduced in the legislature the Astoria Light and Heat grab; another year follows and we find him almost facing imprisonment because of his operations in connection with the State Trust Company. In this matter we turn to the files of the New York *World* and on March 13, 1900, we take the following extract:

"'*The Crime—A director of the State Trust Company arranges and permits to be carried on a plan whereby* $2,000,000 *cash is advanced from the treasury of the company to an office boy, who acts as a dummy for six persons, at least two of whom are directors of the company.*

"'*The Offender—Elihu Root.*

"'*The Accuser—Frederick D. Kilburn, State Superintendent of Banking, who said in his official report to Governor Roosevelt:*

"'"*Beyond all question this loan was illegal because excessive and because, in part, it was made indirectly to directors of the company.*"'

"The months rolled on and Root remained undisturbed. He was a Cabinet officer at Washington. While there he remained on friendly, if not financial, terms with the Gas Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Asphalt Trust and with Ryan's Traction Trust. How many more we do not recall. But we do know that he was active in Wall street's affairs.

"When questioned by the Truesdale committee Elihu Root refused to answer concerning the alleged theft of $1,800,000 of the policyholders' money while he was a trustee of the Mutual Life Insurance Company. As Secretary of State he came near involving this nation in war with Venezuela because of his love for the Asphalt Trust.

"Mr. Root began life as attorney for the biggest thief of his day—the notorious Tweed — and he is ending his career as attorney for such of the same sort as have his price. Here is what the late W. C. Whitney had to say about him: 'Other corporation lawyers will

tell me what I cannot do, but Root is the only man who will tell me what I *can* do.'

"The American people have yielded complacently to many acts of governmental injustice. Patiently and almost uncomplainingly we have submitted to the domination of autocrats; we have seen the public treasury robbed; the public lands have been stolen by syndicates under our very eyes; the ears of Congress have been deafened to the will of the voter—these, and all these, we have tolerated, not with comfort or without distress, but without revolt or rebellion. For we have believed, and believe still, that the affairs of this nation are soon to be administered by men with a due regard for the Constitution.

"But to appoint Elihu Root as Chief Justice of the greatest and most august tribunal on earth would be an insult to the intelligence, the patriotism and the honesty of Americans."

## WALL-STREET HIGH-FINANCE MONEY-MASTERSHIP *VERSUS* PROTECTION FOR BANK DEPOSITORS AND SECURITY FROM ARTIFICIALLY-PRODUCED PANICS.

### The Republican and Democratic Platforms on The Money Question.

THERE is one vital difference between the platform and position of the Republican and Democratic parties that should command the serious attention of every thoughtful bank depositor in the Union. It is but one of many evidences of the fundamental difference between the progressive democracy, led by Mr. Bryan, and the Wall-street and machine-governed Republican party, ostensibly led by the fair-spoken William of injunction fame, but which is in reality the creature of the Wall-street banking, high-finance and corporation influence. We refer at the present time to the position of the two parties on the banking question.

The Republican convention actually boasted of its amazing subserviency to the Aldrich-Morgan-Rockefeller interests in passing the infamous Aldrich-Vreeland bill, that was so odious to the nation that it was only crowded through Congress by being attached as a rider to the Appropriation bill, passed during the closing hours of the late ill-famed session of Congress. In its subserviency to Wall-street domination, the Republican party ranges itself, as in other instances, squarely on the side of special privileged interests and the exploiting classes, in place of ranging itself on the side of the people; while the Democratic party takes a square and unequivocal stand for the full protection of every bank depositor—a stand that would do more to prevent artificial or bank panics than almost any financial legislation that could be suggested, while making the money of every depositor secure. This proposition, of course, is highly distasteful to the Wall-street gamblers, panic-makers and oligarchy of special interests which are seeking to get the money control of the country completely into the hands of a small clique, so that they can hold it as a club over Congress and prevent the latter from enacting any laws that would give the people relief from the criminal aggressions of corporations, trusts and monopolies.

And it is very significant to see that the fair-spoken Mr. Taft, while he claims to stand for the policies which Mr. Roosevelt borrowed from Mr. Bryan, denounces the practical effort of the Democratic party to protect the bank depositors, thus personally ranging himself with the Morgan-Rockefeller combination.

On the other hand, the position of the Democratic party ought not to fail to appeal in a vital way to every bank depositor. Its demands and recommendations are not only eminently practical, wise and panic-preventive in character, but they are no empty pretences. Its demands represent exactly the position taken by Mr. Bryan and those in control of the party. This is one reason why all the would-be panic-makers and plunderers of the people, all the Wall-street gamblers and high financiers, are so opposed to Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party, and even those who so roundly denounce Mr. Roosevelt find nothing objectionable in Mr. Taft.

### Oklahoma Has Shown The Way.

Now to clearly understand what the triumph of the Democratic party would mean to the bank depositors of America, let us look at the

actual workings of the practical plan to protect depositors. The new state of Oklahoma, which possesses the most democratic and the nearest an ideal constitution of any commonwealth in the world, has insisted on placing the security and the interests of her people above the selfish demands of special-privileged classes. Hence she has a constitutional provision providing for the full protection of all depositors in state banks, so in the event of a failure the depositors run no risk of being robbed of their money.

In May the nation was given a striking illustration of the practical operation of this wise provision, when the bank at Coalgate failed. It was an ugly failure and under prevailing bank conditions the depositors would have been defrauded of their hard earnings and many of them doubtless would have been practically ruined. With a constitution, however, that looks after the interests of the people, the case is far different. Thus we find, according to the press dispatches from Guthrie, Oklahoma, on May 21st, that:

"Within one hour from the time H. H. Smock, Oklahoma banking commissioner, had taken charge of the International Bank of Coalgate he had authority to pay the depositors in full, though the bank's cash and available funds in other banks fell $22,000 short of the total amount of deposits. The commissioner was enabled to do this under the operation of the new banking law, and this is the first time it has been called into use. Commissioner Smock took charge of the bank for alleged gross violations of the banking laws and notified the banking board at once. Governor Haskell, president of the banking board, immediately authorized the payment of depositors in full, and it began. The amount of deposits is $38,000. The bank had $9,000 cash on hand and $7,000 deposited in other banks. When the cash was exhausted the commissioner drew checks upon the state guarantee fund. Under the operation of the guaranty banking law in Oklahoma a tariff of one per cent is levied upon the average annual deposits of the banks and the money thus raised is used in payment in full of all depositors of an insolvent state bank, after the funds of the bank have been exhausted."

Promptly after the failure, a notice, *facsimile* of which we publish, was posted on the bank door, and in two days every depositor's claim was proved and paid in full.

It is indeed refreshing to see the youngest state in the Union becoming the way-shower of democracy and setting up again the old standard of government of the people, by the people and for the people in the place of government of privileged interests and political machines for trust and corporation enrichment and the mastership of the people by political bosses and monopoly's handy-men.

"NOTICE.
"This bank is in the hands of the
"State Bank Commissioner.
"Depositors will be paid in full by
"The State Banking Board
"*Please call and get your money.*
"H. H. SMOCK,
"Bank Commissioner.
"May 21, 1908. "State of Oklahoma."

## MR. HEARST'S ATTACK ON MR. BRYAN.

IF MR. HEARST had been employed by the Republican National Committee to aid in the defeat of Mr. Bryan, he could not have worked more zealously or attempted to further the wishes of the party which he has so frequently characterized as the party of privilege and plutocracy, than he has been doing since he delive ed his bitter speech, so suggestive of the personal disappointment of the ambitious egoist, when he launched his party in Chicago. If, however, he had conducted the campaign in a statesmanlike manner, confining himself to the issues involved and giving his attention equally to the party whose principles he has so long pretended to believe in and to the party he has pretended to be opposed to, he might still have retained the respect of thousands of persons who are heartily in sympathy with the principal planks of the Independence platform. Instead of doing this, however, he has devoted the greater part of his attention to attacks upon the great party that represents the people in the present Titanic struggle with plutocracy or the feudalism of privileged wealth, and he has descended to mud-slinging and ignoble personal attacks that cannot fail

to arouse the indignation and disgust of right-minded patriots.

It probably is true that the confidence of millions of Democrats in the moral integrity and the noble character of Mr. Bryan is as wormwood to Mr. Hearst, when he remembers that his attempts to control the Democratic party in the past have been so futile, notwithstanding his millions and his newspapers, while Mr. Bryan, with no great press, with no money, with no machine, and with the active hostility of the reactionary machine in the Democratic party and of the Ryans, the McGuffeys, the McCarrens, and, in a word, the whole of the plutocratic wing of the Democratic party massed against him, together with the opposition of self-seekers and persons who pretend to be Democrats so long as they hope for political preferment or office, enjoyed in so wonderful a degree the confidence of the rank and file of the Democratic party that all opposition to him vanished as mist before the sunrise.

But even Mr. Hearst's own friends must bitterly regret that he should allow his personal ambition and egoism to drive him to go to such lengths as he did in his Labor Day speech, when he went back years and years, to the time when Mr. Bryan was in Congress, and produced some affidavits from protectionists to the effect that Mr. Bryan had spoken slightingly of labor. No one who has known Mr. Bryan since he entered public life and has followed him year by year as he has remained loyal to the interests of the people, steadfastly refusing every overture on the part of corruptionists which would so compromise him that he could not be faithful to the rank and file of the nation, needed Mr. Bryan's assurance that he had never characterized the laborers of America as "beggars."

Mr. Hearst's bitterness, however, is not confined to Mr. Bryan. He is also vying with Parry and Post in his venomous attacks upon the head of the American Federation of Labor. Any one who has followed Mr. Gompers since he strove so hard to get the Republicans to do what the Democrats did at Denver, knows that the head of the American Federation of Labor has at no time promised or intimated that he would or that he wished to deliver the labor vote. He has stated clearly and effectively the facts that must appeal to every thinking labor unionist: *viz.*, that in this great conflict one of two men will be elected President. Either William H. Taft, whom Mr. Hearst is seeking to elect by his attacks on Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party, or Mr. Bryan will be the next President. Mr. Taft as the Columbus of capitalism in his famous injunction against labor in the interests of the railroads, won forever the favor of the great railways and predatory bands that oppose organized labor. The Republican party's contemptuous treatment of labor's just demands in Congress, and the treatment accorded Mr. Gompers in Chicago, showed plainly that they had cast their lot once and forever with the feudalism of privileged interests and high finance, and against organized labor. Mr. Bryan's championship of the cause of labor was one of the greatest grievances of the plutocratic Democrats in 1896 and 1900, as it is to-day one of the main reasons why the heads of great corporations who have long been nominally Democrats, will contribute princely sums for Mr. Taft's election. The attitude of Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party is as favorable to labor as that of Mr. Taft, as shown by his actions in the past, and of the Republican party as shown by its action and platform, is hostile to organized labor. These facts none know better than Mr. Gompers, and none know better than Mr. Gompers that this is one of the most crucial hours in the history of organized labor; that with the election of Mr. Bryan, organized labor will be stronger and the cause of the workers will be in every way advanced, as surely as the election of Mr. Taft will weaken the cause of labor and entrench more securely than ever before the trusts, the monopolies and the high financiers that are to a man to-day behind Taft and the Republican machine. This being the case, Mr. Gompers has bravely renounced the party to which he has so long belonged and has urged the labor unions to be true to their own interests and to strive to secure the election of the only man who can be elected whose record has been consistently favorable to labor.

In a recent issue of *The American Federationist*, Mr. Gompers thus fittingly refers to Mr. Hearst's attack upon the great labor leader and his attempt to secure the election of Mr. Taft through personal attacks upon Mr. Bryan, through caricatures in his papers, through editorials, and through running his Presidential candidate into states where it is hoped enough votes will be taken from the Democratic party to elect the Republicans:

"As a rule we do not propose to waste the

valuable space of *The American Federationist* by answering or disproving lying charges which are brought for the express purpose of discrediting the labor movement and sowing discord among the ranks of the workers. We believe that most of the people discern the motive behind such attacks.

"When they come from Republican sources it is easy to discern the motive—so easy, in fact, that a man would write himself a fool to be misled. When the attack masquerades under the guise of abuse from an 'Independent' party, the motive is still not difficult to discern.

"In fact, all political tricks are worn threadbare; there is nothing being attempted in this campaign which has not been tried over and over again when the workers have shown any disposition to think and act for themselves.

"We select one example of this sort of attack for brief comment.

"Mr. Hearst is using his resources as a millionaire and the prestige of his various papers in promoting an 'Independent' political movement. So long as Mr. Hearst amuses himself with his pet political toy without attempting to misrepresent or divide the forces of organized labor it is a matter of little importance to us.

"He knows, and everybody else knows, that his 'Independent' movement has not the slightest chance of success.

"The only question is, 'Which of the dominant parties will benefit by Mr. Hearst's "Independent" movement?'

"As the virulence of his opposition is directed against the Democratic party the inference is plain, from his own showing, that he does not wish to help that party into power by his 'Independent' votes (be they few or many); as he in his newspapers, deliberately misrepresents and vilifies the officers of the American Federation of Labor—and through them the labor movement itself—we are forced to believe that Mr. Hearst is not desirous of helping the workers to a redress of their wrongs, though we have no doubt of his willingness to take their misguided votes wherever possible in order to make some 'Independent' showing.

"A vote for Hearst's 'Independent' league is recognized by the Republicans as just as good as a Republican vote, because it is that much taken from a possible Democratic victory.

"We are pained to observe that Mr. Hearst uses his newspapers for a species of personal attack on us which reflects discredit upon those who engineer it. Mr. Hearst seems to have become so embittered by the treatment he personally received the last time he asked for the suffrage of people that he fails to see honesty of purpose in those who cannot always follow him.

"Mr. Hearst may remember that the agents of the National Manufacturers' Association tried to assassinate the characters of many men in the labor movement, the president of the American Federation of Labor included; that when these means failed direct bribery was even attempted.

"It is not amiss to keep in mind the answer which the representatives of the labor movement of our country so recently gave to labor's detractors, vilifiers and would-be union-crushers. The Norfolk convention of the American Federation of Labor, last November, without dissenting voice or vote, denounced the tactics of labor's enemies, and gave a unanimous vote of absolute confidence in the honor, integrity, faithfulness and honesty of its executive council, individually and collectively, and reëlected every officer of the executive council, including the president of the Federation, unanimously. Ought not this to be a hint to so discerning a man as Mr. Hearst?

"We refer to the Hearst matter not so much that we care to defend ourselves personally, but because such attacks are intended to destroy the confidence of the great rank and file of the toilers and the people of our country in their chosen leaders. We owe a debt of responsibility to all, and particularly to the organized workers, to give them the best information and advice of which we are capable. There are likely to be many attacks upon the American Federation of Labor and its officers during the campaign. The workers should not allow such schemes to swerve them from the course of united action, which is necessary for the redress of their wrongs and the attainment of their rights."

## MR. SHERMAN'S AMAZING EXHIBITION OF HYPOCRISY.

WE DOUBT if in the history of modern politics a more brazen example of hypocrisy has been seen than that presented by the Republican candidate for Vice-President in his speech of acceptance, when he pretended that the triumph of himself and his associate would be a vindication of President Roosevelt's policies. When it is remembered that Mr. Sherman was one of the most servile and serviceable henchmen of Speaker Cannon in the latter's effort to block and nullify President Roosevelt's reform recommendations, that he was one of the most faithful of all the misrepresentatives of the people in Congress, and one of the most faithful to the interests of the spoilers of the people, the colossal impudence of this man's brazen presumption will be apparent to all thinking people. He has insulted the intelligence of the American electorate by presuming that they are so ignorant of the kind of man he is and of his relation to the high financiers and trust magnates, that his hypocrisy can be of avail.

## NEW ZEALAND'S MASTER CONCERN THE HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLE.

### The New York World's Tribute to New Zealand's Government.

THE New York *World* for August 9, 1908, contained an editorial entitled "Labor Progress in New Zealand" that, considering it comes from one of the most bitter opponents of public-ownership of railways among the leading reactionary papers of America, is so noteworthy that we make the following extended quotations from it:

"The remarkable experiments along political lines that New Zealand has been making have attracted the attention of the world. Nowhere else has there been such a fine field for experiment, and nowhere else have such radical experiments made been so successful. With an area of 103,658 square miles, or about six-tenths that of Great Britain and Ireland, and a population of about one million, of whom a third or more are Maoris, the Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, was able to announce a few weeks ago that the revenue amounted to $45,000,000, the highest on record. During the last twelve years only one law has been passed increasing taxation—that imposing a graduated land tax on estates exceeding $200,000 in value. The object of this law was not revenue but to induce large owners to sell. *Revenue is largely derived from the state railways and a graduated income tax.*

. . . . . .

"Not only has legislation been adopted with a view to diminishing the amount of land held by the large land-owners, but there will soon be 1,500,000 acres of new land opened for settlement in the North Island. Mr. McNab, Minister of Land and Agriculture, in a recent speech declared that unskilled farm laborers were required in every part of the Dominion.

"In the matter of strikes the Conciliation and Compulsory Arbitration acts have on the whole worked well. Their working, however, has revealed some weak points, and these it is now proposed to remedy. During the last thirteen years there have been only eighteen strikes, and all these were small and short-lived, as in the case of the Auckland street-railway strike in May last, which endured but a day. Yet it has become manifest that the Compulsory Arbitration and Conciliation acts need strengthening.

. . . . . .

"Much is hoped from the proposed Conciliation Council, and also from the 'exertion-wage' proposal, by which worker and employer may agree as to extra pay for extra work. The necessity for such agreement is argued from the fact that the production of certain workers in one industry had decreased 15 or 20 per cent. under uniform wages."

### Government Ownership and Operation of Railways in New Zealand.

We wish to call the especial attention of our readers to the *World's* admission that the revenue is being largely derived from the state railways. Personally we are not prepared to go as far as the *World* does in this respect. We should rather say that one of the leading of the many causes of the general prosperity of the people of New Zealand is found in the publicly owned and operated railways of the Dominion; for ever since the Liberal government came into power and commenced making the prosperity, happiness and development of all the people the master concern of the nation, the railway management has been marked by a settled determination to conserve the public weal. After the sinking fund has been set aside, depreciation written off and the running expenses and interest provided for, the management has striven to reduce freight and passenger tariff, while the government has made the railways important aids in the wise, beneficent and thoroughly statesmanlike work of helping the poor man to become an independent, home-owning citizen. Thus workingmen living within a radius of thirty or forty miles of the large cities where they are employed are brought to and from their homes morning and evening on a five-cent fare by the government-owned railways. The school children enjoy the same privileges. This, with the government's other liberal provisions for the aiding of workingmen who wish to secure homes and small farms, has made it possible for great numbers of toilers to obtain homes of their own in the country, while they are able to continue their work in the cities, and their children are also privileged to attend the city schools, just the same as if they were huddled in apartment houses in the midst of the municipalities.

Moreover, the toilers are thus able to do considerable work in developing their property after the regular work hours and during the Saturday afternoons which are half-holidays in New Zealand the year round. In this manner they are the recipients of a double income, while much of the money that in former years was largely spent in ale-houses is also now saved.

The children, instead of spending their hours out of school in the hothouse, artificial atmosphere of city life, being the subjects of the innumerable vicious temptations of the city, enjoy the pure, wholesome and normal environment of beautiful little country homes which they, with their parents, delight to beautify and improve.

Nor is this the only beneficent function that the government-owned and operated railways of New Zealiand perform for the people. The school children in the city are at intervals during the different seasons taken on the railways into the mountains or to the fertile valleys far from their homes, where a day is spent with the teacher and the geology, geography, the flora and other life of the districts is studied. While the country children, far from the cities, are brought to the municipalities under the direction of their teachers are there taken over the various factories, printing plants, gas and electric-light plants, ships and other places of interest. In this way the railways are made powerful factors in the practical education of the young, informing their minds while enriching the imagination during the formative period of life.

### Public Ownership of Railways versus Private Ownership; or, New Zealand and America Compared.

To the American wealth-creators and consumers, the contrast between the publicly owned railways of New Zealand and the privately-owned roads of our country should be helpfully suggestive. While our Wall-street gamblers and railway magnates have been busily engaged in watering stocks and loading their properties down with bonds, so as to enable them to levy a princely tax on the producing and consuming millions; and while furthermore, the railways have been paying princely salaries to favored officials and placing at their disposal palace-cars sumptuously stocked, for the use of these officials, their friends and persons from whom special favors are desired; while, in short, vast fortunes have been poured into a few pockets by the abuse of the monopoly rights permitting a privileged few to operate the great public utility that is in fact the artery of the nation's commercial life, New Zealand has through public-ownership employed the earnings to reduce fares and passenger rates and to help the toilers to become self-sustaining, home-owning citizens and to further develop and increase the happiness of young and old.

No nation on the face of the earth is doing so much in various ways to promote the happiness, prosperity and welfare of all her citizens as New Zealand. This is a fact that all intelligent men and women who are not blinded by

prejudice and who are cognizant of the facts have long known; but it is encouraging to find papers like the New York *World* at last awakening to a realization of the facts as they have been so luminously given to the world by Professor Frank Parsons in his magnificent history of New Zealand, and by such writers as the late Henry D. Lloyd.

## ANOTHER SPLENDID RECORD MADE BY THE GLASGOW MUNICIPAL STREET RAILWAY.

THE RECENTLY-ISSUED annual report of the municipal street railway of Glasgow, shows that the gross receipts for the year ending May 31, 1908, were £910,318, 8 sh., 5d., or about $4,551,592 of our money. The operating expenses were £509,894, 16 sh., 11d., or about $2,549,474. From the surplus, £68,804, 5 sh., 11d. were placed in the sinking fund. Fifty-three thousand, one hundred and fifty-two pounds were required for interest on capital; £100,415, 15 sh., 5d. were credited to depreciation fund; £88,187 went for the permanent way renewal fund; £9,435 were required for the income tax, and £35,000, or about $175,000 was turned over to the city for the fund for the common good. There was an additional expense for suburban rentals and for the traffic receipts due certain suburban towns amounting in all to nearly £10,000, and an expenditure of £2,884, 12 sh., for parliamentary expenses required for promoting provisional orders; while the treasury had a net balance to its credit of £38,929, 19 sh., 1d., or about $194,650.

The report shows an increase of £14,476, 14 sh., or about $73,383 over the receipts of the previous year. There was an increase, however, in operating expenditures of a little over £24,638, this increase being chiefly due to the substantial increase in the pay of conductors, motormen and other subordinate employés of the tramway system.

This record of the fourteenth year of the municipal ownership and operation of the street railways of Glasgow, furnishes another striking illustration of the splendid results of municipal ownership. Every year Glasgow, after setting aside the proper amount of money for depreciation and the amount necessary for the sinking fund, to pay for the cost of the road when the obligations mature, together with operating expenses, taxes, etc., turns over a sum of between one and two hundred thousand dollars to the city for use in public improvements and bettering the conditions of the citizens. In addition to these things, there has been a very sensible reduction in the fares charged and a very material increase in the wages paid the employés; while the service has been immensely improved over that which marked the car service under private ownership.

In America, thanks to the power in politics and through the press of the public-service corporations, vast sums that should be utilized for improving service, lowering fares, raising wages of employés and beautifying the city or reducing taxes, are annually poured into the pockets of a comparatively small coterie of stockholders who are fattening on the proceeds of inflated or watered stock, at the expense of the general public. The hour has struck for America to awaken and cast off the bondage of the government-debauching oligarchy of corporate wealth that is operating public utilities in such a way as to enrich the few at the expense of the many and is entrenching itself in power by corrupt practices.

## DR. ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE ON THE LIBERAL MINISTRY'S INJUSTICE TO INDIA.

WE HAVE heretofore had occasion to speak of our great disappointment at John Morley's management of Indian affairs. When he assumed the high position that would have enabled him to put into execution the noble and just principles he had so long contended for, we believed, in common with his admirers throughout the Anglo-Saxon world,

that a brighter day was dawning for the great Eastern Empire. Instead, Mr. Morley refused India the measure of justice which his own teachings led his friends to believe he would grant. Perhaps age has sapped his moral courage, or the distance between England and India and the colored reports given him by the bureaucrats may have influenced him. Certain it is he has signally failed to grasp a splendid opportunity and allay the bitter resentment and discontent that had been engendered by the reactionary Tory administrations. He has elected to follow practically the same beaten path of the oppressors who preceded him.

The July issue of *The Modern Review* of Calcutta, India, edited by the distinguished Indian, Ramananda Chatterjee, contains a letter written by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the distinguished scientist, economist and social philosopher, to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, which so fully expresses our views on Mr. Morley's failure that we reproduce it in full. Dr. Wallace is one of the last representatives of the earlier generation of intellectual giants that placed the England of the nineteenth century in the front rank of civilized nations in the domain of physical science, and he is also one of the noblest representatives of the truly democratic scholars who uphold the great principles of justice, freedom and fraternity which differentiate democracy from class-rule.

"I had great hopes of John Morley," writes Dr. Wallace, "but I have lost them. He seems to want the moral courage to face a great responsibility, and to be cowed by the ruling classes into a dread of insurrection. He has not dared to strike out a new path and make his will *dominant* over the officialdom of India and the India Office. His very first step should have been to send out to India, Englishmen whom he could trust, to bring him *true* information as to the actual condition of the workers of India, and the aspirations of the educated classes. He should also have given *hope* to the people of India. He should have declared his determination to *initiate*, and carry out *continuously*, even if *slowly*, the long-promised grant of Self-Government in India; beginning, not at the top, which is absolutely worthless—a mere sop to officialdom—but at the *bottom*, in the restoration of the village communities, each with an educated native, *of the same race*, as representative of the *protecting*—not the oppressing—power of English rule. He should insist on the immediate reduction—even the temporary cessation—of the terrible taxation of the actual land-cultivators, the source of India's real wealth, yet the most miserable in the world under Indian officialdom. He should have insisted, *first of all*, on the holdings of these cultivators and of all their little household goods and agricultural implements being absolutely *inalienable*, thus saving them forever from the clutches of the money-lender to whom *our* laws have delivered them. He should abolish the cruel salt-tax, and to the *actual cultivators* supply irrigation-water free, since it was *our* neglect that allowed the old tanks to be destroyed.

"All this would have been dreadfully irregular, and high officialdom would have protested; but, with a Minister of *determined will*, would have submitted. These measures would have been upheld by the English nation, would have by this time abolished *famine* and have reduced *plague;* and, combined with a greater sympathy with all religious and racial customs and feelings, would have ensured internal peace and confidence in English rule. Indians of all classes would then have felt that their King and Emperor was at last represented by a Minister who sympathized with *them*, and whom they could trust."

## AUTOCRATIC BOARD OF CONTROL GOVERNMENT *VERSUS* THE DEMOCRATIC COMMISSION PLAN.

EVER since the commission plan of government has been successfully inaugurated a battle has been waged by the public-service corporations, the corrupt political bosses and other manipulators of the money-controlled machine, to prevent the government being responsive to the people, or, in other words, to destroy all the democratic character of municipal government. The great public lighting companies, the street-car corporations and other monopolies that are acquiring untold millions of dollars that should be turned into

the treasuries of every city government to lessen taxes and improve public service, have united with the political bosses to virtually destroy popular rule.

The most glaring recent illustration of this is found in the new Chelsea, Massachusetts, board of control government, which has been heralded far and wide as a commission government. The city of Haverhill, Massachusetts, has been permitted by the legislature to inaugurate a commission government after the Des Moines plan, but the government foisted on Chelsea since the fire is autocratic enough to suit the bureaucracy of Russia. The commissioners have been appointed by the Governor. A meeting was held in a hall holding five hundred persons and the vote of approval at this meeting, which was gotten up in the interests of the board of control plan, was taken as the sentiment of a city of 34,000 inhabitants. There is no provision for the initiative or referendum. The board or commission is autocratic in character. It is an ideal government for the corrupt boss and the privileged interests. Every friend of popular government, every lover of democracy and the people's rule, should persistently fight against any attempt to foist a commission government on any municipality, unless the plan gives ample opportunity for the people to initiate legislative acts, to secure a referendum on all important measures especially those relating to public franchises and also gives the people the right of recall as it is enjoyed in Des Moines and in Los Angeles.

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

By Ralph Albertson,
Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

### Self Government in Oklahoma.

THE Initiative and Referendum legislative powers reserved to the people by the Oklahoma constitution are to be exercised at the general election this fall in a number of important matters. The late legislature submitted four propositions to the people, three of which are constitutional amendments and one a statute law. In addition to this number a bill is being initiated providing for the sale of school lands.

Thus the people are called upon to pass a number of important questions at the election this fall, in addition to the selection of officials.

The first proposition submitted to the people by the legislature is the dispensary question. Under its terms the people are to determine whether we are to have the dispensary feature of the prohibition law or not, and the length to which it shall extend.

The second proposition submitted is another constitutional amendment, providing for the location of the permanent state capital in advance of 1913, and giving the legislature authority to determine the temporary location of the capital pending the final adjustment of the matter.

The third constitutional amendment is involved in the proposition providing for the adoption of the Torrens Land system of title registration. This is a proposition involving the question as to whether or not the state shall adopt the Torrens system or continue the use of the one in vogue.

The fourth question submitted to the legislature is one involving the so-called "New Jerusalem" capital city idea. Under the terms of this proposition the people are called upon to say whether the state shall buy a number of sections of land, plat an ideal capital city, and locate thereon the state house and a number of state institutions.

The people are to be also called upon under the powers of the initiative feature of the constitution, to say whether or not the state shall sell all of its school lands. The legislature, through lack of time, failed to act on this question, and the matter is, therefore, submitted under an initiated bill to the people for determination.

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### Miscellaneous News Notes.

THERE is a strong movement in the Georgia legislature in favor of taking a referendum vote on the state prohibition law next year.

THE New Jersey legislature refused to give the people referendum on the law which constitutes a number of appointive commissions.

These should be elective, and a strong feeling against the law is finding expression.

A MOVEMENT has been started in Seattle, Washington, to secure a state referendum on the chain-gang system. The Socialists who have started this movement claim that the chain-gang is an inhuman institution and believe that the people will vote it down. They are favoring, as a state, a plan that the city buy a tract of land and establish an industrial colony for the prisoners.

THE CHARTER board which prepared the draft of a new charter for Kansas City, Missouri, decided to require a forty-per-cent. petition in order to make the recall effective and a twenty-per-cent. petition in order to secure a referendum upon a public-utility franchise. These percentages are ridiculously high and yet the provisions containing these extreme requirements would have been far more valuable to the city than the system of government which gives the people no possibility of a voice. The people of Kansas City, however, have voted down its new charter and it is not at all improbable that one of the strong reasons for its rejection was the failure of the board to give the people enough control to make them interested in it.

A UNIQUE charge against the referendum is that brought out by the Pittsburg *Press*, which accuses the system of having destroyed all wholesome political organizations and made such chaos of state politics as to completely destroy its responsibility and dignity.

"Incidentally," continues the *Press*, "it has eliminated Oregon's standing and influence in the United States Senate. Indeed it has done worse than this, for it has sent to the Senate one man who acknowledges no responsibility to party or to political principles, and it is in the way of sending another who directly and avowedly stands for opinions at odds with the sentiments of the state."

This criticism is the highest possible praise. The destruction of machine-rule in Oregon is practically complete and the election of a Democrat to the United States Senate by a Republican state and a Republican legislature may well be looked upon as the acme of that independence in politics which is one of the greatest hopes for the country's future.

THE Columbus, Ohio, *Despatch* says that the women's suffrage movement in England is one of the best questions for referendum. There is practically no way other than by inference that the members of Parliament can tell what are the sentiments of the majority of their constituents are on this particular question.

FRANK J. SMITH, a Cleveland broker identified with the old Cleveland Electric interests, has undertaken to destroy the Schmidt referendum law in the superior court.

PERHAPS the most significant thing about the recent Oregon election from the broad national point of view is not the issue of the nineteen questions upon which the people have voted, but the fact that practically all the voters voted upon nearly all the questions. This fact makes even such papers as Chicago *Interior* speak in reasonable and even appreciative terms of the referendum experiment.

JAMES CALLAWAY, a writer who contributes to the Macon *Telegraph*, and whose opposition to Direct-Legislation is the most virulent and who therefore is very widely quoted in the plutocratic papers of the North, has at last given his specific reasons for his opposition: "Under the referendum as a national law," he says, "Congress must, *nolens volens*, refer the petition to all the people, howsoever oppressive it might be to some of the states whose interests may be at variance with the 'petition.' Then editors, incendiary orators, agitators, South haters, religious fanatics, demagogues can get in their work. . . .

"The referendum, if ever adopted as a principle of our system of government, will blot out Southern civilization. Our ideals will be swept before the flood.

"Petitions will flood Congress. Those which began in 1835 addressed by Calhoun, drove the South to secession in a search for peace, tranquility and happiness. The referendum will be the open door of perpetual strife and agitation.

"We who know what Northern agitation from 1850 to 1860 did in forcing secession; we who have eaten of the bitter fruits of reconstruction and its despotic power and feel to-day its pernicious influence, denying even now the women of our state the highways, must at all hazards reject any substitute whatsoever that will imperil our state government and state control."

Nothing strange about this man's opposition to Direct-Legislation or anything else truly democratic.

East Orange, New Jersey, adopted a new charter by referendum vote in June.

New Jersey towns continue to hold referendum elections on the use of the voting machine, the result going against the machine. The voting-machine scheme seems to have cost the state several hundred thousand dollars and might have cost much more had not the people had the power to cut it off at an early stage.

The voters of Sioux City, Iowa, recently defeated, on a referendum vote, a street-railway franchise which was designed as a compromise between demands which the corporation had made and the terms which the people were willing to make. Since the defeat of this compromise some of the objectionable features of the ordinance have been eliminated by a committee of business men, and a petition has been signed by three thousand voters asking that the new ordinance be resubmitted.

The people of Maine are to vote on their constitutional amendment for Direct-Legislation in September. While the amendment was passed by the legislature after having been endorsed by both political parties, without any dissenting vote, there had been insidious forces to undermine the public demand for it since that time. The corporations are waking up and the privileged classes are realizing that they are liable to find themselves confronted by a power which they cannot corrupt. Certain papers are strongly opposing the reform, and Senator Hale sent, at the expense of the national government, an untold number of Senator Lodge's Faneuil Hall tirade against Direct-Legislation to the voters of the state. The Maine federation of labor, on the other hand, has taken up the fight and is undertaking to have the voters aroused in favor of the measure.

The executive committee of the Initiative and Referendum League of America, consisting of Senator Robert Owen, Mr. George Shibley, Reverend Alexander Kent, Mr. W. D. MacKenzie, Dr. Thomas E. Will, Mr. Ralph Albertson and Mr. W. D. Sherman has voted to ally the league with the Democratic party, for the purpose of the present Presidential campaign, in view of the fact that the Democratic party has made as chief issue of the campaign the great and all important question, "Shall the people rule?"

In Bayonne, New Jersey, a petition signed by twenty-five per cent. of the voters calls for a referendum vote for the adoption of the use of voting machines. The political bosses see a menace in this and have illegally held up the petition, refusing the vote for about two months.

In the borough of Aspinwall, Pittsburg, a referendum election was held early in July on two questions. On the one to raise $17,000 for refunding purposes, the vote was 145 for, to 49 against; and on the bill to increase, the debt $16,000 for improving the light and water systems, it was 76 for, to 115 against.

On July 21st the citizens of South Amboy, New Jersey, took a referendum vote on whether South Amboy shall become a city of the third class.

It is probably not generally known that the enormous convention building at Denver costing $600,000 was built by the municipality under the authority of a referendum vote of the people.

The West Seattle Improvement Club is demanding a referendum vote on the saloon question. The Socialist-Democratic party sent out the platform of the party this year for a referendum vote of the members of the party before it was finally adopted.

The Louisiana legislature has refused to order a referendum vote on the question of state prohibition.

A postal-card referendum is being conducted by a special committee of the East Orange city council, to ascertain the views of the voters regarding the blue-law ordinance now in operation in that city.

A special election has been held at Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, on the question of issuing $25,000 bonds for the construction of a bridge. Elections of this kind are being held constantly in little towns all over the country and yet people talk about the referendum as if it were a novel thing.

The Georgia legislature is doing some good work. A bill originating in the senate provides for the direct election by the people of pension commissioners, and a house bill has been passed making the election of county school commissioners by direct vote of the people instead of as now by appointment by grand jurors and county boards of education.

RESIDENTS of Santa Monica have stopped, by referendum petition, a franchise of the Los Angeles Pacific Railroad granting rights of way through beautiful residence streets for forty years.

WHEN Governor M. R. Patterson of Tennessee was called upon by a committee from the Central Labor Union of Knoxville, with reference to his attitude on the Initiative and Referendum, he said, "Government by the people is impossible," and that "we never did have nor never will have government by the people." The newspaper reports of the interview say that the governor flew into a rage and that members of the committee who wore Patterson badges tore them off and threw them on the floor as they left the room.

EATONTON, Georgia, has adopted a new charter containing the Initiative and Referendum.

THE DECISION of the Supreme Court in Oklahoma in *Ex parte* Wagner, was that the Initiative and Referendum provisions in the Constitution are not in conflict with the Constitution of the United States guaranteeing to every state a republican form of government. Said provisions as contained therein are not self-executing, but are made effective by an act of the legislature approved April 16, 1908. Until said provisions were made effective by legislation, a petition for a referendum filed with the chief executive officer of a municipality of the first class was of no effect. An ordinance having been passed and published, and thereafter a petition for referendum filed with the mayor of Kingfisher, and afterwards said relator being convicted in said municipal court for an alleged violation after the filing of said petition, he is not entitled to be discharged from said conviction.

AN ATTEMPT has been made to destroy the city court and increase the power of the superior court in the small town of Grady, Georgia, but the people had to be given a voice in the matter and have voted it down by 1,325 to 63 votes.

IT IS proposed to give the people of Des Moines a vote on the adoption of a sliding scale of water rates.

THE REFERENDUM petition on the street-car franchise question in Cleveland has been the subject of much discussion during the past month and the bitter misrepresentation of Mayor Johnson by his enemies. The referendum was attempted, not in the interest of the people but against that interest, and the mayor sought to avoid the vote on that account. The fraudulent element in the original petition was eliminated, but thousands of the so-cal'ed best citizens stepped forward and signed the petition and aided the fight of the corporation, which had broken faith with the mayor and which seeks finally to thwart his efforts in the people's behalf. It is now announced that no referendum vote will be taken until a suit which has been brought by a stockholder of the old company for the annulment of the contract between the companies, and also the annulment of the referendum law has been passed upon by the courts.

THERE has been a great amount of discussion of the recent Oregon vote in the newspapers throughout the country and a surprising number of the reactionaries have been compelled to say not only that the people voted, but that they voted intelligently. Votes cast on each one of the nineteen referendum questions in this election has given a great surprise to the croakers, who are so cocksure that the people will not, as well as cannot, govern themselves.

AS A MEANS of showing members of the city council that the people of the city desire to express their views by ballot upon the extension of street-railway franchises, the Jefferson-Lincoln Club of Springfield, Illinois, decided to secure petitions from citizens demanding the submission of the question at the polls before such grant is made by the aldermanic body.

UNDER the Initiative and Referendum of Oklahoma there is to be submitted to the voters of that state in the November election a proposal to sell the three million acres of public lands, which the state holds in its school and public buildings funds.

THE "NEW IDEA" Republicans in Passaic, New Jersey, have issued a proclamation pledging themselves to work and vote for laws creating a public utilities commission; for direct nominations of candidates for Governor and Congressmen; for the Massachusetts ballot; an employer's liability act; taxation on railroad realty and all franchises by local officials; publicity of campaign finances, and for the Initiative and Referendum.

THE NATIONAL Swiss referendum, on the question of banning the manufacture and sale

of absinthe, has resulted in a majority of more than eighty thousand in favor of prohibition.

THE Supreme Court of Iowa held on the seventh that the constitutional limitation of suffrage to males so far as participation in elections is concerned applies only to such elections as are held for the choice of public officers and does not apply to referendums. It consequently decided that the Iowa law giving women the right to vote on propositions for levying taxes and issuing bonds is valid, and accordingly sets aside an election held in Des Moines recently at which the council was authorized to build a half-million-dollar city hall, women having been denied the right to vote on the proposition.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### The St. Louis Decision.

THE COMMITTEE appointed by the Civic League of St. Louis to find out the best method of lighting the streets in that city reports in favor of a private plant under strict municipal control. The report recognizes the success of municipal plants in many smaller cities, but does not think a public lighting plant, in competition with a private commercial lighting plant, economical. And for a general municipal lighting plant the city, in the opinion of the committee, is not yet ready, cannot be trusted. "The danger of partisan politics in the management and operation of the plant . . . indicates the inadvisability of municipal ownership, except as a last resort."

Every once in a while it is necessary to point out that statements like this rest on an entirely false basis. That we have, on the whole, made a failure of our municipal government is undoubtedly true, but no truer than the fact that we are one and all awakening to a realization of that failure. This "owing to partisan politics" phrase is in itself the admission of that failure. But the St. Louis committee, like all similar committees, was selected to *prove* something, to *suggest* something. Instead of going to the heart of the matter by suggesting a method that would remove a municipal plant from the reach of partisan politics, it merely acknowledges the presence of the evil and passes it by.

Traditionally a driver whips only the off horse, though it may be the nigh one that shirks, in fact is much more apt to be by very reason of the fact. Every time a commission or a mayor—who knows—makes this "partisan politics" statement—and it is frequent enough—they manage, sometimes without unfair intention, to cast the blame in the wrong place. The errors made in the construction of our city government do not affect the issues of municipal ownership. They are but local conditions which must be overcome; which, indeed, are one of the very symptoms of the social disease which municipal ownership is to put to rout. If a city has no water system but only a number of filthy wells shall the citizens say, "We cannot have a city water system because our water is so very nasty," or shall they say, "Let us build a water system that will supply us with pure water from a clear mountain spring."

### Jamestown, New York.

MAYOR CARLSON of Jamestown, New York, in his first message to the council makes the following references to the city's activities:

"In the municipal ownership of the water and electric-light plant, Jamestown presents an object lesson that presents volumes in favor of the extension of this policy to other public utilities.

"Five years ago we purchased the water plant at a cost of $600,000. We have since expended for extension and improvements $135,000. We have paid off on the water bond debt $75,000. We have given the people a 25-per-cent. reduction in rates, and as a result of these five years' operation in municipal ownership we have a surplus in favor of the city of $229,293.99. These results have been achieved without a single dollar additional expense to the taxpapers.

"Shortly after the electric-light commissioners took charge of the municipal plant a complete investigation was instituted in every possible detail. This investigation showed the actual value of the plant to be $118,588.03, after making proper allowances for all depreciations. This appraisal is nearly $17,000 more than the original purchase price. Add the cost of extensions made during the past year and since the investigation, according to official records, and we have a total of $136,046.27; deduct depreciation and the $52,000 of outstanding electric-light bonds and we have a surplus in favor of the taxpayers of $78,884.13.

"After allowing $4.33 for each of the 361 street lights now in use the plant shows a profit for the past fiscal year of $8,005.23, which is equivalent to 20 per cent. on the investment."

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### An Intelligent Veto.

A GREAT deal of credit is due to Mayor Haynes of Minneapolis for his clear analysis of the situation confronting his city in his message vetoing a thirty years' franchise to the Minneapolis Electric Company. After considering the poor treatment accorded to the city previously by the petitioning corporation the mayor continues:

"Certain questions naturally arise: First, why is the city under any obligation to give this company a thirty-year franchise, and thus indirectly to aid in financing its business? Second, what is the city getting in return for this valuable grant?

"The company's reply to these questions is that the city under this ordinance will secure the following rights or advantages:

"1. The right to regulate the rates of the company annually.

"2. The right to purchase and take over the company's plant at the end of any five-year period.

"3. An immediate reduction in rates both to the city and to private consumers."

The mayor then points out that these advantages are purely theoretical. In the first matter the council is merely given the right to negotiate with the company once a year, but in any contest the company will have the same rights that the city has, so that the only result would be long and expensive litigation. The second point is of no present value to the city as for many years it will not be in a position to purchase the company's plant. And the third point has already been forced upon the company, and is in no way dependent on the granting of the franchise.

"It has been urged," the message continues, "by the company and its friends that we ought to pass the ordinance in order to enable the company to market its bonds. There are several answers to this. In the first place, the city is under no obligation to assist this company in financing its business, and if it does render such aid the city ought to get some substantial consideration in return. In the next place, a complete answer is that the totat authorized bond issue of the company is $8,000,000, and $5,000,000 have already been issued. Again, it is generally understood that this company is simply one of about twenty-eight others owned and controlled by one of the most powerful syndicates in the East, which is amply able to do its own financing.

"There are, in my judgment, other very serious defects in this ordinance. It is admitted by the company that the Taylor's Falls Power Company is a separate and distinct corporation. It is evident that this company might make a high-rate contract with the Taylor's Falls company, one very profitable to the latter, and saddle the expense upon the consumer here, and when you consider that the same people own both companies, though they are legally separate corporations, you can see what the temptation would be. Consequently, some provision should be made in the ordinance to safeguard the public against such an abuse."

Mayor Haynes does not hesitate to put the situation in its true light. How many mayors confronted by a similar situation, would have the courage to stick to the truth?

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### Cleveland's Garbage Disposal Plant.

VARIOUS cities in various parts of the country are trying various methods of disposing of their garbage, and many of them are surprised at the success of their efforts in this formerly neglected direction. The garbage-disposal plant in Cleveland is on its way to becoming a revenue-producing industry as is shown by the figures for last year when the cost per ton was $1.71, while the income was $3.48. The income was derived from the sale of the by-products, not from collection rents, and is therefore not an additional tax.

President Springborn, of the Cleveland board of public service, said recently: "In the reducing of garbage and the recovery of by-products we were able to save the city thousands of dollars. For the first four months this year we sold $51,000 in by-products secured from vegetable refuse, and the record for the year will reach $154,000. In 1905 we made 38 cents on each ton of tankage; in 1906, 67 cents; and in 1907, $1.17 a ton. This is due in large measure to the introduction of improved machinery, which saves much of the grease at lower cost of operation.

"Whereas in Milwaukee the city pays $1.60 for the incineration of garbage, in Cleveland we return the city about the same amount through the sale of the by-products."

Cleveland has a very good collection service, and complaints are few. At the plant the garbage is exposed to steam pressure which drives out all the germs. The grease is extracted very thoroughly and the residue is sold for fertilizer. The grease is used for soaps, candles and medicines, while not a little of it is sent abroad where it is refined, and returned to this country as olive oil.

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### Debits.

COURAGE in a newspaper should always receive its due praise. It takes courage to express one's opinions openly and freely, but it takes even more courage to express openly and freely opinions that every one may know belong to some one else; opinions that some one is daily paying large sums to have expressed. Shall we praise, therefore, the New York daily which on June 16th makes free and open reference to Mr. Grant's Joke Book, "Defunct Municipal Plants" and his still more amusing "Concerning Municipal Ownership"? Perhaps the counter question, How many failures of privately-owned plants do you hear of? did not occur to these doughty champions—but that merely illuminates the quality of this courage. Let us, however, change the form: How many failures of privately-owned plants are you paid to advertise? *Quid nunc?*

As to the Joke Book, read it. I realize that the additional sales through this gratuitous advertising will be used to spread the "gospel" of private ownership in "libraries and barber-shops," but read it anyway. Open confession is good for the soul—the other man's confession and your soul. There are two kinds of failures recorded in the Joke Book. When a municipal plant abandons an old building for a new one, the old building becomes a "defunct." The other kind results from little men. Where a mayor, councilman or manager could not resist the pressure of opposing corporations, and is willing to admit it—only not quite that way—that's the soul salve. Read the Joke Book.

If you should happen to read this of a Sunday evening—or some other—you might wish to con the ethical problem involved: Is it as bad to print a quotation that was originally paid for by interested parties as to sell space in the news or editorial sections of a paper? Perhaps not—perhaps. Opinions might differ on that score. But we are compelled to recognize the courage of this New York editor in giving openly and freely of the opinions of—his friends.

I charge my sense of duty with sixty cents that I paid for John Kendrick Bangs' efforts to write a Joke Book, affectionately known as *Alice in Blunderland.* It is n't nearly as funny as Mr. Grant's Joke Book, but as it has about the same number of jokes it boasts the advantage of having meant to be funny. There is a good deal of froth as you open the book, but it gets pretty flat after it has been open a while. What John Kendrick Bangs does n't know about municipal ownership would make quite a volume.

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### Results in an English City.

THE FOLLOWING account from the Boston *Sunday Herald* of the results of municipal ownership in Hull, England, is well worth reproducing:

"The possibilities of municipal ownership of street railways, both as a financial success and as a boon to patrons, are being shown by the system in this city.

"The Hull resident, whose business or pleasure takes him abroad between the hours of 5 and 9 in the morning, can now have a three-mile ride for one cent. In no other city in the country is traveling so cheap. The reduction in fares in Hull commenced July 1st, and it is intended to be tried as an experiment for six months. No one, however, anticipates that at the expiration of that time the old conditions will be reverted to.

"The Hull street railways have been in possession of the municipality for nine years. The amount expended on them is $2,000,000, and up to the present time $600,000 of profits

or more than a quarter of the original expenditure has gone in relief of rates. The sum voted this year is $100,000 out of the net profits of a little less than $150,000. That, of course, is after providing for sinking fund, interest and other charges.

"PRIVATE SYSTEM WRETCHED.

"There are six main roads upon which cars run, and they vary from a little over two miles to nearly three miles in length. These all converge at Victoria square in the center of the city. In addition there is a short route of about half a mile from Victoria square to the pier. This passes through old Hull, and transfer tickets are given from all other cars to this route.

"Up to ten years ago Hull, in the matter of street railways, was in the hands of a private company, with single lines and horse-cars. The system was a wretched one, and its shortcomings brought into existence a service of wagonettes possibly unequaled in any other large center. At one time thousands of wagonettes plied for hire at penny fares. They were a nondescript collection. Almost every class of passenger vehicle was represented, including even the Irish jaunting-car. Locally they were known as 'town way-ups' and 'penny dangers,' although owing to the perfect flatness of Hull and the age of the horses accidents were not unduly frequent.

"WATER-WORKS PAY ALSO.

"The private company was driven into liquidation by their competition, and when the period of its license expired the city corporation decided to install and run an electric system, with double sets of lines down all main roads. There was a section of the council who favored a syndicate being allowed to come in and run the cars, but the Progressives won the day. With $100,000 of the profits going yearly to the reduction of the rates no one is ever heard nowadays to refer to the attempt to hand the roads over to a syndicate.

"Every one in Hull is an ardent municipalist so far as street railways and water-works—another undertaking which yields $30,000 profits to the rates per year—are concerned. One-cent morning fares have not been won without a struggle. Ever since the initiation of the system cheaper fares for the working classes have been contended for by the Labor members and other Progressives. Last year the Labor party carried a resolution by a narrow majority that riders should be able to travel along two routes for a two-cent fare.

"Opponents said that that would cost the city $15,000 a year. Six months' experience, however, proved that instead of incurring a loss it had actually resulted in greater profit being earned. The chairman of the tramways committee, who was an opponent in the first instance, was converted by actual facts. This success was the chief argument used when the resolution to inaugurate one-cent morning fares was proposed, and its potency was irresistible. The council were almost unanimous in adopting the proposal."

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

**New York's Co-operative Banks.**

THE ANNUAL report of the New York State League of Coöperative Banks shows a large increase for the past year in the number of these banks and also in their assets, for during the year 1907-08 assets ncreased more than $2,500,000, the growth being larger than would at first seem for hundreds of thousands of dollars were paid to investors and ndirectly through cancellation of mortgages by maturity of stock to those who purchase their own homes.

The league reports 231 of these associations in New York state "located in cities, towns and villages doing quiet, yet splendid work in their respective communities, and it will be found that in every instance their officers and directors have the confidence of their fellow-citizens." The report goes on to explain some of the particular advantages of the asso-

ciations, and says: "The banks offer to persons of moderate means an opportunity to purchase their own homes through systematic weekly or monthly payments covering dues and interest, the associations taking first mortgages, and in the course of eleven or twelve years, when the dues and profits thereon equal the face of the mortgages they are canceled.

"Payments are not a burden when it is considered that a person is to own his home, and an additional advantage for the mortgagor is that his mortgage is never 'called.' Thousands of men and women have purchased homes in this manner who would never have acquired them through any other method.

"Systematic saving of small amounts of money is a plan of these associations that appeals to many persons and especially to those men and women who are not careless about the future. Payments as small as two dollars a month are welcomed, and the persons who pay small amounts have a voice in the management.

"The coöperative savings and loan plan as a whole is purely a copartnership. Investing members pay in their dues and this money is loaned to the home-getting members. Expenses are remarkably low, less than one per cent. on assets in this state. Directors serve year after year without any other recompense than the feeling that these organizations are of a public-spirited and uplifting nature. In a word, coöperative savings and loan associations have only two objects in view: To promote home-owning among persons of moderate means, and to inculcate saving of small amounts of money."

### A Co-operative Sewing Shop.

THIRTY New York girls have organized a coöperative sewing shop, a step which tends toward the solution of the problem of domestic help, for if the poorly-paid and much-abused seamstresses have reached the point of organization, why not cooks and second-girls? From this shop competent workers are sent out by the hour or day to do pressing, cleaning, repairing, fine mending, lace repairing and simple alterations. The tailor-seamstresses are competent to take complete charge of a woman's wardrobe and rehabilitate it without instructions from the owner. The workers provide their own lunches outside the homes of patrons and pay their own expenses. They are dress-menders in distinction from dressmakers.

### Co-operative Street Cars.

A DESPATCH in the Cincinnati *Enquirer* tells of a coöperative trolley line which is to run from Celina, Ohio, through Berne and Montpelier to Bluffton, Indiana, connecting there with the Schoepf lines. At Celina the line will connect with the Western Ohio Traction System, thus giving the short line an outlet at either end.

### Co-operative Farm in India.

PHILANTHROPIC Indians in Bengal are taking preliminary steps toward the establishment of a farm of fifteen thousand acres to be conducted coöperatively. The land has been purchased and forty buildings are being erected for the accommodation of those who come first to occupy the land. Two hundred and sixty more houses are provided for and will follow as needed.

### German Co-operative Associations.

CONSUL-GENERAL RICHARD GUENTHER reports from Frankfort that the Wholesale Purchasing Company for German Coöperative Associations, Limited, at Hamburg, Germany, has published its report on the company's business during 1907. The total sales amounted to $14,254,000, an increase of 28.7 per cent. over the business of 1906. The capital of the company is $239,000. The net profits from last year's dealings amounted to $120,000. The report states that the prospects for 1908 are not so auspicious, because the present economic crisis will cause lack of employment for factory operatives and other working classes.

### A Workingman's Hospital.

THE LABOR unions of Chicago are establishing a hospital which is to be managed coöperatively by a central committee. Free treatment and medicine will be given the families of workingmen in time of sickness. The plans for the hospital have been drawn, and negotiations for the purchase of a site are already under way. Through the sale of annual memberships at $3 each it is planned to raise a fund of $95,000, which will cover the establishment of the institution and the first year's

work. For the $3 a year that a person will pay as a member of the Workingmen's Hospital Association the subscriber will be entitled to free treatment at the institution whenever he is ill. The treatment will include medicines, medical attendance, nursing and board.

### A Woman's Farm.

A CO-OPERATIVE farm is being instituted near Chicago under the auspices of the Art Craft Institute, where women may be self-supporting while gaining knowledge concerning farm work.

### Increasing Efficiency.

THE CO-OPERATIVE association which exists among the farmers of Denmark has introduced a system of testing of cows, which has raised the output per cow from an average of 120 pounds of butter to 200 pounds. An excellent result of this system is the advantage of permitting each dairyman to see exactly what his neighbors' cows are doing, thus spurring him on to give his stock better care and feeding, better breeding, and more thoroughly to weed out the poorer cows.

### Co-operative Harvester Factory.

SOME time ago the Kendall County Farmers' Institute of Illinois, organized a harvester manufacturing plant at Plano, it being claimed that this town was the birthplace of the first harvester and binder in the United States. The coöperative company is called the Independent Harvester Company. Farmers from various parts of the West are joining in the attempt to give the agricultural implement trust its just deserts.

### Educational Co-operation.

THE PRINCIPLE of coöperation is penetrating every strata of society these days, and the prominent educators of the country are finding that it is applicable to education as well as industry. The coöperative engineering courses in Cincinnati University have proved so successful that other colleges and universities are copying them, and now educators are planning the establishment of a coöperative system between the universities of this country and those of South America. In a pamphlet written by Professor Leo S. Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania and published by the American Association for International Conciliation, the first announcement is made of a tentative agreement for closer educational relations which has received the endorsement of three of the leading South American universities: The National University of La Plata, the National University of Chile, and the University of San Marcos at Lima. San Marcos is the oldest university in the hemisphere, having been founded in 1551, eighty-five years before the establishment of Harvard College. Professor Rowe calls attention to the fact that Germany's influence dominates these countries at the present time, in intellectual as well as industrial and commercial fields, and he states that coöperation would tend to counteract this state of things and give to the United States the prestige now enjoyed by the Germans.

The proposed scheme for coöperation contemplates the exchange of all university publications, the establishment of a scientific bureau to serve as a center of information and an intermediary between those pursuing similar lines of investigation, the establishment of a foreign students' information bureau, and the inclusion of material relating to the development of American political institutions in such courses as constitutional law, political economy, sociology, and comparative legislation.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

# PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

By Robert Tyson,
Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

## The Coming Cuban Elections.

RECENTLY I have been favored with another letter from my Havana correspondent, dealing with the coming elections in Cuba, the first to be held under the new Proportional Representation law. He says:

"I beg to invite your attention to one very important and favorable condition in Cuban politics which I believe results directly from the adoption of Proportional Representation: Four popular elections were held in Cuba under the first Intervention. The first one in 1900 for municipal officers; the second, third and fourth in 1901 for municipal officers, delegates to the Constitutional Convention, and officers of the national administration under the Constitution. In all these elections minority representation was guaranteed by the limited vote, and in all there was no real contest.

"General Wood refers to what was apparently a fixed political habit of the Cuban people to concede defeat in advance of any test at the polls, and expresses his regret that he was never able to secure an active political contest. Two elections were held under the Republic and were similarly uncontested. It could hardly have been otherwise, when ten votes were as potent as five hundred to secure the election of one-third of the candidates.

"As under Proportional Representation the parties can elect only as many candidates as their vote entitles them to, parties can no longer refrain from contesting the elections without sacrificing their tickets. Evidently they have been brought to realize this, for in the ensuing elections we have from three to five tickets in every electoral division in the island. Not only is the line-up complete, but the interest is intense and all the parties seem to believe in their ability to win. I was talking this matter over with Governor Magoon the other day and he expressed the view that the result above pointed out is attributable very largely to the adoption of Proportional Representation.

"In my judgment a contributing cause to the satisfactory conditions above pointed out is the population census taken in the closing part of 1907, from which the electoral lists were made up. We have had a great deal of trouble in revising and correcting these lists, for numerous mistakes were made by the census enumerators. No doubt there are many errors in the lists as they stand for the approaching elections, but after all it is the best registration that Cuba has ever had."

In the November issue of this department I hope to print some information as to the result of the elections to which my correspondent refers.

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## Propaganda in Great Britain.

I HAVE a wealth of material from England, contained in the July issue of the monthly *Representation* and in the annual report of the Proportional Representation Society for 1907 —which latter has been issued since I made up the "copy" for the August-September ARENA.

Dealing first with the report, it is a beautifully-printed pamphlet of twenty pages, with a neat cover. Among other things, it contains a list of subscriptions and donations for the year, the total of which is between seven and eight hundred dollars. To this should be added a balance of five hundred dollars brought forward. The year closed with about one hundred and fifty dollars in the treasury.

"A considerable number of additional Members of Parliament and others have joined the society during the past year; the new members for 1907 include the following:

"Lord Balfour of Burleigh, K. T., Lord Ampthill, G. C. I. E., the Bishop of Leicester and Mrs. Clayton, Lord Hugh Cecil, The Rt. Hon. Arthur Cohen, K. C., Sir Arthur Clay, Bart., Sir H. Waldemar Lawrence, Sir R. G. C. Mowbray, Bart., Sir Gilbert Parker, M. P., Sir Owen Roberts, J. P., D. L., Richard D. Holt, M. P., R. Pearce, M. P., G. H. Roberts, M. P., Thomas Wiles, M. P., The Hon. George Fowlds, M. H. R., New Zealand; The

Hon. Robert Philp, M. H. R., Queensland; George Fox, M. H. R., Queensland; Rev. Principal J. Estlin Carpenter, E. Crawshay-Williams, Dr. G. Crichton, Albert Gray, Esq., K. C., J. C. Gray, Esq., J. P. (Gen. Sec. Coöperative Union); Mrs. J. R. Green, Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL. D., Miss P. H. Peckover, J. St. Loe Strachey, J. C. Swinburne-Hanham (Treasurer, Eighty Club); Alderman P. Walls (of Workington)."

Under their appropriate headings I present some extracts from the Report.

**The British By-elections.**

"In the previous report the committee were able to present analyses of the results of the last general election (1906), the London county council elections (March, 1907) and the German general election (January, 1907), all of which furnished examples of the complete failure of present electoral methods to secure a true expression of the wishes of citizens in the representative bodies which they were called upon to elect. The by-elections which have since taken place, as well as the municipal elections of last November, have given special emphasis to the new problem presented by the rise of the Labor party; the great increase in the number and virulence of three-cornered contests rendering the adoption of a true electoral method more than ever necessary.

"The by-elections have shown two things. First, how easily, under our present system, a minority of the electors may obtain the seat through divisions among the majority; and, secondly, how small is the percentage of voters who by 'wobbling,' that is, by voting for one side in one year and for the other in another, may practically disfranchise a much larger mass of voters who have more settled opinions. Thus our present system brings unjustly upon the whole body of electors the accusation of fickleness which really only belongs to a small minority. Under Proportional Representation this small minority could, of course, change its own small number of representatives, but could not affect the representation of their neighbors.

**Annual Meeting and Pamphlets.**

"The annual meeting of the society, held (by kind permission of Lord and Lady Avebury) at 6, St. James' Square, S. W., gave further evidence of the increased interest which is being taken in the society's work. Sympathy with the movement was expressed by a considerable number of Members of Parliament, including Mr. Keir Hardie, whom illness prevented from speaking, whilst Lord Hugh Cecil wrote as follows:

"'The present system unquestionably weakens the House of Commons by denuding it of moderate politicians not entirely in sympathy with either political party, and consequently rendering obsolete all the arts of persuasion and deliberation, and reducing Parliamentary discussion to a struggle between obstruction on the one side and closure on the other. . . . The rigid partisanship and the essentially unrepresentative character of the House of Commons leave it only the credit which belongs to the instrument of a party, and deprive it of that higher authority which should be the portion of the representatives of the whole people.'

"Sir William Anson, Bart., M. P., in an excellent analysis of the evils and dangers of the present electoral conditions moved, 'That the meeting approves of the objects of the Proportional Representation Society, and invites the government to afford every facility for the introduction of improved electoral methods into both Parliamentary and municipal elections.' The motion, which was seconded by Mr. James Gibb, M. P., and supported by Lord Monteagle and Lord Courtney of Penwith, was adopted unanimously. [A full report of the annual meeting appears in the July *Representation*.]

"The annual meeting was followed by the issue of two additional pamphlets, *viz.*: a verbatim report of the chairman's address on Proportional Representation, delivered at Stockport, on March 22d, and a report of the chairman's speech in the House of Lords on moving the second reading of the Municipal Representation Bill. The four pamphlets printed during the year, taken together, presented in brief, (1) the arguments in favor of Proportional Representation, (2) a demonstration of its practicability and, (3) a record of its successes. The distribution of these pamphlets, amounting in all to some 18,000 copies, was continued throughout the year.

"The result of this continuous educational campaign has been shown by a steady increase in the number of inquiries for information, by a growing demand for lectures, and by the frequent references to the movement in the newspaper press."

**Growth of Public Opinion.**

After dealing with other phases of its subjcet, the report concludes by quoting two pages

of extracts from the periodical press, to indicate how favorable is educated public opinion to the proposals of the society.

### The Gove System.

MEMBERS of the American Proportional Representation League will be especially interested in an article on the plan of Hon. William H. Gove, of Massachusetts. It is in the shape of comments upon an extract from a New Zealand letter. In quoting the article, I call especial attention to the suggestion of the English editor about non-transfer indication, which seems to meet one of the strongest objections to the Gove system. Here is the article:

"Mr. Marshall H. Hudson, of Kaukapakapa, Auckland, New Zealand, commends the 'Gove' system to us in an interesting letter which we regret to be unable to publish in full as it deals to a large extent with a proposal for voting by machinery—a topic not strictly within the province of this journal—but from which we make the following extracts. Mr. Hudson says: 'The new journal, *Representation*, has spoken; the welcome sounds have, like the Marconi rays, vibrated across the ocean to far-off New Zealand, and I who have felt the motion, would send my modest echo back.

"'I have read your remarks on the "Gove" system. You say that it plainly leaves the electors less freedom "than the Hare-Spence system." This may appear to be true as far as the second and succeeding votes are concerned, but the first vote is by far the most influential, and to it your remarks do not apply. With the first-choice vote practically and ideally free, and the remaining votes decided beforehand by the man of his choice, the "Gove" system would give the elector all the freedom of choice he could desire. The "Gove" system is most simple, and it has this great advantage, that it is by its simplicity the best fitted for voting with the use of machinery.'

"As our readers are probably aware the 'Gove' system resembles in its general features the 'Hare-Spence' or Tasmanian system, but differs from it in allowing the candidate himself and not the voter to determine to whom his surplus votes—or if he be an 'eliminated' candidate, all his votes—are to be transferred. The names of the transferees are given on the ballot paper, so the voter knows the possible destination of his vote. He thus has to make only one mark on the paper. We can conceive that it might be an improvement to the system if the elector was allowed to indicate that his vote was *not* to be transferred to any name on the list of the transferees. He would thus have a veto on an undesirable candidate of the party organization without being obliged to abstain from supporting the other nominees of his party. The system does not, however, secure that perfect freedom of the voter to say to whom and in what order his vote is to go, which is the characteristic merit of the 'Hare-Spence' system."

### Editorial Holiday.

THE EDITOR indicates a very sensible proceeding when he says:

"There will not be any issue of *Representation* for the months of August and September, but in October publication will be resumed with a number including an article by Mr. Humphreys on the Belgian elections."

Really, in view of the flood of good printed matter everlastingly pouring from the press, it would be a good idea for more pretentious monthly journals to give both the editor and his readers a rest by missing at any rate one issue during the summer months.

### Great Activity in France.

"THE Roman Theater at Orange—perhaps the greatest Roman monument outside Rome, except the Amphitheater of Verona, a worthy setting for the advocacy of a great cause—was crowded on Sunday, June 21st, by 6,000 persons, who listened to addresses and passed a resolution in favor of Proportional Representation. The extent to which the movement is progressing in France may be measured by the fact that the *Matin* reported the proceedings at length on its front page of June 22d, giving a portrait of M. Charles Benoist, and a view of the theater. Letters of adhesion were read from several ex-Ministers and Deputies. The meeting was organized by MM. Charles Benoist and Etienne Flandin, the principal officials of the Parliamentary group promoting this reform, and it was addressed by Deputies belonging to different parties and from all quarters of the Chamber. All condemned the existing electoral system in France (single-member constituencies), drawing an unfavorable comparison between it and the *scrutin de liste* with Proportional Representation.

"We also understand from M. Yves Guyot

that the parliamentary group which supports Proportional Representation has determined to continue its propaganda, undaunted by the partial check given by the results of the rather haphazard 'voluntary' application of the reform at the municipal elections.

"Another French correspondent sends the welcome news that at the *Congrés de la Ligue des Droits de l' Homme et du Citoyen* held at Lyons, the committee which was charged with the discussion of electoral methods approved almost unanimously a report rejecting all majority systems of election and demanding the application of the principles of Proportional Representation to all elections. The full congress itself did not reach the discussion of the question, which was adjourned till next year's meeting."

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### Proportional Representation in Single-Member Districts.

Mr. H. Denlinger, of Portland, Oregon' writes thus:

"It is commonly asserted that Proportional Representation cannot be maintained with single-member districts, but that members must be elected at large. This is a mistake. Here is a simple system of Proportional Representation, suitable for a city or other municipality, and allowing single-member wards or districts.

"First divide your city into as many wards as members to be elected. Make the wards as nearly equal in population as can be done, practically. Let the voting ballots of each ward contain the names of only such candidates as represent the different parties seeking the office for that ward. Count up the number of votes cast for all parties for all the wards and divide by the number of seats to be filled. This will give the quota. Find each party's vote separately and divide the result in each case by the quota. This will give the number of seats each party is entitled to. Those candidates in each party, no matter in what wards, who have received the highest vote, will now be declared elected in number according to the number of quotas their party has been voted. In case fractional quotas have to be used to make up the full number of members to be elected, deal with them in the usual way: that is, the parties receiving the highest fractions up to the full number of seats to be filled, to be entitled to the elections.

"This will give true Proportional Representation and also, except in rare cases, representation from some one of the parties from every district. Try it and see."

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### Report of The American League.

My annual report for 1907 as secretary-treasurer—the third I have issued—was printed in June and distributed to members of the American Proportional Representation League in July. It deals with progress already recorded in this department, and with certain league matters of interest chiefly to members. My financial statement shows a balance from 1906 of $48.86, and receipts from subscriptions, donations, etc., of $284.69; the expenditure for the year being a little over three hundred dollars.

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### Elections of Organized Labor.

Recently I was invited to take part in the semi-annual election of officers, committees and delegates of the Toronto District Labor Council, conducted on the Hare-Spence plan of Proportional Representation. The two elections which most interested the members of the council were those for President and for three delegates to the Canadian Trades Congress, to be held at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in September. The ballots of these two elections were accordingly counted, with explanations, in the presence of the meeting. For the Congress delegation there were ten candidates, and one hundred and fifteen men voted, marking their ballots in the order of their choice with the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., indicating in some cases as many as nine choices. Although many new members were present, there was only one spoiled ballot, and that was marked with crosses instead of figures.

The three men who headed the poll on the count of first choices were those ultimately elected, so that the transfers of votes made no difference in the result. A subsequent recount with the Droop quota and mathematical distribution of surpluses brought the same result.

Robert Tyson.

# A BOLD ROMANCE DEALING WITH SEX RELATIONS IN HIGH AMERICAN LIFE.*

A Book-Study.

By B. O. Flower.

I.

THIS is the most daring and in many respects thought-stimulating romance dealing with sex relations in American society life that has appeared. It is a cross section taken from the life of the new-rich of to-day—the life where egoism is the dominant note, where man is money-mad and woman, absorbed in egoistic pursuits for personal satisfaction, descends to the depths after deluding herself with the idea that she is merely finding herself or living her life as she imagines she has a right to do. The novel deals chiefly with the life romances of six couples, most of whom live in the artificial world of high finance and fashionable and frivolous metropolitan society. The ethical disintegration that marks the Wall-Street world, and the ever-deepening moral degradation that riots with weed-like luxuriance in the social world that corresponds to the world of high finance, are described in a manner marked by frankness, strength and directness and a keenly analytical spirit that lays bare hidden things in the thought-world as the surgeon's knife lays bare the diseased organs.

We shall not be surprised if the novel becomes the most talked of romance of the year and the subject at once of the most severe criticism and unstinted eulogy. By many persons who abhor all literature depicting in a vivid way sexual laxity or infidelity to the marriage vow, this work will be condemned, for as a study of modern high life it necessarily reveals much of that festering moral contagion that ever accompanies life where great wealth arrogates to itself superior rights and prerogatives and where sense perceptions blot out the vision, as is so largely the case with the women in the world of the new-rich, where, to use the words of the noblest character in the novel, "Egotism is the pestilence of our day—the sort of base intellectual egotism that seeks to taste for the sake of tasting."

*"Together." By Robert Herrick. Cloth. Pp. 594. Price, $1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

In Mr. Herrick's realism there is none of the revolting literalism or detailed descriptions of sexual relations that mark so many of Zola's great novels, but the portrayals are sufficiently daring to startle some people, and they would, perhaps, be unhealthy reading for many of our hothouse young who have not been early and properly grounded in the fundamental ethical principles.

Yet these are only incidents in a great scene, a section of modern life over which blows a cleansing and purifying breeze which sweeps away the clouds and mists, revealing the pure, health-giving and miasma-destroying sun of spiritual truth. The work as a whole is profoundly moral, and the closing chapters contain some of the most vital and basic truths concerning the right relation of the sexes that have been given to the public in recent years.

II.

To us the supreme excellence of the work as a social study is found in the fundamental manner in which the author treats the marriage question. Of late it has been the custom to raise a cry for prohibition of divorce whenever the marriage question is discussed—a proposed remedy which ignores the root causes of present deplorable conditions and which would do for the body politic about what the covering up of an eating sore with adhesive plaster would do for an afflicted patient.

When men and women learn to sink prejudice and exercise their reason, they will see that the marriage of a coarse, debauched and dissipated man to a pure girl, innocent of the kind of person she has married, is in the nature of the case no God-made union; that the compelling of a woman to live with a drunkard or a depraved person, who is thus enabled to curse society with hereditarily weak and defective offspring is a three-fold iniquity—a menace to society, a crime against the unborn child and a wrong to the helpless woman; and finally that the forcing of a woman to live with a man who abuses or maltreats her and after she has come

to loathe him, is enforced prostitution of a peculiarly sinister character, because it is liable to result in children born of gross animalism, of hate and of loathing and destined to be a blight and curse to society and themselves. We say, when men and women are wise enough to follow the dictates of reason and common-sense in regard to sex relations, there will be less clamoring for divorce and vastly more attention given to the fundamental conditions that make for loose sex relations and moral decadence.

The problem of unhappy marriages, like all great and fundamental questions affecting civilization, is complex in character. Among the chief causes of infelicity in wedlock are: (1) the criminal neglect on the part of home, school and church in giving children a broad, sound moral training, and especially the neglect of parents in not properly instructing the children in regard to sex and the duties of the marriage relation. (2) Another great cause is the low moral ideals of business life, which have reacted on the domestic and social spheres, as all disintegrating influences react on the social organism in all its ramifications. (3) Still another cause is the exaltation of the marriage letter and the decline of the spirit of religion in the life of the people—the decadence of a vital faith as the horizon of life has broadened. Every age demands a reinterpretation of religious concepts to meet the constantly expanding vision of advancing civilization. The larger view of life should make the eternal ethical or spiritual verities more compelling on the spirit of man; and such would doubtless be the case if the church did not cling tenaciously to the grave-clothes of the letter, the outgrown concepts, while ignoring the vital spirit which giveth life. (4) A further great cause of increased unhappiness in marital relations is the artificiality of modern life. All departures from the sane and normal tend to upset the equilibrium on which healthy growth depends. And the feverish, over-stimulated and abnormal present-day life with its constant widening of the breach between the rich and poor, and where the few are acquiring rather than earning vast fortunes and an increasing number are being pushed into the cellar of civilization, is also a fruitful source of domestic infelicity. These and other causes that would be mentioned if space permitted, have led to the lowering of moral idealism in regard to marriage and have greatly increased domestic inharmony.

It is well, therefore, to have a work that in the form of a powerful and absorbingly interesting romance uncovers actual and typical conditions as they prevail, in such a way as to force us to take cognizance of some of the gravest basic causes of unhappy marriages and which also, by constant implication impresses the irreparable injury to society that must follow the artificial and false concepts that already prevail in so marked a degree; and this is done in the present volume.

III.

The last section of the work, in which is introduced the noble character of Dr. Renault and where he shows the evils of present conditions and the duties of men and women, is very fine and inspiring; while the chapter in which the author discusses the marriage relation as it has obtained in America since the country was founded, is one of the most thoughtful essays that has appeared from any pen. In discussing women in high life and the marriage state as it obtains in American social centers to-day, Dr. Renault utters truths that all should take to heart.

"'Egotism,"' he exclaims, '"is the pestilence of our day—the sort of base intellectual egotism that seeks to taste for the sake of tasting. Egotism is rampant. And, worst of all, it has corrupted the women, in whom should lie nature's great conservative element. So our body social is rotten with intellectual egotism. Yes, I mean just what you have prided yourself on—Culture, Education, Individuality, Cleverness—"leading your own lives," Refinement, Experience, Development, call it what you will—it is the same, the inturning of the spirit to cherish self.

. . . . . .

"'You make marriage a sort of intelligent and intellectual prostitution. . . . And man, what of him? You leave him to his two gross temptations—Power and Lust. Man is given to you to protect, and you drive him into the market-place, where he fights for your ease, and then relaxes in the refined sensualities you offer him as the reward for his toil. With the fall of man into the beast's trough must come the degradation of women. They cannot travel apart; they must pull together. What have *you* done for your husband?' He turned sharply on Isabelle. 'Where is he now? Where has he been all these years? What is he doing this hour? Have you nursed his spirit, sharpened his sword? . . . I am not

speaking of the dumb ones far down in the mass, nor of the humdrum philistines that still make homes, have traces of the nest-instinct left; but of you, *you*—the developed intelligences who flatter yourselves that you lead because you are free to do as you like. By your minds you are betrayed!'"

On one occasion Dr. Renault has said to the heroine that a neurasthenic world needs a new religion, and, explaining what he means, he observes:

"'Not the old religion of abnegation, the impossible myths that come to us out of the pessimistic East, created for a relief, a soporific, a means of evasion—I do not mean that as a religion. But another faith, which abides in each one of us, if we look for it. We rise with it in the morning. It is a faith in life apart from our own personal fate. . . . Because we live on the surface, we despair, we get sick. Look below into the sustaining depths beyond desire, beyond self, to the depths—and you will find it. It will uplift you. . . . When you wake in the morning, there will come to you some mysterious power that was not there before, some belief, some hope, some faith. Grasp it! . . . When the clouds lift, the physical clouds and the mental clouds, then appears the Vision and the knowledge. They are the truth from the depths within—the voice of the spirit that lives always. And by that voice man himself lives or dies, as he wills—by the voice of the spirit within.'

"So as the drear day of the dying winter drew to a close, as the ashes powdered on the hearth and the face of Renault became obscure in the twilight, the dim outlines of a great meaning rose before her, reconciling all. . . . The Vision that abides within apart from the teasing phantasmagoria of sense, the Vision that comes, now dim, now vivid, as the flash of white light in the storm, the Vision towards which mankind blindly reaches, the Vision by which he may learn to live and endure all!

"And this Vision was all that really mattered—to see it, to follow where it pointed the way!

". . . 'The waste in life, the wrong steps, the futile years,' she murmured.

"'Rather the cost, the infinite cost of human souls—and their infinite value once born,' Renault corrected. 'Do not distress yourself about what to do, the claims of this or that. The thing to do will always be clear, once you trust yourself wholly, seek the Vision. And as for beauty and satisfaction and significance—it is infinite in every moment of llfe—when the eyes are once open to see!'"

In the chapter where Mr. Herrick considers marriage with us, since the foundation of the Republic, he describes the three distinct stages that preceded marriage as it obtains at present among our new-rich, who plume themselves on being the best society. Here are some observations on present conditions:

"And now emerges another economic condition, the inexorable successor of the previous one, and another kind of Marriage. Society is complexly organized, minutely inter-related; great power here and great weakness there, vast accumulations of surplus energies, hoarded goods, many possessions—oh, a long gamut up and down the human scale! And the Chance, the great gamble, always dangles before Man's eyes; not the hope of a hard-won existence for woman and children, not a few acres of cleared wilderness, but a dream of the Aladdin lamp of human desires—excitements, emotions, ecstasies—all the world of the mind and the body. So Woman, no longer the Pioneer, no longer the defender of the house, no longer the economist, blossoms—as what? The Spender! She is the fine flower of the modern game, of the barbaric gamble. At last she is Queen and will rule. The Man has the money, and the Woman has—herself, her body and her charm. She traffics with man for what he will give, and she pays with her soul. . . . To her the man comes from the market-place soiled and worn, and lays at her feet his gain, and in return she gives him of her wit, of her handsome person, gowned and jeweled, of her beauty, of her body itself. She is Queen! She amuses her lord she beguiles him, she whets his appetite and pushes him forth to the morrow's fight, to bring back to her more pelf, to make her greater yet. She sits idle in her cabin palace, attended by servants, or goes forth on her errands to show herself before the world as her man's Queen. So long as she may but please this lord of hers, so long as she may hold him by her mind or her body, she will be Queen. She has found something softer than labor with her hands, easier than the pains of childbirth—she has found the secret of rule—mastery over her former master, the slave ruling the lord. Like the last wife of the barbarian king she is heaped with jewels and served with fine wines and foods and lives in the palace—the favorite.

. . . . . .

"Small comradeship here! Marriage to

this woman is a state of personal gratification, the best bargain she can make with man. . . .

"To this state has come the honorable condition of marriage in a country where 'men'—and surely women!—'are born free and equal.' The flower of successful womanhood—those who have bargained shrewdly—are to be found overfed, overdressed, sensualized, in great hotels, on mammoth steamers and luxurious trains, rushing hither and thither on idle errands. They have lost their prime function: they will not or they cannot get children. They are free! As never women were before. And these wives are the custodians of men, not merely of their purses but of their souls. They whisper to them the Ideals of their hearts: 'Come bring me money, and I will kiss you. Make me a name before the world, and I will noise it abroad. Build me a house more splendid than other houses, set me above my sisters, and I will reflect honor on you among men for the clothes I wear and the excellent shape of my figure.'

"And thus, unwittingly, Woman becomes again in the revolution of the ages what she was at first, the female creature, the possession, the thing for lust and for amusement—the cherished slave. For the death of woman's soul follows when she pays with her body—a simple, immutable law. . . . Woman in America, splendidly free and Queen! What have you done with the men who were given into your charge? Clever, beautiful, brilliant—our most shining prize—but what have you done for the souls of the men given into your keeping? . . . The answer roars up from the city streets—the most material age and the most material men and least lovely civilization on God's earth. No longer the fighting companion at man's side, but reaching out for yourselves, after your own desires, you have become the slave of the Brute as you were before. And a neurotic slave. For when Woman is no longer comrade of man in the struggle, she is either Nothing or a—but blot the word!"

IV.

As a romance describing one phase of present-day American life, this work deserves special praise. It is an absorbingly interesting story of the present, palpitating with human interest and written in the fine style that marks all the work of Robert Herrick. Here the reader will follow with genuine interest the married careers of John Lane and Isabelle, of Robert Falkner and the frivolous Bessie, of the highly emotional Margaret Pole and her weak husband Larry, of scheming Conny Woodyard and her husband who is broken on the wheel of a woman's ambition, of Vickers Price and his blasted life, of Alice and Steve Johnston and their great love, of Tom Cairy, the emotional vampire, whose power over women was as great as his moral perception was lacking, of Dr. Renault, the idealist, philosopher, physician and man, of Dicky Fosdick, rugged and sound at heart but unpopular because honest and brave in expressing his thoughts touching social injustice. All these and other characters live and move before the reader's vision. With them we journey from St. Louis to Indiana, and thence to New York; to Continental Europe, to Colorado and the South; to the northern verge of Vermont, and to Oklahoma and the Panhandle of Texas. The background continually shifts and from time to time different actors play title parts, but the reader's interest is held in an absorbing manner, through the light and gloom, through struggles, failures and success, through the long night and the dawning that comes to the leading characters after the stress and storm that threaten to wreck all that was of worth in their lives.

It is a powerful and compelling novel of real life, and at the same time it is one of the most masterful studies of the marriage relation as it obtains in the society of the new-rich in America that has appeared in fiction.

B. O. Flower.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

# BOOKS OF THE DAY.

*The Government of England*, By Professor A. Lawrence Lowell. Two volumes. Over 500 pages each. Cloth. Price, $4.00 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THE AUTHOR of this work is in many respects most admirably equipped for the very important task he has essayed. He fills the chair of the Science of Government in Harvard University and is evidently in sympathy with his theme. He possesses the judicial mind in an eminent degree, and though he does not at all times rise above prejudice, he is on the whole fair and impartial in his treatment of special features and phases of English rule. His view-point, however, it must be remembered, is that of the conventional economist who has made a deep study of English government, with a very decided bias in favor of the representative government of the mother country.

The work does not attempt to deal with the past history of the English government, so does not except incidentally indicate the long, toilsome and often turbulent struggle that marked the evolution of England's present system of rule. In his preface the author observes:

"Measured by the standards of duration, absence of violent commotions, maintenance of law and order, general prosperity and contentment of the people, and by the extent of its influence on the institutions and political thought of other lands, the English government has been one of the most remarkable the world has ever known. An attempt, therefore, to study it at any salient epoch cannot be valueless; and the present is a salient epoch, for the nation has enjoyed something very near to manhood suffrage in the boroughs for forty years, and throughout the country more than twenty years, a period long enough for democracy to produce its primary, if not its ultimate effects. Moreover, England has one of the most interesting of popular governments, because it has had a free development little hampered by rigid constitutional devices. It is an organism constantly adapting itself to its environment, and hence in full harmony with national conditions. An endeavor has been made in these volumes to portray the present form of that organism and the forces which maintain its equilibrium.

"In preparing a study of this kind one feels the need of limiting its scope, by reducing the denominator as Arthur Helps remarked. Hence the work covers only the English government as it stands to-day; and further, only those institutions, national and local, that have a general bearing. The British Constitution is full of exceptions, of local customs and special acts with which town clerks must be familiar. They fill the path of these men with pitfalls, but they do not affect seriously the general principles of the government, and no attempt is made to describe them here. Even the institutions of Scotland and Ireland, interesting as they are in themselves, have been referred to only so far as they relate to the national government or throw light upon its working.

"Even so limited, the subject is not without difficulties. The forces to be studied do not lie upon the surface, and some of them are not described in any document or found in any treatise. They can be learned only from men connected with the machinery of public life. A student must, therefore, rely largely upon conversations which he can use but cannot cite as authorities, and the soundness of his conclusions must be measured less by his references in footnotes than by the judgment of the small portion of the public that knows at first-hand the things whereof he speaks. The precise effect of the various forces at work must be a matter of opinion on which well-informed people may differ, and the writer has drawn the picture as it appeared to him."

The two volumes are divided into major sections embracing comprehensive examinations of "The Central Government," "The Party System," "Local Government," "Education," "The Church," "The Empire," "The Courts of Law," and "Reflections"; and these are again sub-divided into sixty-seven chapters so classified as to give the reader a clear and intelligent grasp of the government in all its ramifications and its striking peculiarities. Thus, after a fine and concise discussion of the English Constitution in comparison with those of other constitutional gov-

ernments, Professor Lowell passes to a consideration of such subjects as "The Crown," "The Cabinet," "The Executive Departments," "The Treasury," "The Permanent Civil Service," "The House of Commons," "The Cabinet's Control of the Commons," "The Commons' Control of the Cabinet," "The Form and Contents of Statutes," "Private Bill Legislation," "The House of Lords," "The Cabinet and the House of Lords," "The Cabinet and the Country," "Party and Parliamentary System," "Party Organization in Parliament," "Non-Party Organizations Outside of Parliament," "The Rise and Fall of the Liberal and Conservative Caucuses," "The Functions of Party Organizations," "The Labor Party," "Candidates and Elections," "The Strength of Party Ties," "Political Oscillations," "The Existing Parties," "Areas of Local Government," "The Town Council," "The Powers and Resources of Boroughs," "London," "The London County Council," "Municipal Trading," "Public Elementary Education," "Secondary Education," "The Universities," "Education in Scotland," "Organization of the Church," "Revenues of the Church," "The Free Church Federation," "Component Parts of the Empire," "The Self-Governing Colonies," "The Crown Colonies," "India and the Protectorates," "Imperial Federation," "History of the Courts," "The Existing Courts," "The English Conception of Law," "Effects of the Conception of Law," "Aristocracy and Democracy," "Public, Private and Local Interests," "The Growth of Paternalism," and "Party and Class Legislation."

From this partial table of contents the reader will gain some idea of the comprehensive character of the volumes, while the discussions afford a clear presentation and explanation of the government in all its forms and aspects.

We think it is not too much to say that this is the most important historical work of the year. It will hold the place of a standard work by the side of that fine work on *The American Commonwealth*, by the distinguished British Liberal statesman, Hon. James Bryce.

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*The Romance of the Reaper.* By Herbert N. Casson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 184. Price, $1.00 net. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

THIS book contains the wonder-story of the transformation wrought by the reaper in the agricultural world. It is, as Mr. Casson points out, a fairy-like story, more wonderful than the tales of Aladdin. In the hands of the author, the story of the invention, the early struggles of the inventor, the great battles which followed, and finally the formation of a merger or trust, reads like a romance. It is written in the vivid dramatic style of the modern journalist. The author shows how before the invention of the reaper the world was always under the shadow of the grim specter of famine. One regrets, however, to notice at times what seems to us as a special plea for the trust and an attempt at justification, when no such attempt was called for by the demands of even-handed justice or historic verity, and the slurring over or ignoring of facts that are germane to the story of the progressive march of this trust. Especially do we regret to see this when we remember the splendid and effective work so fearlessly wrought in past years by Mr. Casson for the cause of justice for the people and against the spirit of injustice, avarice and mastership which is the dominating spirit of all the modern greed-crazed monopolies and trusts. If he had as industriously interviewed those who have bravely fought against the exactions, the methods and the acts of the trusts as he has to interview the trust magnates and their employés and handy-men, he might not have made a story so pleasing and profitable to the trusts or to the apologists for trusts in general, but he would, we think, have given us a book of far greater worth from both an economic and historic point of view. At times the vivid imagination of Mr. Casson seems to take possession of his mental machinery, and at such times glowing pictures are given that are well calculated to convey a very erroneous impression to the general or superficial reader who knows nothing of the real life, struggles and rewards of the vast majority of the American farmers. The following extracts will serve to illustrate what we have in mind

"Talk of the money-mad Trusts! They might have reason to be mad if they owned the farms, instead of their watered stock. When we remember that the American Farmer earns enough in seventeen days to buy out Standard Oil, and enough in fifty days to wipe Carnegie and the Steel Trust off the industrial map, the story of the trusts seems like 'the short and simple annals of the poor.'

"One American harvest would buy the

kingdom of Belgium, king and all. Two would buy Italy. Three would buy Austria-Hungary. And five, at a spot-cash price, would take Russia from the Czar.

"Talk of swollen fortunes! With the setting of every sun, the money-box of the American Farmer bulges with the weight of twenty-four new millions. Only the most athletic imagination can conceive of such a torrent of wealth.

"Place your finger on the pulse of your wrist and count the heart-beats: one—two—three—four. With every four of those quick throbs, day and night, a thousand dollars clatters into the gold-bin of the American Farmer."

How stupid we have all been, and how unwarranted in condemning the Standard-Oil king, the campaign-contributing, government-corrupting and law-defying railroads, the insatiable avarice of the harvester, elevator, coal and other trusts, and in wasting our sympathy on farmers whose crops have so frequently been so juggled with by the trusts in conspiracy with the railways, and through the extortionate charges of the latter, that the tillers of the soil have had little or nothing to show for their toilsome year's labor. Truly, it is time the farmer awoke, if our correspondent is correct. He should rub his sleepy eyes and appreciate the fact that he is the possessor of riches beyond the dreams of avarice; that luxury is his companion; that he is the real plutocrat of the nation; and perhaps when he realizes that his mythical money-boxes are literally bulging with wealth, he will gladly submit to the continued extortions of the insatiable avarice of the harvester, the beef, the machinery and the oil trust and other plunderers of the toilers, whose wealth, unlike his own, is so obviously in evidence excepting on the assessor's books. Perhaps, indeed, the opulent farmer will be moved to contribute something to Mr. Rockefeller and other trust magnates to equalize things, so that the oil king and his associates will not feel the pinch of poverty in the presence of the luxurious farming population.

The unfortunate thing about such rose-colored pictures as Mr. Casson draws is that they do not in any wise present the true conditions of the American farmer. The most that can be said is that they glimpse exceptions and are in no sense typical. Moreover, it must be remembered that when the handymen of the plutocracy and the army of corporation-controlled campaign spell-binders and "kept" editors indulge in their pipe-dreams for the purpose of anesthetizing the voters until after election, in order that the reign of the trusts and Wall-street high financiers may continue, they will draw from just such fairy-stories as the above in order to deceive that part of the population that does not know the facts. There is a very great difference between the selling price of an agricultural crop and the net return to the farmer after the railways have levied an extortionate charge to meet the payment of dividends on watered stock and princely salaries to favored officials, and after the trusts which control practically all of life's necessities have taken their toll for the enormous enrichment of a few score of unscrupulous, gold-crazed heads of government-corrupting corporations. The trusts buy low and sell high, and thus stand between the producer and the consumer. It is true that in certain localities the farmers have begun to unite in coöperative ways, building elevators and handling their grain and some other products in such a way as to escape some of the robbery from which they have long suffered, but such coöperation is too slight as yet to materially change the farmer's condition. It is valuable as a prophecy of what the farmer may do and may become, when he unites in coöperative societies so as to build the machinery needed by the coöperators to control the sale of their own products, which are now controlled by the great trusts, and when through his vote the people take over the great public-service corporations which have been the fountain-head of corruption and oppression and the mighty stronghold of Wall-street gambling and general business immorality. Then and then only will he become truly prosperous, independent and in a true sense a free man.

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*A Little Land and a Living.* By Bolton Hall. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 287. Price, $1.00. New York: The Arcadia Press, 150 Nassau Street.

THIS little work by Bolton Hall is a fitting companion to his excellent *Three Acres and Liberty* which appeared a year ago and was favorably noticed in THE ARENA at the time of its publication.

Mr. Hall is doing a work of greater importance than we of the present day can appreciate in turning the eyes and desires of the people

from the feverish, artificial, crowded, soul-destroying life of the city, to the country, with its pure air, its light, quiet and sanitary-promoting conditions. He is not only reawakening the land hunger in the heart of the people, but he is in a perfectly practical manner showing precisely how the poor man can become measurably independent on a little patch of land; or how, by wise and judicious action his wage may be supplemented by a considerable source of income from a small piece of land.

In New Zealand, where the railways are owned and operated by the government and where the government is conducted in the interests of the people instead of in the interests of small privileged classes and their political retainers, as is the case in America at the present time, the legislators promote in every way possible the settling up of the country by small land-holders, and in order to do this the railways carry the dwellers from a radius of forty miles of the cities, to and from their work, and their children to and from school, at a nominal price, about equivalent to our street-car fares. This affords to thousands upon thousands of poor men the opportunity to acquire homes and become independent, which will not be offered in America until the people overthrow the present domination of politics by public-service corporations and political bosses and reëstablish a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Then such wise and statesmanlike measures will be promptly put into practical operation. But even under present conditions, as Mr. Hall shows, much can be done by those who are wise enough to make the start and who are not afraid to lovingly labor. In his foreword the author observes:

"Those who are facing the problem of rearing a family on a weekly wage, with the purchasing power of the dollar decreasing, will find much in this book to encourage them to reach out for a better, saner living, through cultivating the little lands.

"Those who know most of farming believe that it is only a question of once learning what to do and how to do it, to draw many of the city workers to the outlying lands. This *A Little Land and a Living* aims to do; not to induce the unfamiliar to rush headlong into farming, but to encourage those who feel the pressure of city life to study how they may get away from the overcrowded city into nearby country, where the gardens may first be made an adjunct to the income and later, perhaps, prove the source of the income."

The work contains fifteen chapters. Some idea of its practical character and value may be gleaned from the following titles of some of the principal discussions: "Life, Not Merely Making a Living," "Buying a Garden," "Vacant-Lot Gardening," "Reasonable Prospects," "Record Yields," "Ways of Working," "Money and Time Required," "Growing Under Glass," "Animals for Profit," "Fruit Growing," "Horticulture," "Coöperation in Operation," and "The Profession of Farming."

We heartily recommend this work to all our readers who live on the land and to all those who dream of some time coming into intimate touch with the Great Mother. It is as fascinating as a romance. It is reasonable and practical, showing not only what has been and is being done, but precisely how one should proceed to increase his income or gain a free, independent, normal, wholesome life through cultivation of the land.

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*An Open Letter to Cardinal Gibbons.* By Paul Sabatier. Cloth. Pp. 88. Price, 60 cents net. Boston: Sherman, French & Company.

One of the most important religious controversial books of the year is a little volume by the distinguished French scholar, Paul Sabatier, reviewing the amazing and sweeping denunciation of the French government by Cardinal Gibbons. Seldom in modern times has recklessness or ignorance of facts with which the speaker pretended to be conversant been more pronounced than in the interview with which Cardinal Gibbons sought to sway the American mind and inflame religious prejudices against the government of France. Recklessness so bold and unblushing from any source would be a subject for profound regret, but coming from the highest authority in the Roman Catholic Church in America, it is little less than morally criminal, and it is well indeed that the scholarly, broad-minded and masterful Frenchman has replied in an authoritative manner to the calumny against his people and government.

At the outset it is interesting to note the intellectual and religious attitude of the author. These he gives in the following words:

"I began by loving the church without knowing too well why, perhaps the best way to

love. I love her as one loves his mother and country. Were I disposed to seek some of the reasons for this mysterious tie, one of the first would be, without doubt, the longing for the unity of the church. True, it has brought her to commit many blunders and many crimes; but the dream of oneness, of unity, summed up so well in the word *catholic*, does it not form the prophetic program of the society which we wish to develop and towards which, by various ways but with equal devotedness, the working and intellectual classes of the nineteenth century journeyed?

"To-day more than ever do I love her, in so much as now she is a prey to a formidable crisis."

The author then proceeds to point out the fact that there are two kinds of Catholics. He observes:

"There are two kinds of Catholics, the dead, materialistic, clerical Catholics—and the living Catholics.

"Why, if distinguishing these two large tendencies, should I not point them out? Why refuse our sympathy, our respect, our admiration for those Catholics of good will, more numerous than is supposed, who, thoroughly anxious to remain loyal children of the church, forget not that above the Pope stands the Credo; above the Credo, the Gospels and above the Gospels the Individual Conscience; that man is not made for the church, but the church for man. . . .

"But what must be thought of their opponents, those Catholics who cry out for liberty with so much violence at the very moment when, in order to down their brethren, they have recourse only to intimidations and pressure?"

In order that there might be no possibility that the prelate had been misquoted, M. Sabatier wrote to him for an authentic statement of his exact words. In reply the Cardinal sent a copy of the Baltimore *Sun* containing his utterance, and this, with the spirit of fairness that marks the entire volume, is reproduced in full. M. Sabatier also reprints the scare headlines that accompanied the article and the editorial condensation of the salient points in the interview. After reproducing the digest of the charges made by the Cardinal, the Frenchman replies to each in a brief paragraph before entering into the more elaborate examination of the Cardinal's entire utterance. As space prevents our giving as extended quotations from the latter part of the volume as we could wish, we reproduce the Baltimore *Sun's* editorial summary of the six charges made by Cardinal Gibbons, and M. Sabatier's six categorical replies. Our readers will thus obtain the gist both of the claims made (ignorantly, let us hope) by the American Cardinal, and the refutation in a nutshell by one of the most scholarly and eminent of the broadly and deeply religious Frenchmen. Here is the succinct summary of the points made by Cardinal Gibbons:

I. "I am weighing my words, and I say with deliberate conviction that the leaders of the present French government are actuated by nothing less than hatred of religion.

II. "Perhaps the feature of the situation that will surprise us most and call for our just indignation as Americans is the French government's absolute disregard for the property rights of the church. She has been despoiled of the salaries granted to the ministers of religion as a compensation for the funds which the church relinquished under that express condition.

III. "In addition, the law of separation entirely ignores the constitution and laws of the church, a situation which has no parallel in our American method of keeping church and state separate.

IV. "Should the church accept the present law she has before her the very likely prospect of gradual extinction by due process of law.

V. "If the separation of church and state in France meant just what it means in the United States there would have been no such hue and cry raised against it.

VI. "I have too much confidence in the French nation . . . to believe that it will not rise and reject the leaders who are seeking to destroy religion and bringing disgrace upon the name of France."

M. Sabatier's replies to the above statements are as follows:

I. "To prove hatred of religion, the Cardinal gives not one fact. He merely alleges words of MM. Briand, Jaurès and Viviani. The echo which the words of M. Viviani, cited by him, brought suffice to show how extraordinary they are.

"Those of M. Jaurès in their original form are unattackable orthodoxy and perhaps it would not be impossible to find similar expressions in St. Thomas. Last November (1906) a Roman prelate read at a social gathering a page of a speech, just delivered by

M. Jaurès, and drew tears of religious emotion from many of his hearers.

"As to the words which Cardinal Gibbons imputes to M. Briand, they were never uttered.

II. "This is a mistake. The ministers of worship drew salaries as state officials. There is not a single word in the Concordat that offers these salaries as a sort of compensation in return for the property confiscated at the Revolution.

III. "Another mistake. The law, being, as it should be, the same for all denominations, could not enter into the details of any particular organization. But M. Briand declared in the tribune of Parliament that section 4 implies, so far as Catholic worship is concerned, canonical communion of the priest with the bishop; of the bishop with the Pope.

IV. "How can this be accepted, when it is known that the great majority of the French episcopate petitioned the Pope to give a loyal trial to the new law?

V. "Let American Catholics who boast so highly of their separation read simply the Bull *Vehementer*. Therein they will see that separation is absolutely condemned. If, then, the Holy See supports it in America, it is a toleration entirely forced upon it and merely provisional. Pius X., who after having solemnly consulted the French episcopate, paid no heed to their answers, might also some day, when his thoughts shall wander beyond the ocean, take it into his head to force the same pure and healthy doctrine in America.

VI. "No, France will not rise against her government for the excellent reason that it is the expression of her own will. If she believes it is not perfect, still she judges it is perfectible and in her eyes that is the main point."

The author speaks as one who knows—a Frenchman in hearty sympathy with the Catholic religion but who has little sympathy with the meddling, autocratic, clerical bureaucracy or the Jesuits and Clericals who seek to rule the state and destroy public secular education and that wholesome freedom of religion which has been the glory of Protestant lands. In one place he observes, speaking of what he is going to give his readers:

"Facts—facts indeed easily verifiable—will be found herein. On every side it is evident that those who call upon the French government to stop the religious persecution have read neither the Concordat nor the text of the new law and only from afar followed events in France. But why hesitate, when a Cardinal sketches dramatically the abominable tyranny flourishing among us?

"Unhappily, the Archbishop of Baltimore himself seems to have been led rather by impressions than by a calm, serene study of the facts and the documents."

Again he observes:

"It is evident that at the very moment the Holy See condemned the law under the pretext that it would give to the laity a high hand over the church, its own stand was inspired by laymen like MM. Piou, Grosseau, Costa and others known only to France by their hatred for democratic ideas."

Seldom has a great religious scholar administered a rebuke more richly merited than the following:

"In your latest ringing interview, you no longer seem to body forth your sympathy with the church of France, but rather to stir up against French government and Parliament opinions in the United States. Now this is a serious fault on the part of a man filling so elevated a station and who adds to his declaration all the emphasis possible in saying: 'I weigh my words.' If the state of affairs in France is so harmful to Catholicism, is it not strange that you waited longer than a year before making this indignant protest? That you allowed so long a time to go by would be understood, if the law once at work had proven filled with pitfalls or had been carried out in a hateful, tyrannical spirit. Now, just the opposite is the case, and our government has not ceased from interpreting it in a straightforward, liberal way.

. . . . . .

"A plain Frenchman, who loves his small country, France, and our large country, the church, I feel myself forced to tell you how deplorable are your grave and solemn words, since they are calculated to create in those who depend solely upon them entirely wrong ideas about that which goes on among us at this moment."

We regret that it is impossible to give a more extended notice of this important work. It is a book that should be read by all those who would be fair to France and who have been misled by the gross misrepresentations and false statements scattered broadcast by men whose position gives their utterances an authority that would not attach to the words of obscure individuals. It is a volume that should be widely circulated.

*The Young Malefactor. A Study in Juvenile Delinquency.* By Thomas Travis, Ph. D. Introduction by Judge Ben. B. Lindsey. Cloth. Pp. 270. Price, $1.50 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

If anything more is needed to prove that criminals are, for the most part, the legitimate product of the conditions under which they are born and reared, the need is supplied in the volume under review. This is a thorough, scholarly, honest work. Its importance consists not only in what it teaches but also in that it shows us the limitations of our knowledge of one of the great vital questions of the hour. The causes of juvenile delinquency are not to be stated dogmatically. The study of these causes has just begun. It lies somewhere in will, heredity and environment, but since will and heredity are in the last analysis modified by environment, environment may for all practical purposes be considered the chief cause.

The cure is in the supply of proper food and in home *versus* institutional training. The child needs individual care and the mother-love. Proper food is the basis not only of physical but also of moral health. The problem is one too great for organized charity; it is the problem of the state.

In his introduction to this volume, Judge Lindsey of Denver makes this declaration: "Since at least ninety-five per cent. of children who are dealt with as delinquent are no different from the average child but are such because their environment is different, to deal with the subject of delinquency we must necessarily deal with a great many other subjects which pertain to the causes of delinquency." And Judge Lindsey further affirms that we must take cognizance of every social, economic, political and educational condition that concerns the state. The child is the state, and the state is the child.

The foregoing expresses in a nutshell the conclusions of the book. Not more than five or eight per cent. of juvenile delinquents are natural criminals. Children for the most part are born on a plane of moral and physical equality, but on the very day of birth, environment begins its work. The question of food, the supply and quality, becomes a great moral question. On its solution depends the future of millions of the human race. The poverty of the home, the ignorance of the parents, the character of the neighborhood, the force of habit, are factors which act and react on one another until it is almost impossible to discern between cause and effect, but that there is a cause and that it can be found and removed is the hopeful conclusion.

But while the problem is one for the state, the work is that of the individual and is to be done in the home, natural or foster. "Education and reform are spoiled by institutionalization and branding." The influence of a wholesome personality exerted in the atmosphere of a home is the proper form of treatment for the normal delinquent. The institution should be permanently employed for the very small percentage of natural criminals only.

The volume has many valuable statistical tables and gives many noteworthy incidents and illustrations.

Robert E. Bisbee.

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*Anarchism and Socialism.* By George Plechanoff. Translated by Eleanor M. Aveling. Introduction by Robert Rives LaMonte. Cloth. Pp. 148. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company.

The sun rises in the east—but who would expect that the crowning sun of modern intellectual activity, George Plechanoff, should also appear on that dark eastern spot of mankind's abode—Russia? However inconceivable it seems, nevertheless it is a fact, that the author of this work was born in the brutalized domain of the Czar, and there it was that this master mind developed to such gigantic proportions as to bewilder the rest of the thinking world and hasten its forward march along the highway of civilization.

In this work on *Anarchism and Socialism,* Plechanoff informs the reading public that in this age of social enlightenment and serious reasoning, Utopian hallucinations cannot mature; that knowledge and common sense revolt against it, and that economic evolution and sociological research are putting the ban on it in a most emphatic manner. Moreover, he silences once and forever the subservient mouthpieces of the opponents of socialism who are endeavoring to misrepresent it by mixing it up with Utopianism, anarchism and various other theories.

In the chapters comprising this volume, the author, after seriously reviewing the trend of thought, from the materialists of the eighteenth century to the modern socialists,

openly attacks not only the anarchomaniacs of the illegal type, but the "legal" ones as well—the *bourgeosie* itself, and in a logical manner exposes the fallacies of their philosophy.

Of the modern bourgeois society Plechanoff says:

"In this society, satiated and rotten to the marrow of its bones, where all faiths are long since dead, where all sincere opinions appear ridiculous . . . there are people who lend a willing ear to the song of the anarchist siren."

As to the anarchists themselves, he has the following to say:

"The anarchists are Utopians. Their point of view has nothing in common with that of modern scientific socialism. . . . The anarchists are the abstractors of quintessence, who can only fully draw forth some poor conclusions from certain mummified principles. They have nothing to do with social science, which, in its onward march has distanced them by at least half a century. Their 'profound thinkers,' their 'lofty theorists,' do not even succeed in making the two ends of their reasoning meet. They are the decadent Utopians, stricken with incurable intellectual anæmia. . . . And it is especially their so-called tactics that are harmful to the proletariat. . . . Thus, in the name of the revolution, the anarchists serve the cause of reaction; in the name of morality they approve the most inmoral acts; in the name of individual liberty they trample under foot all the rights of their fellows."

To strengthen the above contention and to show the contrast between anarchist Utopianism and socialist philosophy, Plechanoff quotes this brilliant assertion from Karl Marx's *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ekonomie:*

"In the social production of their lives, men enter upon certain definite, necessary relations, relations independent of their will, relations of production that correspond with definite degrees of development of their material production forces. The totality of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society, the true basis from which arises a juridical and political superstructure to which definite social forms of consciousness correspond. The mode of production of material life determines the social, political and intellectual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of mankind that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. In a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production of society come into contradiciton with the existing relations of production, or, which is only a juridical expression for the same thing, with the relations of property within which they had hitherto moved. From forms for the development of these forces of production, they are transformed into their fetters. We then enter upon an epoch of social revolution."

Plechanoff shows clearly that we are already in the midst of this revolution and that there is no escape from it. It is upon us and its velocity is increasing as the days roll by. Undoubtedly, things are moving fast enough and unceremoniously drag us along. As a socialist, he recognizes this fact. Does the anarchist recognize it? No, answers Plechanoff. The anarchist is a Utopian; his vision is not clear enough. Therefore he misconstrues the workings of the social forces and, worst of all, reacts on them.

Taken as a whole this volume is a masterpiece that surpasses every other work on these subjects. It contains the quintessence of the progressive thought of the past two centuries. It is an invaluable contribution to art and literature. It is a treatise that concerns not only the world of to-day but of the future as well. In a word, George Plechanoff's splendid work on *Anarchism and Socialism* must be read by every thinking man and woman who desires to know what we are, where we are, and whither we are drifting.

SAUL BEAUMONT.

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*Paths to the Heights.* By Sheldon Leavitt. Cloth. Pp. 266. Price, $1.00, net. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company.

ACCORDING to the publisher's statement, this book "is the amazing record of one physician's work, who boldly forsook drugs, and relied instead upon the tremendous inner forces of mind controlling body. His theory of life and articles of faith are evolved from practical experience, and differ radically from orthodox theology and medicine on the one side, and Christian Science on the other."

A challenge like this commands immediate interest. We read the book and find it

rational and instructive in many respects. To-day it is a matter of universal knowledge that the "tremendous inner forces of mind" have a mighty influence on the body. These forces should, of course, be utilized. They need authoritative calling forth and wise, loving direction. But why forsake drugs? They, too, are expressions of mind, of the Divine Mind in the last analysis. They have their place in coöperation with the human mind. It remains simply for man to learn their nature and use them wisely. To discard them utterly because they are sometimes abused is a confession of ignorance and weakness. The world will not be redeemed until we learn to prove all things and hold fast that which is good.

The author touches upon many very interesting themes, such as heredity and personality, sub-conscious thinking and phenomena, the three-fold nature, the value of faith, prenatal influence, qualities required in mental healing, the origin of disease, the power of suggestion and unrecognized telepathy. Of this last he says:

"Through the subliminal we come into intimate relationship with all cosmic activeities and are able to tap the common reservoir of knowledge at will. While this cannot be demonstrated, there is every reason to believe it true. This being admitted, it is fair to suppose that our springs of thought and action are supplied by knowledge and suggestion drawn from sundry widely-separated sources, and that to such supply we are indebted for what is looked upon as spontaneity. A further fair presumption is that sub-consciousness, being in so intimate relationship to all that the cosmos holds, is able on occasion to draw from any and every source whatever information it may deem desirable."

Startling as this theory seems it is nothing new. It has been suggested many times in the past ages and may be true, but has never yet been proved. It stands, then, to-day in the realm of speculation, speculation interesting, possibly innocent, but speculation still, and speculation is not a proper basis for a work that involves taking chances with human life.

Mental therapeutists are to have a great place in the life of the future, but they will advance more rapidly by hastening slowly and by keeping under their feet the solid ground of demonstration.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*The Hocus-Pocus Money-Book.* By Albert Griffin. Pp. 200. Mailed, by the author, for 25 cents—or five for $1.00. Topeka, Kansas.

THIS book is devoted to the consideration of the most vitally important phase of the Money Problem—which phase, strange to say, is the only one that has never been generally discussed—to wit: The use of absolutely fictitious capital *as money.* And, inseparable from this, is keeping the volume of *real* money ruinously small in order to compel people to use this mythical hocus-pocus money substitute.

As business cannot be transacted without money, there ought to be enough of it *always* available to enable *all* the people to freely exchange their services and products. Anything short of this automatically and necessarily discriminates against the many and in favor of the few.

Mr. Griffin holds that the only purpose of "money is its use as" *the* medium of exchange. And, further, that the "law of supply and demand," which applies to money as inexorably as to everything else, requires that everything that actually does the work of money—and does nothing else—shall be recognized and counted as "money."

The best possible money is that the exchange (not the commodity) value of which varies the least. As it is impossible to do business without money of some kind, even poor money is better than none; but the policy of the government should be to constantly increase the quantity of the best, until there is enough of it, and to decrease that of all poorer kinds until only the best remains.

Between eight and ten thousand million dollars of the money now in actual use in this country is made by bankers out of absolutely nothing—but, although it has no existence, it increases the profiits and power of the bankers who make it—and has exactly the same effect on prices, values and business that the creation or destruction of an equal amount of real money would have.

This book makes clear the fact that the managers of "banks of deposit"—who actually make billions of dollars of hocus-pocus money, literally out of nothing—really constitute *The Money Power;* that they and their allies are the organizers of all the trusts; that the periodic expansion of their so-called loans of hocus-pocus money is the cause of

every unhealthy business boom; and that its actual or relative contraction is the only cause of commercial panics and long periods of business depression—with all of the sickening calamities and misery that always results from them.

It ought to go without saying that any kind of *real* money, with the nation behind it, *must* be better than *unreal* money, for which only some local bank is responsible. Moreover, as the demand for money *never* decreases, but necessarily *always* increases as fast as population and productive power increases, the volume of money in circulation should *never* be "contracted"; and, as an "elastic" currency is one that is alternately expanded and contracted, it is ineradically vicious.

This book contains the most remarkable and luminous financial table ever constructed—giving the most important facts about the four branches of the deposit banking and hocus-pocus money-manufacturing system, for 1888, and each of the following fifteen years—separately and collectively. It would take pages to merely enumerate the eye-opening facts which this table makes clear. Moreover, on the back of it is a full explanation of how it was constructed, so that any person can analyze the official reports of any bank, and learn the amount of purely fictitious capital it uses as money—and for which it collects interest from the people.

At present, with each book is sent a twenty-four-page memorial to Congress, issued by the Real Money League, of Topeka, Kansas, which brings the most important figures of the table down to 1907, and shows that, at the time of the late panic, the banks of deposit, taken as a whole, had every dollar of their capital, surplus, undivided profits, and bank notes—and $910,000,000 of their depositors' money—invested in property in their own name; and yet, with that much less than nothing left, they reported their loans and discounts at $7,580,000,000.

The remedy proposed by the author is more *real* money, of some kind, and safer banking; that hereafter, *all* money shall be made by the National government and paid out by it (not "loaned") directly to the people, in quantities sufficient to make it easy for *all* to exchange their services and products; that, in connection with the issuing of more *real* money by the government, *all* banks of deposit shall be required to increase their reserves, from time to time, until they reach a minimum of at least twenty-five per cent.; and that this substitution of real money for unreal shall be continued so long as the results are found to be beneficient.

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*The Meaning of the Times and Other Speeches.* By Albert J. Beveridge. Cloth. Pp. 431. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS volume contains almost thirty speeches by Senator Beveridge, some of which are excellent, and others might well have been omitted. The spectacle of a United States Senator who has stood forth as a Christian, presumably under the compulsion of the moral idealism of the Great Nazarene, defending imperialism and eulogizing Senator Mark Hanna, the most odious of all the typical modern political bosses who in recent decades have become the accredited voice of the feudalism of privileged wealth, is anything but edifying. The work, moreover, is full of ingenious pleas for the corporation interests that are calculated to throw dust in the eyes of unthinking and undiscriminating readers who are prone to accept without question presentations when made by statesmen who pose as Christian gentlemen. There was a time when Senator Beveridge bade fair to be a noble and inspiring leader in the cause of just and democratic government—such a leader as Senator LaFollette has become; but the allurements of the feudalism of privileged wealth, which seduced and debauched the Republican party, proved too much for the ambitious young Indiana politician. Like Roosevelt, like Lodge and Taft, he became an opportunist politician. Many admirers of Mr. Beveridge were for some time at a loss to understand why he did not second the magnificent battle so long carried forward by Senator LaFollette against the great law-defying, politics-corrupting and people-oppressing railroad corporations. Some time later, however, a story went the rounds of the press, describing how Senator Beveridge, after eating in a restaurant, made the embarrassing discovery that he had no change with him. He explained the situation to the skeptical and unfeeling proprietor of the eating-house, who, however, remained a doubting Thomas and refused to let the statesman depart until he could pay his bill or prove his identity; whereupon Senator Beveridge fished out of his pockets a number of railroad passes. This proved satisfactory to the boniface, and the facts served to throw an

illuminating light on Senator Beveridge's blindness to the crimes of the great public-service law-defiers.

In some lines, as in child-labor, Senator Beveridge has done valiant and much-needed work and deserves all the credit that rightfully belongs to a public servant who does his duty in the presence of an evil. But he has proved himself preëminently an opportunist politician, ready to follow the party, which, in turn, hunts with the corporations, trusts and privileged interests.

A great and splendid opportunity was offered this young statesman—an opportunity to endear himself to the hearts of the people as Lincoln endeared himself and as Senator LaFollette is endearing himself, by resolutely fighting corrupt machines, unscrupulous bosses and the law-defying and corrupt corporations that are destroying the Republic. But he elected to join the forces of class and machine-rule, and his speeches show time and again the lack of the true ring of single-hearted statesmanship which places the ideals of the great Declaration, the principles of democracy and the rights of the people above all thought of self, party advantage or of corporate interests.

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*The Church of To-day.* By Joseph Henry Crooker. Boards. Pp. 177. Boston: The Pilgrim Press.

It is a significant fact that to-day, while there are comparatively few dogmatic theological works appearing, there are a surprisingly large number of virile books being published which deal with Christian life and work, treated in a manner that is well calculated to awaken the better side of man's life instead of arousing, as is inevitably the case in dogmatic or creedal discussions, prejudice and antagonism.

Among the very suggestive and helpful little religious works which have recently appeared is a volume from the pen of the well-known New England clergyman, Joseph Henry Crooker, entitled *The Church of To-day.* It is a plea for the church as a great living organism which by binding together the old and the young shall be able successfully to war against morally disintegrating influences at work on every side. The little volume contains eleven chapters in which are presented and discussed "The Problem," "Religion Grows, but the Church Declines," "Obstacles in the Way of the Church," "The Present Situation," "Religion as a Corporate Life," "What Creates the Church," "What the Church Contributes," "Illustrations of Value," "More Needed than Ever," "Sinners Inside and Saints Outside," and "Jesus and the Church."

Though the author is a liberal thinker, his work is quite conservative in tone. It is a strong, able and earnest plea for closer union of men and women for the carrying forward of the fundamental truths of religion and the elevation of society to a higher and nobler plane of existence.

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*Sermons Which Have Won Souls.* A Series of Stirring Evangelistic Sermons. By Louis Albert Banks, D.D. Containing also, "The Pastor as a Personal Soul-Winner." Large 12 mo., decorated cloth cover. Almost 500 pages. Price, $1.40 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

Josh Billings, I think it was, who said, "I never argue against a success." Whatever one may think of the methods employed by the Rev. Louis Albert Banks to gain audiences, to sell books, to hold the public attention, one thing seems certain, he is a success. While others criticize and fail, he does things. He gets to himself great opportunities and improves them. He writes a great many books and gets them read. He is industrious, versatile, irrepressible. The glory of his life is that he throws all his mighty energies into the battle for the right. If his sermons at times seem commonplace, they nevertheless, for the most part, ring true. At times he tends to cant and preaches in the language of tradition, but a certain amount of accommodation to one's hearers is necessary in order to be understood. If the sermons at times seem like patchwork the pieces are of good material. One is led to wonder where the author finds all his illustrations and beautiful quotations. As a reader he must be nearly omnivorous, and have a good system for conserving his resources. He exploits all literature and is at home in any company. He notes the beauty of the wayside flower as well as that of the rose in the garden of the gods.

And yet I wish it were possible for a man like Banks to get free from much that fetters him and others of his kind. I wish he might get out from under the bondage to cant and tradition and preach a gospel as free as the song of the birds. The very title, *Sermons Which Have Won Souls*, is open to question.

Won Souls to What? And how do we know when souls are won? The winning of souls is no mechanical process, nor can mathematical estimates be applied. To get men's minds open to the truth and to the obedience of good rather than evil suggestions is a glorious work, but to bind them in the shackles of tradition and make them feel that they must believe in certain fixed dogmas in order to be saved is, to say the least, of doubtful utility, and when carried too far, these methods lead to damnation rather than salvation. Banks may not do this. He certainly does not do it intentionally, but the title of the book smacks a little of that old conceit.

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*Sketches from Life in Town and Country, and Some Verses.* By Edward Carpenter. With portrait. Cloth. Pp. 274. Price, $1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THESE are simple, plain sketches of life as the author has seen it. Their power consists not in the style in which they are written so much as in their evident truthfulness. They are the simple annals of the poor, told without exaggeration, embellishment or high color. None of them are made to come out to suit, but things happen as they do in every-day life. They picture struggle, downfall, defeat, but seldom despair. In this respect they suggest the truth that "Hope springs eternal in the human breast."

The verses show no great poetic merit, but they are earnest and teach some good lessons. The one on "The Smith and the King" is worth quoting entire. If there is any better parable to represent the relation of the workingman to his rulers, I have missed it.

"A smith upon a summer's day
Did call upon a King:
The King exclaimed, 'The Queen 's away,
Can I do anything?'

"'I pray you can,' the Smith replied;
'I want a bit of bread.'
'Why?' cried the King. The fellow sighed.
'I 'm hungry, sire,' he said.

"'Dear me! I 'll call my Chancellor,
He understands such things;
Your claims I cannot cancel, or
Deem them fit themes for kings.'

"'Sir Chancellor, why here 's a wretch
Starving like rats or mice!'
The Chancellor replied, 'I 'll fetch
The first Lord in a trice.'

"The first Lord came, and by his look
You might have guessed he 'd shirk;
Said he, 'Your Majesty mistook,
This is the Chief Clerk's work.'

"The Chief Clerk said the case was bad,
But quite beyond his power,
Seeing it was the Steward had
The keys of cake and flour.

"The Steward wept: 'The keys I 've lost,'
Said he, 'but in a span
I 'll call the Smith. Why, Holy Ghost!
Here is the very man.'

"'Hurrah! Hurrah!' they loudly cried,
'How cleverly we 've done it!
We 've solved this question deep and wide,
Well nigh ere we begun it.'

"'Thanks!' said the Smith: 'O fools and vile:
Go moulder on the shelf!
The next time I am starving I 'll
Take care to help myself.'"

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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*Long Life and How to Attain It.* By Pearce Kintzing, M.D. Cloth. Pp. 286. Price, $1.00 net. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS is one of the many books demanded by this scientific age. In matters of health poor humanity has been the victim of countless quacks and charlatans. Any one with a theory of health or a patent remedy for disease has always been able to find countless dupes for his prey. In the name of faith-healing, real faith has been well nigh dethroned, and religion has been made the football of the godless pretender. The call for rescue is loud and long and compelling. The quacks are meeting their fate. Science is asserting itself and taking at last its rightful place as the handmaid of the church.

The work of Dr. Kintzing is a splendid contribution to the cause of intellectual freedom for the masses against pretenders of whatever name. The most of its teachings are already familiar to the intelligent, but the statement by the author that "the great mass of humanity still is almost as ignorant upon matters of right living as were the people in the days when medical practice meant incantations, exorcisms and occult mysteries," is perhaps true.

The book treats in a rational way of longevity, respiration, food, nutrition, fads, fancies, errors, the care of the body, man's enemies, disease-germ carriers, occupation and recreation, and the development of mind power.

The style is simple, the advice practical, the basis scientific. It is a book to be commended to all who desire real knowledge of health principles.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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*The Post-Girl.* By Edward C. Booth. Cloth. Pp. 499. Price, $1.50. New York: The Century Company.

IF YOU wish to enjoy a novel whose value lies in the wholesome entertainment of the reader, we unhesitatingly recommend *The Post-Girl* as altogether the most delightful and satisfying romance of the class we have read in years. It suggests the freshness and fragrance of awakening spring; the beauty and charm of summer in her glory. It will prove a magic key that will unlock many chambers in memory's halls that have long been closed and call forth charmed hours of youth, awakening cherished remembrances of golden hours of the long ago. The book will suggest Barrie's *Little Minister*, ut it is no sense an imitation.

It is an admirably told love-story, rich in delicate humor. The interest is sustained throughout, but save in a very few strong dramatic situations there is nothing feverish or unduly exciting. Rather, like Barrie's *Little Minister* or Henry Harland's *My Lady Paramount*, the charm, strong human interest and quaint humor lure the reader from page to page.

The story deals with a young and singularly lovable young woman who is the orphan child of refined and cultured parents. She is brought up by a humble townsman in a Yorkshire village, but becomes the special charge of the venerable vicar of the town. He recognizes the fact that she belongs in a much higher station than that in which fate has placed her, and teaches her music and various other accomplishments. The girl, Pamela by name, but dubbed Pam by the towns-people, is ambitious and apt, very industrious and ever ready to help others. She has received the position of post-girl at the time when the story opens.

Ullbrig, the town in which Pam dwells, is a short distance from Cliff Wrangham, a high, precipitous headland on the crest of which lives one Dixon, at whose home a young musician from London has taken up his quarters for the purpose of composing some music in retirement. When his piano and other articles of furniture arrive, great excitement prevails in the country round about, because few are the visitors of means in that district. Pam hears that the young musician plays every night, and steals up to the cliff one evening to listen to his melody. Here she is detected by the musician, and an acquaintance begins that ripens into friendship. This is carefully fostered by the vicar, who contrives to get the visitor to instruct his *protégée* in music. The young man, unhappily, however, is engaged to be married to a lady now sojourning in Switzerland. This does not prevent his drifting again into the sea of love. Before he is aware of the fact, he finds that Pam more than any one else has gained the throne of his affection. Yet he is in duty bound to wed the other; so he determines to leave and reveals his plan to the broken-hearted girl.

Among the many suitors of Pam is the schoolmaster, who rooms where she lives, a dark-eyed sinister figure with a rasping cough and a brain where slumber the smouldering embers of insanity. He determines that Pam shall be his, and as the story approaches its climax his overt act, culminating in a tragic deed, gives a melodramatic cast to the otherwise quaint and charming story.

The characters for the most part are admirably drawn. This is especially true of Pam and the hero, of Father Mostyn, the garrulous and somewhat artificial but good-hearted and benign vicar, and the doctor of the town, a canny Scotchman, whose voice is like a terrier's and to whom music appeals about as "meaningfully as a German band to a stray dog." Some of the conversations between the vicar and the old doctor are especially charming. Thus, for example, we have a glimpse of these men engaged in a religious controversy that will give the reader some idea of the author's method of treating his subject:

"He is a typical hardy Scotsman, all sinew and gristle, and raw about the neck, and thinks little—if indeed at all—concerning dress. For the most part, you will see him bicycling about the roads in meager knickerbockers that were trousers when he first came to Ullbrig, blue stockings and heavy-soled boots, with the tags sticking off them like spurs. In other respects, he is a reader of profane literature and avowed skeptic. Between him and his Reverence the Vicar is a standing feud of opinion, which finds vent in many an argumentative battle royal. At the end of one of these tremendous conflicts, that would almost be hand-to-hand at times but for the pacific

whisky-bottle between them, the doctor rises to his feet, buttons his coat-collar as a preliminary to departure, and cries vehemently:

"'Hey, mon, but there's na driving sense nor reason into ye. Hand over the whisky, and I 'll be gone. Ye 're as stubborn as Balaam's donkey.'

"'Ha! with the same authority, dear brother,' his Reverence answers blandly.

"'And what authority will that be, pray?' asks the doctor, bending the stiff neck of the whisky-bottle towards his tumbler, as though it were his Reverence he had hold of.

"'Divine authority, dear brother,' says Father Mostyn. 'Divine authority.'

"'Divine authority,' says the doctor. '. . . Wi' yer meeracles. Mon, hae ye ever hairrd a donkey speak?'

"'Ha! frequently, frequently,' murmurs his Reverence, focussing a distant point of space through his eyelashes, and waltzing softly, without animus, to and fro in his foot radius.

"'Ah 'm no speakin' pairsonally, ye understand,' the doctor says, with a tinge of remonstrance for levity, 'but it will hae been in the pulpit ye hae hairrd it. Mon, hae ye never read Hume on the Meeracles? Are ye no conversant wi' your Gibbon? D' ye pretend to tell me ye are ignorant o' such men as Reenan and Strauss, and Bauerr and Darrwin, and Thomas Huxley?'

"'Estimable people, no doubt, Friend Anderson,' the Vicar tells him imperturbably. '. . . Estimable people.'

"'Ah doot ye 've read a word of them,' the doctor pronounces bluntly.

"'So much the better for me, dear brother. So much the better for me.'

"'Mon,' says the doctor, exasperated by this equanimous piety that all his own exasperation cannot exasperate. '. . . Ye 're a peetifu' creature, an' ah feel shame tae be drinkin' the whisky o' such as you. Ye go inta chairrch and fill a lot o' puir eegnorant people wi' mair ignorance than they had without ye, teachin' them your fairy tales about apples and sairrpints, and women bein' made oot o' man's ribs (did one ever hearr the like!). Let's awa' an' mind dinna tek inta yer heid ta fall sick this week, or it 'll go harrd wi' ye if ah 'm called.'

"'Ha! We can die but once, Brother Anderson,' the priest tells him cheerfully. 'Even all the science and medical skill in the world can 't kill us more than that.'

"And so the moments of these four pass, and the harvest hour approaches, inwardly and outwardly, until at last . . . one day . . ."

The story, we are confident, will prove one of the most popular novels of recent years, a book whose popularity will far outlive the present season.

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*Beau Brummel.* A Play in Four Acts. By Clyde Fitch. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 142. New York: John Lane Company.

MANY of the thousands of persons who retain the memory of a delightful evening spent in witnessing Richard Mansfield's superb interpretation of Beau Brummel in this play, which was written expressly for the actor by Clyde Fitch, will wish to possess this beautiful edition of the play.

The frontispiece is a fine portrait of Mr. Mansfield in sepia, and there are several full-page illustrations of the actor and his leading lady.

The story of Beau Brummel as Mr. Fitch renders it is bright, entertaining and strong in human interest. It also satirizes certain phases of butterfly fashionable life in a highly suggestive manner.

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*Diana of Dobson's.* By Cecily Hamilton. Cloth. Pp. 362. Price, $1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THOUGH as literature this novel cannot be said to rank high, it is incomparably better than the general popular novel that appeals to the summer reader. It is a bright, interesting and rather unique love story, but it possesses a merit far beyond this. It presents a study of human life in the two worlds: the world of workers, and that of the parasites who are able to idle away their lives by virtue of unearned increment and dividends earned by the labor of others; and the study is made very convincing by reason of its sharp and realistic contrasts and the original and graphic way in which the leading characters live the life of the two worlds before the reader's eyes.

The heroine is a poor but brave-hearted shop or sales-girl in a great dry-goods emporium in one of the cheaper districts of London. She receives five shillings a week and board in a dormitory furnished by the concern for the help. There are numerous fines imposed on the army of struggling human machines, so that the $1.25 a week is considerably reduced

by pay-day. This pittance, the hard conditions imposed and the knowledge that the proprietors are becoming rich out of the blood of their virtual slaves, embitter the heart of Diana Massingberd, for her early life had been free and happy, she having been the daughter of a doctor and enjoying early advantages of education and environment favorable to normal growth. The cruelty, bitterness and degradation, and the ever downward pressure of the shop foster naturally enough a spirit of rebellion in the high-minded girl. A very graphic picture of the life-destroying conditions of the shop-girls of London is presented. At length a distant relative of Diana's dies without a will, and she comes into $1,500. She determines that instead of investing this amount of money, she will spend one month in living instead of existing, feeling, knowing and enjoying life as the care-free who have ample means are enjoying it. She accordingly goes to Paris, clothes herself after the manner of a modern woman of means, and assumes the *rôle* of a widow in order that she may be more free to go unchaperoned. She then fares forth to Switzerland and puts up at a fashionable hotel. Here she meets a young Englishman, the fourth son of a hereditary noble, but the young man possesses only £600 as a settled income. The youth has been in the Welsh Guards, but has lost his position on account of not having sufficient funds to meet his rather extravagant tastes. The aunt who is accompanying him infers from things she hears, that Diana possesses an income of £3,600 a year, and forthwith schemes to make a match between her nephew and the young woman. The youth falls deeply in love with the shop-girl, imagining her to be a woman of social position and wealth. Then comes a rude awakining, in which Diana reveals the true situation. A quarrel ensues in which the young woman replies to her lover's denunciation of her as an adventuress by declaring that he is nothing more nor less than a parasite living on the industry of those whom he looks down upon; and she declares that she has struggled and made an honest living for six years, but he could not battle in the world without the aid and support of friends, for six months. She tells him that he is helpless and incompetent while holding in contempt the workers who make the nation's wealth. Diana then leaves Switzerland and reaches London practically penniless. She again takes up her quest for a position and secures one, but shortly after is taken very ill and consequently loses her place.

The girl's direct and positive charge has served to awaken the young man. He does not believe that he is the helpless individual she thinks. He believes that he could make his own living with comparative ease, free from the help of any one, and he applies to friends for consolation, but they tell him that he would be helpless if he attempted to make a living for himself, unless by the powerful aid of his strong and influential friends. He determines to prove Diana's charge untrue and makes up his mind to battle single-handed and alone in making a living for six months. The last chapters of the story picture the young man after three months' struggle. His new suit of coarse clothes which he had bought when he left the social world is in rags. His shoes are full of holes. He has no money with which to secure a cheap lodging and is spending the night on the Thames embankment with the army of derelicts that form one of the most tragic and pathetic spectacles in London life. It is here that he meets Diana, who like himself has been reduced to extreme poverty, owing to her long illness, and not having any money for food or lodging takes refuge on a seat near the hero. A reconciliation takes place and the story ends happily.

During its perusal the reader, if he be blessed with brains and heart, will have received many truths that cannot fail to awaken fruitful trains of thought.

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*The Circular Staircase.* By Mary Roberts Rinehart. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 362. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

With the possible exception of *The House of a Thousand Candles*, this is by far the best mystery or detective story of recent years. It is ingenious in plot and skilful in execution. From beginning to end we have a succession of dramatic, oftentimes exciting and frequently tragic happenings. While as in almost all mystery stories, the element of improbability is present, and while as literature it is not a romance to command attention, as a mystery tale in which the action is swift and interest kept keyed to a high pitch, and in which the human and love interest also is quite prominent, *The Circular Staircase* will appeal to the

general present-day novel-reader intent on interest and amusement.

The story is concerned with the extraordinary series of events, embracing not a few tragedies, that follow the renting of a magnificent country estate by a woman of means who has yielded to the importunities of her two foster children: a young man named Halsey, and his sister Gertrude. The young people have completed their collegiate education. Both are in love with characters that are involved in the plots and counter-plots of the story. The suspicion that falls on the girl's lover and the equivocal position of Louise Armstrong, the one-time *fiancée* of Halsey, add materially to the interest of the romance, which is so cleverly told as to baffle the general reader who imagines from time to time that he has found the true clue, until the closing scenes, when the mystery is cleared up and with it the gloom and bitter anxiety that have filled the hearts of the lovers.

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*The Right-Motive Club.* By Eugenie Paul Jefferson. Printed on deckle-edged paper, in red and black. With frontispiece. Cloth. Pp. 76. Price, $1.00. Washington, D. C.: The Washington Book and Art Shop.

No FACT is more universally admitted in regard to youth than that the early years are momentous and life-shaping, for then the mind is plastic and quickly yields to the impressions made upon it. Children, like the poets, are imaginative. Their brains are active, and the stories they read, the pictures they see, the lives that are lived about them, make an indelible impress. Frequently they largely determine the future bent of their lives.

It is amazing that this fact, so generally admitted, has been so long systematically ignored by parents and educators in the bringing up of children. The story-books for the young, for example, have been largely made up of meaningless jingles about impossible phantasies. Chaff, when not tares, has been given the young, when of all times pure wheat was demanded.

Happily, in recent years a marked change has been noticeable in juvenile literature, especially in books intended for children of from fourteen to sixteen years of age. Stories like *Little Lord Fauntleroy, Sarah Crewe, Editha's Burglar* and other tales that have impressed noble ethics and the spirit of kindness and helpfulness have found great public favor. Still more recently, books for still younger readers have appeared, instinct with moral idealism and the spirit of helpfulness.

The latest addition to this last class is entitled *The Right-Motive Club* and is from the pen of Eugenie Paul Jefferson, the wife of the well-known actor, Thomas Jefferson, upon whose shoulders the mantle of his illustrious father, the incomparable Rip Van Winkle, has fallen. Mrs. Jefferson is a graceful and pleasing author. She has written a most charming volume of recollections of her father-in-law which will shortly be published, and, judging from the chapters it has been our privilege to read, this work will prove a very popular volume and a real addition to the literature dealing with the home lives of America's greatest actors.

In the present volume Mrs. Jefferson deals with child life in such a way as to make a thoroughly interesting volume for the little ones, while it cannot fail to fill their minds with high and beautiful thoughts and ideals, leading them to strive in a practical manner to help themselves by helping others.

The volume contains seven chapters. The first deals with the motive of the club; the second with an unique entertainment given by it; the third is concerned with a birthday; the fourth with a club business meeting; the fifth with a garden party; the sixth with a picnic down the Potomac; and the seventh deals with Mt. Vernon.

With a resolute determination on the part of the members to be happy by making others happy and by seeking to mutually develop the best side of their natures, the little club opens auspiciously. The mothers lend substantial aid. Each chapter is a little story in itself, yet all are closely connected and from time to time the children give unique and pleasing entertainments, the financial returns from which are spent in relieving the need and bring pleasure to the mothers and poor children in the settlement.

The book is rich in interesting information that will educate the minds of the very young while their moral natures are being cultivated and their interest sustained. This indirect method of leading the child into the paths of knowledge and goodness is the most effective. The little volume is one that we take pleasure in recommending to our readers who have young children.

*How to Dress a Doll.* By Mary H. Morgan. Illustrated. Boards. Pp. 95. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS unique and practical little volume is from the pen of an experienced teacher of sewing. By its aid any little girl who can use a needle can dress her doll and in carrying out her wishes in this respect she will be receiving valuable training in sewing that will be of real use later in life. The book is so written as to make the subject not only plain but interesting to the child. It is profusely illustrated with explanatory drawings and designs and is a little volume that merits wide sale. We take pleasure in recommending it to mothers who have little girls.

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# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

*A "SQUARE DEAL" FOR THE RAILROADS:* Excepting Professor PARSONS, the friends of popular government have no more authoritative writer of railway problems than Mr. CARL VROOMAN, formerly regent of the Kansas Agricultural College. For several years Mr. VROOMAN has made the railways the subject of painstaking and exhaustive study. He has spent some years in Europe, for the special purpose of making himself a thorough master of the subject of European railway management, while his studies in this country have been equally exhaustive. His one dominating motive has been to become thoroughly acquainted with all the facts involved in the problem, in order that he might deal with the situation authoritatively and in a manner worthy of a statesman or economic writer who seeks to be just to all while keeping in mind the vital fact that the interests of the people must be the paramount object in any just and truly statesmanlike program. While, with us believing in governmental ownership of public utilities, Mr. VROOMAN is, however, quite content to have regulation tried, provided it is genuine regulation and provided the just rights of all parties are conserved. His masterly paper in this issue of THE ARENA is one of the ablest, fairest and most statesmanlike discussions of the question that has yet appeared. Personally we have little faith in railroad regulation. We believe it will only lead to more extended and hopeless corruption of government. The railways are so rich a prize that private corporations that control them will at any cost sooner or later own the officials who are to do the regulating. And personally we do not think there is any grave danger of the Messrs. MORGAN, HARRIMAN, GOULD and HILL becoming the victims of cruel injustice on the part of the government. But the principles laid down by Mr. VROOMAN and the ethics that pervade his article are sound and will command the serious attention of thinking men and women.

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ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR., on *Lincoln's Ideal Carried Out in Oregon:* This month we publish a paper of special interest to thinking, patriotic citizens. It has been prepared for THE ARENA by one of the ablest young publicists of New England. Mr. PAINE is a worthy descendant of his ancestor who signed the Declaration of Independence. He is a fundamental Democrat, although a member of the Republican party, and in this paper all friends of pure and popular government will find a discussion richly worth careful perusal.

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*Democracy and Religion:* It affords us great pleasure to present to the readers of THE ARENA this month an essay prepared expressly for this magazine by the distinguished author of *An Interpretation of Life,* in our judgment the most important philosophical discussion of the problem of man in his relation to Deity that has appeared since the publication of KANT'S *Critique of Reason.* Mr. MARS' paper is timely and so deeply thoughtful that it will attract the attention of serious-minded men and women who are interested in the graver questions of life.

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*The Harvest: A Brief Inquiry into the Conditions of Crime in the United States:* This is one of the most striking, authoritative and important magazine articles of the year. The author is a graduate of Harvard University, holding the degree of Master of Arts from that institution. He has made an exhaustive study of the question from authoritative sources and his graphic summary of the results of his investigations, as here presented, is as startling as it is disquieting. The paper naturally falls into three divisions: The first deals with the alarming facts as shown by census and other reliable data, together with pertinent observations by leading authorities. The second is a careful examination of the master causes of crime and its rapid spread throughout the United States; while the third contains the author's mature conviction as to the true remedy to meet the overshadowing evil by intelligently meeting the principal causes of criminality.

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*The Meaning of Skepticism:* Thoughtful readers interested in the vital discussion of religious thought will take great pleasure in the perusal of the Rev.

WILLIAM MITCHELL'S scholarly paper entitled *The Meaning of Skepticism.* The author is a Harvard man and also a graduate of the Cambridge Theological Seminary. He is a well-known Episcopal clergyman, a deep thinker, whose intellectual training has broadened rather than narrowed his thought. This paper is one of a series of contributions dealing with vital religious thought which will make THE ARENA indispensable to thinking men and women.

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*The Promised Shipping Policies of the Republican and Democratic Parties:* This issue contains a paper that should appeal to all thinking Americans, on our merchant marine. It is from the pen of WILLIAM WALLACE BATES, the author of *American Navigation, The American Marine,* and various other leading works on American shipping. Captain BATES was formerly editor of *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Journal* and is recognized as one of the master authorities on American shipping.

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*Why Mr. Taft Should be Defeated:* Rev. ROBERT E. BISBEE, A. M., contributes a valuable paper to this issue showing some of the many valid reasons why Mr. TAFT should be defeated. The fact that the Republican candidate is the outspoken enemy of Direct-Legislation, the only practical method for destroying class-rule of privileged interests which through corrupt political bosses and the money-controlled machine has practically destroyed Republican government in many cities and states, while exerting a baleful effect on the national government, is in itself sufficient reason why every friend of Direct-Legislation from the Atlantic to the Pacific should work for his defeat, especially since all the other candidates for the Presidency are friends of Direct-Legislation. The further fact that Mr. TAFT is the one candidate that has the support of all the great Wall-Street high financiers and public-service corporations and trust magnates who represent the feudalism of privileged wealth, is ample reason why every person who is tired of paying trust extortionate prices for the commodities and necessities of life and who is weary of the systematic defeat of popular interests by the misrepresentatives of the people who serve protected and privileged interests, should vote and work to defeat the man whom J. PIERPONT MORGAN and the "interests" so eagerly desire to see elected President.

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*A Socialist on the Aspects of the Presidential Campaign:* Mr. ALLAN L. BENSON is one of the well-known journalists and magazine writers of the day. He has long been a pronounced advocate of progressive Democratic measures. He has also written some extremely thoughtful works on Socialism. In the paper which we publish this month he argues for the Socialist candidate. Personally we differ from Mr. BENSON'S views as to the duty of voters at the coming election. We believe that we are at the parting of the ways. The supreme question is: Shall the people rule? Mr. TAFT is the outspoken enemy of Direct-Legislation. He represents the forces making for bureaucracy and the rule of corporations and privileged interests through the bosses and money-controlled machines. Mr. BRYAN and the Denver platform have made popular rule the overshadowing issue of the hour. Either Mr. TAFT or Mr. BRYAN will be elected President. We believe that the election of Mr. BRYAN would render it possible to advance peacefully along fundamentally democratic lines toward a larger measure of social justice than any nation has yet enjoyed. With the election of Mr. TAFT, the high financiers and corporation influences will be supreme masters in government, and the President will be a reactionary, the enemy of peaceable, practical, constitutional methods for preserving popular rule, and he will have the appointment of Supreme Court judges whose duty it will be to pass on the constitutionality of Direct-Legislation. Believing as we do in peaceful progress through evolutionary measures rather than the doubtful issue of a forcible revolution, we believe it the duty of voters to vote for the only candidate that has any chance of election, who represents popular sovereignty.

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*The March of Temperance:* This is one paper in a series of contributions dealing with various phases of the temperance question and with news of the movement which will be a feature of this magazine during several months to come. In *The March of Temperance,* PERE G. WALLMO, Clerk of the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic of the last Congress, contributes a graphic and informing paper on the temperance legislation and attempted legislation of the past session.

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*Single Tax in Instalments:* Our valued contributor, Mr. WILLIAM THUM, whose papers on Public-Works High Schools have attracted such widespread and merited attention, contributes a brief but important paper to this issue, dealing with taxation, in which it is proposed to introduce the Single Tax in a gradual manner, so as to avoid any sudden and violent changes that would work injustice to a large portion of the people. More than half a century ago Professor JOSEPH RODES BUCHANAN, a pioneer thinker and educator, published in a journal he edited in Cincinnati, an article on "Land Nationalization" in which he foreshadowed the theory of the Single Tax later luminously presented by Henry George. This paper we republished in THE ARENA in the early nineties. In it Professor BUCHANAN, while arguing for land nationalization, urged that it should not be introduced suddenly, so as to work hardship or injustice to land-owners, but rather that a generation should be given to the full nationalization of the land. Mr. THUM'S proposition is for the change to be wrought in two instead of three decades.

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*The Ideal Government of the Capital of Vermont Under Direct-Legislation:* The brief paper in this issue by C. A. G. JACKSON, dealing with the municipal government of Montpelier, is worthy of special notice, affording another vital illustration of efficient civic administration enjoyed by the citizens of the capital of Vermont through direct government. Wherever the people have awakened to the fact that their government is drifting from them into the hands of professional politicians who are the tools and handy-men of special interests, and have intelli-

gently set about to rescue their cities from the rule of grafters, corruptionists and spoilers by restoring to the sovereign people their legitimate power, splendid results have followed not only in small towns and villages but in wealthy towns like Brookline, Massachusetts, with about twenty-five thousand inhabitants, and cities like Montpelier, the capital of Vermont; also in states like Oregon and Oklahoma, and in commonwealths like the Republic of Switzerland. In each and every instance the reversion of the government to the people has been followed by efficiency, economy, wisdom and good government, and a wonderful reawakening of civic interest on the part of the people. In proportion as the people are alienated or removed from direct participation in or management of their affairs, corruption, extravagance, graft and civic degradation ensue. The greatest issue before the American people to-day is, Shall the people rule? Shall efficient measures like the initiative, referendum and right of recall take the place of government by corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines operating in the interests of special classes and oppressive monopolies?

SAINT NIHAL SING'S important contributions to leading Indian reviews: We have received at our office the July issues of *The Modern Review*, edited by RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE and published at Calcutta, and *The Hindustan Review*, edited by SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA. These are two of the four great reviews of India, and we were interested to note that each of these magazines contained among their leading contents articles by our valued contributor, SAINT NIHAL SING. To *The Modern Review* Mr. SING contributes a highly interesting illustrated paper entitled "A Negro Educator's Unique Ideals and Successful Methods," being a graphic pen-picture of the great work acomplished by BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. In *The Hindustan Review* Mr. SING discusses "The Negro in America" in a luminous manner. Our readers will call to mind that in the July ARENA Mr. SING discussed the great work of General ARMSTRONG in establishing the Hampton Institute, and the fruit of that work. It is a notable thing for one author to have contributions appear in the same month in three leading reviews of two continents.

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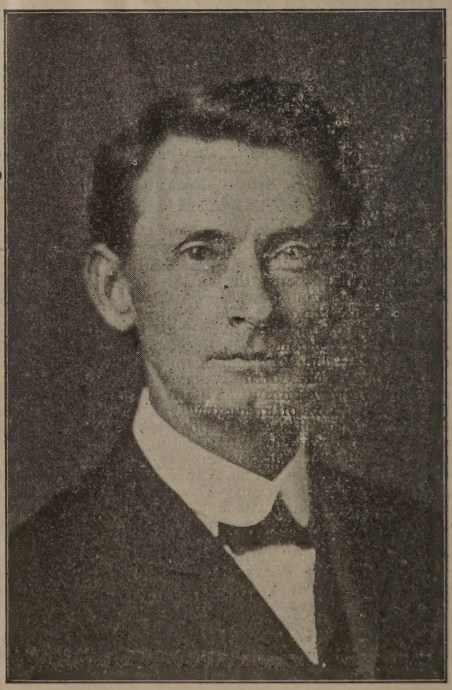

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# The December "ARENA"

THE ARENA for December will close Volume Forty of this review. It is the intention of the management to make this issue one of very special interest to friends of individual development and social progress. Among the many strong and attractive features which we hope to publish we mention the following:

I. "THE DEVIL": A POWERFUL DRAMA OF MENTAL SUGGESTION. *By Ryan Walker.* Illustrated with an original cartoon portrait of Mr. Edwin Stevens; also several fine half-tone reproductions of scenes from the play.

THE ARENA proposes during the next year to present a number of papers giving outlines of the really great plays and critical studies of the important features of each. These papers will be beautifully illustrated. Only plays which are richly worth the while will be noticed. The series opens in the December number with Ryan Walker's descriptive study of "The Devil." It will be followed by an extended study of "The Servant in the House" by the Editor of THE ARENA, which will also be handsomely illustrated.

II. OUR RAILROAD RIDDLE. *By Carl S. Vrooman,* formerly Regent of the Kansas State Agricultural College.

Mr. Vrooman's paper entitled "A 'Square Deal' for the Railroads," which was a feature of the October ARENA, was one of the strongest magazine articles on the railroad problem that has appeared in recent years. In the December issue we shall publish a companion paper entitled "Our Railroad Riddle," in which the present railroad problem, the demands of the service and the rights of the people are extendedly examined in a remarkably judicial manner by a thinker who since the death of Professor Parsons is unquestionably the ablest authority on the railroads of the world among the friends of popular government and fundamental democracy.

III. THE PASSING OF THE WIDOW IN HINDOSTAN. *By Saint Nihal Sing,* Author of *Messages of Uplift for India.*

In this paper the brilliant East Indian essayist describes the important movement that has been successfully inaugurated for giving to the widows of India a new life rich in meaning, development and the happiness that comes with useful service.

# The December "ARENA"

## IV. Why Race Suicide with Advancing Civilization? *By Solomon Schindler*, Rabbi Emeritus of the Congregation Adath Israel, of Boston.

Old readers of The Arena will welcome again to its pages the deep philosophical thinker, Rabbi Solomon Schindler, whose contributions were so strong a feature of the early volumes of this magazine. In the December number this thoughtful Rabbi propounds a question of deep moment and which doubtless will elicit many and varying replies. He shows how as civilization begins to care for her children and throw around them various means for development and happiness, the birth-rate immediately begins to decline.

## V. A Revised Version of Venice. *By Julia Scott Vrooman.* Illustrated.

This paper, which is beautifully illustrated, is a charming story of golden hours spent in Venice, by one whose eyes had been so opened that she appreciated its priceless treasures, and whose ears were so attuned that she was able to hear its message to the children of to-day. The paper is as fascinating as it is informing.

## VI. The Campaign for Direct-Legislation in Maine and Its Victorious Outcome. *By Kingsbury B. Piper*, Secretary of the Referendum League of Maine.

The Arena for September contained an authoritative history by George H. Shibley of the results of Direct-Legislation in Oregon since the voters embedded the Initiative and Referendum amendment in their constitution. The October issue contained a masterly analysis of the results of the memorable election of last June in the state of Oregon, by the Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., showing how the various objections to Direct-Legislation have been completely disproved by the practical workings of this most important measure for preserving popular government. This issue contains a most interesting and valuable paper on the practical workings of the Initiative and Referendum in the Republic of Switzerland, prepared by the Hon. Carl S. Vrooman. The December Arena will contain another notable paper in The Arena's series of contributions by leading specialists on Direct-Legislation in the New World. This has been prepared expressly for The Arena by Kingsbury B. Piper, secretary of the Referendum League of Maine. It is an authoritative history of the entire Direct-Legislation campaign in Maine, from its inception to its victorious outcome in September, when the cause of the people triumphed in spite of the political bosses, the lobbies and other corporation handymen, and the aggressive and strenuous efforts of United States Senators Lodge of Massachusetts and Hale of Maine. Mr. Piper has been a master spirit in the battle for the people for many years, and but for his persistence, energy, foresight and true statesmanship, the measure unquestionably would have suffered defeat through the well-laid plans of the enemies of the people. This paper should be perused and preserved by every friend of free institutions in the Republic who appreciates the fact that the great conflict from now on will be between popular rule and privileged interests.

# The December "ARENA"

VII. *Russia's Message.* An extended and critical paper devoted to the consideration of Mr. William English Walling's great book of the above title, *by Clarence S. Darrow.*

One of the most notable books of the present season has been Mr. William English Walling's critical study of Russian conditions and his philosophical observations in regard to the same, embodying the message of Russia; and in Mr. Darrow's paper our readers will enjoy a contribution at once interesting, vital and timely. It will be splendidly illustrated, not the least among the interesting pictorial features being a large full-page portrait of Count Tolstoi, taken expressly for Mr. Walling a few months since when the author visited the great prophet of Russia.

VIII. A Day in a Twentieth-Century Orphan Home. *By the Editor of* The Arena.

In an interesting descriptive paper Mr. Flower will describe the Leopold Morse Home in a suburb of Boston, in which twentieth-century ideals have a large place, under the personal direction of the distinguished Jewish scholar, Solomon Schindler. It is a paper that will prove inspiring and rich in helpful suggestions for the growing army of thoughtful Americans interested in bettering the condition of unfortunate children.

IX. *Socialists at Work.* An extended Book-Study of Robert Hunter's notable volume. *By the Editor of* The Arena.

In this comprehensive review of *Socialists at Work* Mr. Flower gives a lucid picture of the wonderful onward march of Socialism in various leading European nations, as described at length by Mr. Robert Hunter who personally attended the great Socialist Congresses and gatherings in Germany, Italy, France and elsewhere, and who made a painstaking study of the movement in its varying phases as found throughout Western Europe. Socialism differs from all other great political movements of to-day in that it is international in character, and its phenomenal growth has been as marked in reactionary Germany and monarchal Italy as in republican France and America.

X. American Journalism. *By William Salisbury,* Author of *The Career of a Journalist.*

A strong paper in which Mr. Salisbury, after many years of active life as a journalist, gives a vivid and realistic picture of American journalism as it exists to-day, and shows the secret springs that poison the press, often turning what should be the argus-eyed watch-dogs of popular interests into betrayers of the people for the secret enrichment of the interested money-lords who own or control the paper.

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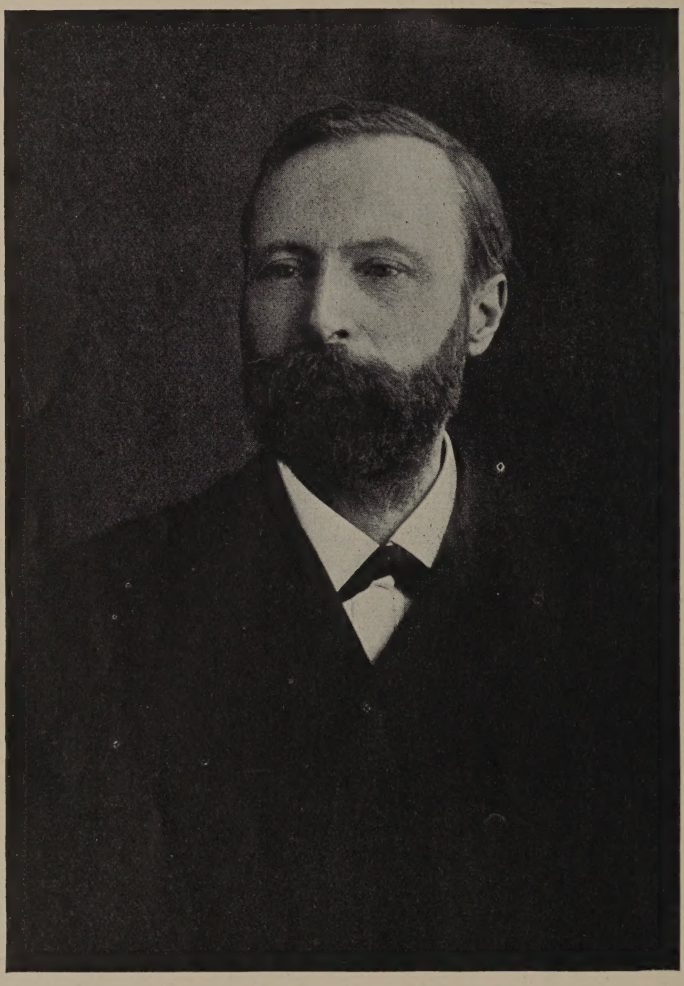

THE LATE PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*—HEINE.

# The Arena

VOL. 40 NOVEMBER, 1908 No. 227

## THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCHES.

BY REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

I SUPPOSE that if any one were to attempt to lay a portion of the responsibility for the ills, from which American society is to-day suffering, upon the Christian church, he would at once be denounced as a rabid hater of religion, of the order of Voltaire and Ingersoll. And yet, in spite of the certainty of this denunciation, it is just this indictment of responsibility which I, as a Christian minister, would bring in all seriousness against organized Christianity.

We are living to-day in an age of social sin—an age which violates in its social laws, social habits and social adjustments every moral and spiritual precept of the religion of Jesus Christ. Great evils are all abroad—evils old, no doubt—evils which have been regnant, without question, ever since men first came together in social relationships—evils no worse to-day probably than yesterday, but evils, nevertheless, which are a disgrace and scandal in a society which calls itself Christian and which has pretended to follow the leadership of Jesus for something like nineteen hundred years. Here in this year of our Lord, 1908—here in this United States of America, which once a week sets apart a day for public worship, which once a year summons all of its people to a day of solemn Thanksgiving unto God for the blessings richly showered upon the land, and which annually celebrates its gladdest festival upon the birthday of the Nazarene—here, I say, do we find a society which, in its general aspects at least, knows little or nothing of the religion which Jesus taught. If I read my Gospels aright, I observe that Jesus taught that religion laid upon the souls of men but two commandments. First, declared the Prophet of Nazareth, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy mind and all thy heart and all thy soul and all thy strength"; and, as though this categorical imperative were not enough, he took pains to emphasize this teaching by the warning spoken upon the Mount, "Thou canst not serve God and Mammon." And yet, if there is any one thing supremely characteristic of modern society, it is not the love of God but the worship of Mammon. More truly to-day than in 1843, when Carlyle published his *Past and Present*, is our sole worship that of material wealth; and more true is it of our America in the first decade of the

twentieth century than of Carlyle's England in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, that there is but "one thing in which we are entirely in earnest—the making of money!"

Well does Professor J. C. Van Dyke, in his *Money God*, speak of the United States as a nation "become monomaniacal." It has "made unto itself," he declares, "a golden image which it falls down before and worships; it thinks and acts and legislates for money only; it turns the arts and sciences into machines for gain; and drunk with its own power, it revels in gluttony and becomes boastful of its own selfishness, forgets the goodly heritage of its history, forgets its ideals and faiths and beliefs and starts upon a career of greed and grasp."

It is our worship of Mammon that has corrupted the government of city, state and nation, crowding our aldermanic boards with thieves, creating in every state legislature a "third house," composed of the lobbyists of the special interests, and giving over seat after seat in our national hall of Representatives and Senate chamber to the highest bidder at public auction. It is our worship of Mammon which has made business piracy and transformed honest industry into brigandage, writing such histories as those of the Standard Oil Company, the Beef Trust and the Metropolitan Street Railroad, and surrendering America into the hands of such men as Rockefeller, Harriman and Ryan. It is the worship of Mammon which has prostituted our social standards and created an American nobility of wealth. It is the worship of Mammon which has watered stock, adulterated foods, granted and accepted rebates, betrayed insurance companies, built rotten tenements, run single-track railroads, and maintained saloons, gambling dens and brothels. It is the worship of Mammon which has stripped our country of its forests, thrown our coal-mines and oil deposits into the hands of private exploiters for their private enrichment at public cost, degraded our literature to the standard of "best sellers," our art to the standard of magazine illustrations, our drama to the standard of Klaw and Erlanger, our colleges to the standard of commercial schools. It is the worship of Mammon which has identified success with wealth, happiness with material luxury, heroism with money-making, patriotism with prosperity. Say what we will, Mammon is the deity whom we worship; for while we serve God with all our anthems and all our rituals and all our sermons and all our creeds in one day out of seven, we are serving Mammon on the other six days with all our mind and all our heart and all our soul and all our strength.

And the second commandment of religion, said Jesus, was "like unto the first," namely, this—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." And behold our social life to-day! Neighborly love, brotherhood, unselfishness, sacrifice—where are they to be seen save in a few humble homes and a few quiet lives? Carlyle's indictment again of his time is even a stronger indictment of our own. "Our life," said this modern Isaiah, "is not mutual helpfulness, but rather, named 'fair competition' and so forth, it is a mutual hostility. We have profoundly forgotten everywhere that cash payment is not the sole relation of human beings; we think, nothing doubting, that this absolves and liquidates all engagements of man."

And so behold the spectacle in this year of grace, 1908! International amity guaranteed by great armies upon the land and great navies upon the seas; business a matter of monopoly, which means, according to the famous Rockefeller philosophy, the cutting of a thousand buds that the one perfect rose may bloom; industry founded not upon the law of due reward for service done, but upon the law of wages; children driven by greedy and heartless employers and by still more greedy and heartless parents to their daily labor in factories and mines, at the cost of health, education and morals; women

toiling like slaves in tenements, department stores, etc., for wages insufficient to keep body and soul together; life a competition in which the strongest survives and the weakest goes to the wall; life a game in which the few gain everything and the multitudes nothing; life a great brotherhood, in which one brother gets the necessities of existence (coal, oil, beef, sugar, etc.) away from his other brothers, and makes them "pay the price," in which one brother gains control of the national highways from all the other brothers and "puts on all the traffic will bear," in which one brother controls the means of production and distribution and makes his other brothers fight against one another for the high privilege of laboring ten or twelve hours a day for a starvation-wage, in which one brother makes a fortune of $600,000,000 and thousands of other brothers die like dogs in the gutter, in which one brother complains at his ten-course dinner and millions of other brothers thank God for their potato! Colossal, "naked egotism, vulturous greed" everywhere triumphant; and love, brotherhood, sacrifice—the talk of sentimentalists and the dream of weaklings! Love our neighbor? Oh, no! We fight him, compete with him, use him, spend him, rob him, ruin him—anything but love and serve him! "We call it Society," says Carlyle, "and go about openly professing the totalest separation."

If the religion of Jesus means love of God and love of one's neighbor, as he declared, then what claim has our society to the name of Christian? Oh, yes! I know that we have churches in every smallest village, schools at every cross-roads, hospitals on every hill-top, settlement-houses in every slum. I know that Satan has not yet won the world, that the fight against evil is not yet given up in despair, that God is not yet dead. But I also know that, after nineteen hundred years lived in the light of the teachings of Jesus, the evils of which I have spoken should be utterly destroyed, instead of flourishing apparently as prosperous as ever. I know that for every church to-day I can count a saloon; beside every school I can place a gambling-den; every hospital I can balance with hundreds of disease-laden tenements and life-destroying factories; and for every settlement-house I can point you to a dozen houses of ill-fame. I know that Satan, if not yet all-victorious, is not yet defeated; that the fight against evil, if not yet surrendered, is not yet triumphant; that if God is not yet dead, he is not yet alive to the majority of men. I know that, nineteen hundred years after the death of Jesus, there ought to be less sin, less crime, less dishonesty, less Mammon-worship, less brutal selfishness, and more virtue, more integrity, more love of God and service of man. I know that while society to-day is not as bad as it might be, it surely is not as good as it might be. And it is therefore that I protest, therefore that I complain, therefore that I assert that something or somebody is *responsible.*

For the political, industrial and social evils of our age and country, I believe that the Christian churches of America are very largely responsible—responsible not because they have actually fostered the rampant Mammon-worship and greedy selfishness of our time, but because in the very face of these conditions of which I have spoken, they have remained utterly indifferent—oblivious to everything but their own petty affairs of dogma, ritual and ecclesiastical organization. Professing, like the prophet of old Israel, to hate iniquity, they have done nothing to smite it and destroy it from off the face of the earth; professing to love righteousness, they have done little or nothing to establish such righteousness as the essence of religious character and as the *sine qua non* of spiritual salvation. Claiming to teach a religion the two commandments of which are love to God and love to man, they have been content to make love to God a matter of prayer and praise, of bowed head and bent knee, for one hour on a Sabbath morning; and love to man

they have reduced to a minimum of rule-of-thumb alms-giving to the poor It is no mere chance, as one of the historians of our day has pointed out, that the same years which witnessed the opening of the present age of widespread political, industrial and social corruption mark as well the beginning of the alarming decline of the Christian church. Here, in every smallest village and hamlet, is to be found the church, pointing, as Wordsworth has so beautifully said, "pointing its silent finger unto heaven"; here in every community is the Christian minister and the organization of Christian worshipers; here in all of our cities are proud temples of the living God, standing like beacons in the vast ocean of commercial turmoil; here, in a word, is an institution, which, from the point of view alike of age, tradition, membership, property, is unexampled—an institution claiming to hold within its keeping the oracles of God and to speak with the voice of God—an institution pretending to stand for good as opposed to evil, righteousness as opposed to sin, justice as opposed to injustice, love as opposed to hate, the life of the spirit as opposed to the life of the flesh, Christ as opposed to Cæsar, God as opposed to Mammon; and yet, in spite of its enormous membership, its unbounded wealth, its divine authority, this present age is apparently as far from realizing the Christian ideal as ever. The simple truth of the matter is, the church has not done its duty—it has not seized its opportunity and used its power. Seeing evil, it has declined to interfere; looking upon corruption it has refused to assail it; gazing full upon political and business dishonesty, it has avoided attacking it; finding men, apparently respectable, guilty of all manner of greed, it has been unwilling to rebuke them and summon them to repentance; seeing the temple of God polluted by the money-changers, it has declined to sweep them from the sanctuary, but, in return for their tainted money, has given them the first places in the synagogue. And all the while the church, thus recreant to its appointed task of establishing upon the earth that Kingdom of God which means love to God and love to man, has soothed its conscience by building splendid cathedrals, reciting long prayers, singing loud hymns of praise and adoration, preaching long sermons, remembering the Sabbath day to keep it holy, and smiting the traditional sins of drunkenness, adultery and atheism.

But is this the business of religion? Not so thought the ancient prophet, when he declared, "What doth the Lord desire of thee, but to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Not so thought the modern prophet, when he asserted, "Rituals, creeds, liturgies, hierarchies; all this is not religion. . . . The use of religion, past, present and to come, is this only: To keep the moral conscience or inner light of ours alive and shining . . . to remind us of the infinite difference there is between a good man and a bad; to bid us love infinitely the one, abhor and avoid infinitely the other—strive infinitely to be the one and not to be the other." Not so thought Jesus when he gave to men his two great commandments of the law. And what if the church had been faithful to this true conception of its task —what if the church had resolutely, unflinchingly preached this prophetic gospel? Would not the world be a better and lovelier place than what we actually see it to-day? Suppose, for example, that the churches of America, in the great epoch preceding the Rebellion, had one and all steadfastly set their faces against the iniquity of human slavery. Suppose that, instead of quoting old Levitical laws or Pauline epistles in defense of this monstrous barbarism, these churches had all quoted Jesus' gospel of brotherhood against it. Suppose that, instead of seeking to explain or excuse this social crime, these thousands of churches throughout the land had done nothing but assail it, denounce it, curse it. Suppose that, instead of trying to

Photo. by Marceau, Boston.

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avoid the issue, these churches had tried constantly to meet it. Suppose that every preacher, to the extent of his ability, had been a Theodore Parker; that every pulpit, to the extent of its influence, had been a Plymouth Pulpit; that every member of a Christian church, just because of that membership, had been, to the extent of his intellectual and moral power, a Garrison or a Lovejoy. Suppose, as opposed to the institution of slavery upon the one hand there had stood upon the other hand, in solid phalanx, the great institution of Christianity, and how long, think you, would human slavery have endured? And if, as is literally true, the Christian church, had it been so minded, could have smitten this hydra to its death, is it unfair to hold the church responsible for its long-continued life?

Or, to take a modern instance, suppose that the churches of America should here and now unite upon a great crusade against the barbarism of child-labor. Suppose that all the organized religious bodies in this great land should dedicate themselves to the proposition that "It is not the will of the Father that one of these little ones should perish." Suppose that every church should organize itself into a sub-committee of the National Child-Labor Committee—that every minister should make himself a representative of that committee—that every individual member of every church should become a contributing member of that committee. Suppose, if nothing more, that, on the special Child-Labor Sunday of each year, every pulpit in the land should ring with denunciation of this great evil and summon its people to the fight against it. Suppose, if you can, such a united crusade as this against this one great social iniquity—and how long, think you, would it be possible for cruel parents and greedy employers to drive little boys and little girls to exhausting daily labor? And if the churches thus have it to-day right in their power to destroy this frightful barbarism, root and branch, why should we not indict these churches as responsible for the continuance of the evil, so long as they maintain their present attitude of ignorance and indifference?

The truth of the matter is, there is no evil in the world to-day, be it political corruption, business piracy, social injustice, which could not be destroyed upon the instant if the churches would but speak the word of doom. No iniquity could endure for a moment against the united attack of the religious forces of the world. As we read, in the legends of ancient Greece, that no man could look upon the face of Zeus and live, so may we assert, in much the same way, that no wrong of any kind could front the modern church and live. The church has the opportunity to destroy the ills of society, since it is the one institution in the world to-day which stands solely for the things of God; and the church has the power to destroy these ills, since it has a membership so large, a property so vast, an influence so supreme, an authority so divine, that it could as surely banish from the earth any iniquity against which it might choose to proceed as the angels of God banished from the heavenly heights the rebellious hosts of Satan. Upon the church, therefore, as upon no other organization in human society, rests the obligation of action; and so long as it remains idle and indifferent in the face of such evils as are rife to-day, so long may it be fairly held responsible for the consequences.

But why, it may naturally enough be asked—why does the church not act? Why is the church to-day, as for so many centuries past, standing oblivious, while "wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps"? To answer this question adequately would be to write the history of ecclesiastical Christianity from the fourth century A. D. down even to the present moment. But in lieu of this, it is only possible here to make certain sweeping generalizations, which may give some suggestion at least of the causes underlying this phenomenon.

(a) In the first place, there is that conception of the church, which has so long vitiated its possible influence, that religion is in some way identical with correct belief. I have no space to show how this false interpretation of religion began with the very death of Jesus in the controversies between the disciples and the orthodox Jews on the questions of the Messiahship and resurrection, reached its climax in the Council of Nicæa and the promulgation of the Nicene Creed, and has continued in various forms and in successive controversies down even to the present day. Sufficient is it to point out that, from earliest times on, the church has insisted that the essence of religion is not life but belief, not moral character but intellectual affirmation, not spiritual excellence but theological conformity. So long as a man, therefore, partook of the sacraments, accepted the creeds, believed in Christ as his savior, so long was he regarded as a Christian, no matter what the sins of his individual life and the injustices which he practiced in his relations with his fellows. And, on the other hand, no matter how honest, virtuous and pure a life a man might lead as a husband, a father, a neighbor and a citizen—no matter how scrupulous his fidelity to the ideals of justice, mercy and truth, if he rejected the creeds, repudiated Christianity as a revealed religion, regarded Jesus as a human teacher and not a divine savior, he was excommunicated by the church, condemned to social ostracism in this world and eternal damnation in the next. Throughout all Christian history, correct belief has been the test of discipleship, acceptance of authorized dogma the supreme virtue, rejection of this dogma the unpardonable sin. And this, in the face of the express teaching of Jesus, as contained in the famous judgment scene of St. Matthew, wherein the Master accepts as his disciples not those who have "believed on him," but those who have given food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, etc., and rejects not those who are guilty of "infidelity," but those only who have neglected the hungry, the thirsty and the naked! What a travesty of religion, indeed—this emphasis upon sound theology! And yet it is just this interpretation which has for ages paralyzed the church as an agent of social redemption, which has made it possible for the most hideous social ills to continue for centuries uncondemned and undestroyed, and postponed the coming of the Kingdom of God upon earth to a future as indefinite as eternity. Concerned only with the problem of right thinking, the church has utterly neglected the problem of right living, and thus has left the world to welter in its sin.

(b) Closely analogous to this, and yet distinct enough to be considered apart, is the evil of denominationalism. Here, in the world of Christendom to-day, do we see hundreds of differing sects, each primarily concerned not with the cultivation of the worship of God and the service of man, but with the establishment of its own particular, private, patented, copyrighted interpretation of Christian doctrine. Church is arrayed against church, minister against minister, community against community, in no more serious difference than the translation of a Bible text, the maintenance of a symbolic service, or the hair-splitting quibble of a theological distinction. And while the church has thus for centuries been devoting itself to solving the momentous problems of Calvinists and Arminians, Lutherans and Baptists, Unitarians and Trinitarians, society has been abandoned to its own devices and moral and spiritual evil has been left to flourish abundantly. That society should fall into the hands of Methodists or Unitarians or Quakers or Christian Scientists has aroused the church to a crusade of opposition; but that society should fall into the hands of grafters, bosses, gamblers, money-mad capitalists, war-crazed statesmen, has been contemplated by the church with comparative indifference. It has smitten the church of a different sect across the

street, but has forgotten the gambling-den and brothel around the corner; it has assailed the heretical minister down-town, but has not so much as spoken a word against the employer of little children and underpaid women, the owner of rotten tenements and liquor saloons, or the political boss who has betrayed the public welfare for a "consideration"; it has denounced the good men and saintly women who have not been able to accept the Bible as infallible or Jesus as divine or the Apostles' Creed as containing the Alpha and Omega of Christianity, and, in its zeal in the pursuit of this quarry, has passed by the men and women of evil lives and tainted character, ruled by lust and guided by greed, whose sole purpose in life has been to give as little and grab as much as they could. Alas for the cause of Christ that the church should to-day still be divided thus into a thousand warring sects, seeking to destroy one another, and not be a "mighty army," marshaled in united battle array against the black-armored legions of Satan!

(c) Third, is the so-called "other-world" conception of religion which has led the church astray for centuries, as some mirage leads the traveler astray in the desert. For a variety of reasons, the church, very early in its career, was persuaded to lay all the emphasis of its teaching upon the life beyond the grave and thus to neglect the life upon this side of the grave. From earliest times, the church has presented itself as a means of salvation from the temptations and sins of this world and hence of sure entrance into the joys of the next world. This earth has been described as a wreck cast helplessly upon the shores of time, and the church as a life-boat to bear its passengers to safety. This present life has been pictured as a vale of tears, and the church as the gateway leading unto the bliss of heaven. We have only to run through the pages of any old church hymnal and read the long succession of hymns which describe the world about us as a passing shadow, this earth as an abode of pain to be escaped as soon as possible, life as but a fitful dream from which death will be a glad awakening, heaven as our home, and Jesus as the shepherd who will guide us safely from our wanderings through the desert land to the heavenly fold above—we have only to read, I say, this still widely prevalent hymnology to understand what is meant by the "other-world" interpretation of religion. This being the attitude of the church toward this present life, it is easy to understand why it has not greatly concerned itself with the regeneration of existing society. Indeed, why should it so waste its time and squander its energies? The mission of the church was not to save the world but to save men *out* of it; not to redeem conditions here but to redeem men over there! And what wonder, in the face of such a conception, that the lust and greed, the injustice and cruelty of the present world have been left by the church to flourish undisturbed? What wonder, that men in their social relations have been abandoned to their Mammon-worship, their selfishness, their Cain-and-Abel struggle for existence? What wonder that Christianity, as an influence for social regeneration, has been an almost negligible factor in the development of civilization, and that society has moved onward and upward in spite of, rather than because of, the church's leadership? What wonder that the evils of ancient days, political corruption, industrial piracy, international warfare, wealth and poverty, still survive; and the church stands indifferent at the hideous spectacle of wrong? But whatever else may be thought of this interpretation of religion, one thing is at least clear—that this is not the religion of Jesus. We are only just beginning to realize that Jesus came that men might have life here and now upon the earth and have it abundantly; that the business of Christianity is not to concern itself with the conditions of life which may exist beyond the grave, but rather with the conditions of life which most surely exist on this side of the grave; that, as Dr. Campbell of the

City Temple, London, has expressed it, it is the purpose of the church "not to get men into heaven but heaven into men." And yet the world of Christendom is still engaged in "gazing at what lies dimly at a distance" and is not yet doing "what lies clearly at hand." Alas, that it has not sooner recognized that its work is *here*, being none other than to provide that God's Kingdom may come and his will be done *on earth!*

(d) And lastly, there is that most peculiar, astonishing and inexcusable idea, which has persuaded the church in all ages to assert that religion has properly nothing to do with political, industrial or social questions of any kind. There is that fallacious distinction which has always been made between sacred and secular, and which has assigned to the care of the church the one and frankly removed from its control or even interest the other. The church, it is argued, has to do with spiritual not worldly matters; with worship and prayer and praise, with rituals and liturgies and sacraments, with temples and cathedrals and synagogues. It has its sacred book—all others are profane; it has its one holy day—all others are common; it has its one specific field of sacred work—all others are secular. As a result of this convenient distinction, what a spectacle of indifference to all the sins and sufferings of the world at large does the church present! Assiduous in preserving the Sabbath from profanation by innocent amusements, musical concerts or even open art-galleries and libraries, it is utterly careless of the profanation of other days of the week by dishonest stock transactions, criminal political bargains or scandalous business deals. Tireless in lifting up its voice in denunciation of agnosticism, of failure to attend divine service, or of indifference to the creeds and sacraments, it is silent about the working of children to death in factories and mines; silent about hiring saleswomen for four or five or six dollars a week and expecting them to remain "unspotted from the world"; silent about the monopolizing of the necessities of life and then holding up the public at the point of a pistol; silent about the private ownership of public resources and utilities and the resulting exploitation of the many by the few; silent on all questions which concern the life of society at large. Satisfied to erect a beautiful church building, to celebrate the sacraments, to preach "spiritual" sermons, it is content to leave all matters of political, industrial or social reform to practical men of affairs. What wonder, in the face of such a situation as this, that the churches to-day are empty and men who seek the redemption of society are turning elsewhere? What wonder that only inferior men are entering the ministry and these in ever decreasing numbers? "If the church is not good for everything," says Dr. Charles Aked of New York, with perfect justice, "it is good for nothing." If it is not the business of the church to concern itself with the ills from which modern society is suffering, then it has no business to transact; if it is not the duty of the church to fight the good fight for mercy, justice and truth in the every-day world of every-day affairs, then it has no duty to discharge; if it is not the mission of the church to plunge right down into the muck and mire of the world and make it clean, then it has no mission whatsoever to fulfil. "I 'm the drain-man, that 's wot I am," shouts the sewer-cleaner in Kennedy's tremendous drama, *The Servant in the House*, with exultant pride, as he rolls up his sleeves to cleanse the rottenness that was polluting the home; and if the minister of Christ, as this play clearly teaches, is not thus "the drain-man," charged with the duty of "cleaning up the muck of the world,' then he has no function and is a mere actor, playing an idle part. If everything is not sacred, nothing is sacred; if everything is not holy, nothing is holy; if all work is not God's work, nothing is God's work. If all the great field of human life—the prostitute lurking in the street and the child laboring in the fac-

tory, the politician taking his bribe and the trust-magnate his rebate, as well as the prayer and the praise, the Bible and the Sabbath—if all this field, I say, is not a field meet for the church's work then the church has no work, and the sooner it is destroyed the better.

Here are some few of the things that have paralyzed the church for centuries.

But I have faith that at last the dawn of a better day has truly come. Brought face to face with the problem of survival in an age the philosophy of which it does not accept and the needs of which it does not serve; challenged by a society which is deaf to its appeals, scornful of its claims to authority, contemptuous of its "rituals, liturgies, creeds and Sinai Thunders," either to prove its right to live by yielding fruits of true religion or else to perish, like the barren fig-tree which cumbereth the ground, the church is at last awakening to its responsibilities. Slowly but surely is the church sloughing off the sham religion of right belief in favor of the true religion of right living. Slowly but surely are the fires of sectarian bigotry and hate flickering to ashes, and the kindly flame of mutual sympathy and common interest glowing with an ever clearer light. Slowly but surely is the church turning away from its illusion that its prime concern is with the life beyond and learning to front the grim reality of the life that now is. And slowly but surely is the church's false and pernicious distinction between sacred and secular vanishing away and in its place is coming the "Fact," as Carlyle calls it, that all that God has made is sacred; that all times and all places are holy; that religion is concerned not with any isolated or peculiar segment of life but with the whole circumference. A brighter day, I say, for the church on the one side and for society upon the other! It is no mere accident that one single year should see the publication of five such epoch-marking books as Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, Campbell's *Christianity and the Social Order*, Crapsey's *Rebirth of Religion*, Shailer Matthew's *The Church and the Changing Order*, and Gladden's *Church and Modern Life*. It is no mere chance that the short space of six months witnesses the Methodist church of America, in national convention assembled, passing resolutions calling for "equal rights and complete justice for all, . . . abolition of child-labor, . . . protection of the workers from dangerous machinery, . . . the highest wage each industry can afford," etc.; the Presbyterian church holding immense meetings, where thronging thousands of workingmen are addressed by clergymen and labor leaders from a common platform; the momentous social meetings of the great Pan-Anglican Congress in London; the formation of the interdenominational society of ministers called the Christian Socialists and the holding of the great three-days' convention in New York; the establishment of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice by a small but determined band of the younger Unitarian clergy; not to mention other significant movements of a similar character. The Christianity of creeds and rituals and liturgies, of priests and pastors and ministers, of theologians and ecclesiastics and revivalists, is dead, hopelessly dead, rightly dead. For nineteen hundred years it has been betraying the cause of Christ, misinterpreting the gospel of Jesus, postponing by its fierce bigotry, its zealous ignorance, its hopeless illusions, its sham piety, the coming of the Kingdom of God upon the earth. But its knell has sounded, its day is done; a few centuries more, and its rotting carcass will no longer cumber and pollute the ground. And the true Christianity of character and conscience and right living, of justice and truth and love, of scientists and not theologians, of good Samaritans and not Levites, of men and not priests, of doers of the word and not hearers only—this true Christianity of the prophet of Nazareth, who came to bear witness to the truth and to give men life more abundantly, is only just now having its "re-

birth," only just now, like some buried river, coming to the surface again after centuries of hidden life. Jesus did not live and die in vain; his spirit of service and of love has never perished. More bravely and more faithfully in the future than ever in the dismal past is the church destined to speak his word without fear and do his work without wearying. The Kingdom, for the coming of which he prayed, and which means, as he himself was careful to declare, the doing of God's will here upon the earth, will indeed come; and the tabernacle of God, at last in very truth, as foretold in vision by the holy apostle, be here with the sons of men.

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## A POLITICAL PILGRIMAGE.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

THE PERSONALITY of Switzerland, like that of Italy, is unique. As the all-pervasive and dominant influence south of the Alps is that of art, so in the little Republic to their north the omnipresent, ever-creative national spirit is the spirit of democracy. Upon entering its borders the observant traveler soon finds himself lifted into an atmosphere of intellectual liberty, political equality, and social justice. In fact, the work of this "political experiment station of the world" is of such incomparable importance that a first-hand knowledge of its methods and institutions has become as invaluable to the student of politics as is a personal acquaintance with the masterpieces of Italian painting to the student of art.

Among the new institutions put in operation there, the most important is the Initiative and Referendum—a system of direct popular control of the law-making power, which elsewhere has been adopted only to a very limited degree. Its results have attracted the attention of students the world over and tempted travelers to a more than passing inquiry. Many a tourist has turned amateur investigator and converted, as I did, his Swiss sojourn into something of a political pilgrimage.

The referendum is in the air and you cannot escape it. You meet it at every turn: you hear of it in the restaurants, on steamship docks, in the railroad trains. Almost every chance acquaintance has at least a word to say regarding it. It was but a few hours after I had unpacked my luggage at Lucerne that I began to hear of it and its benefits. Next to me at the *table d'hôte* dinner sat a large raw-boned Texan, and beside him a small Swiss gentleman with a pointed beard. Their conversation bore upon this interesting institution, which my compatriot was by no means sure could be adopted with profit by the United States.

"I reckon this referendum, as you call it, may work all right in a little two-by-four country like yours," said the Texan, "but you need n't get puffed up on that account and try to teach a country that can whip all Europe."

"I hope you will not forget," replied the Swiss, "that my country has a larger area than some of your states, and a larger population than the average of your states. Therefore if the referendum has worked well in Switzerland, as every one concedes it has, unless you can find some better objection than your unwieldy bulk, you must admit that it would work well in your separate states. We tried it first in two or three of our cantons, where it proved so successful that one by one the other cantons adopted

it, and finally, when by the unmistakable test of experience we had proved its incomparable merits, we adopted it for the nation. Try it in your states first, and have no fear, it will win its own way in your nation."

"Perhaps I do n't entirely understand the workings of this referendum," said the Texan.

"I have figured it out," said a Yankee across the table. "You say you are a stock-raiser. Suppose you were to tell your hired man to fence off a certain lot for the hogs, and he 'd reply that he would do nothing of the kind. What would you do?"

"I 'd discharge him, sir, in one-half minute, sir!" said the Southerner.

"Quite right! But, suppose a little later, on being told to plant a certain field in cotton, he were to plant it in oats, what would you say to that?"

"I would chase him off my premises, sir!"

"But," continued the Yankee, "are not state representatives and Congressmen the servants of the people?"

"Assuredly, sir," replied the Texan, anticipating the other's idea, "but in America, if our Congressmen pass a law which we do not like, or neglect to pass a law we want, we turn them down, sir, at the polls, at the very next election."

"Indeed!" replied the Yankee, "but to go back to the farm-hand, would you want him around your place for two years squandering your money, neglecting your interests, disobeying and insulting you, before turning him down, or knocking him down, as the case might be? I think not. And that is where the Initiative and Referendum comes in. You need not wait till the next election to veto a measure you do n't want or to get one that you do. It is very simple; you merely go over the heads of your servants when they cease to observe your wishes. Neither should the people wait until another election before turning down such rascals as the members of the legislature of Illinois, who in 1898 gave to Yerkes twenty-five million dollars' worth of franchises, in spite of the impotent protest of nearly the whole commonwealth. To defeat such men at the polls is to lock the door after the horse is stolen. This fatal political procrastination is only too common in the United States. Take another example: Some years ago the United Gas Improvement Company, of Philadelphia, got control of the city council at a good fat figure and was thus able to lease for thirty years, at an exceedingly lean and low figure, the gas plant which the city had owned and operated for fifty-six years. This nauseating performance was violently but ineffectually opposed by every decent American 'sovereign' in the city. The referendum would have made such a steal impossible."

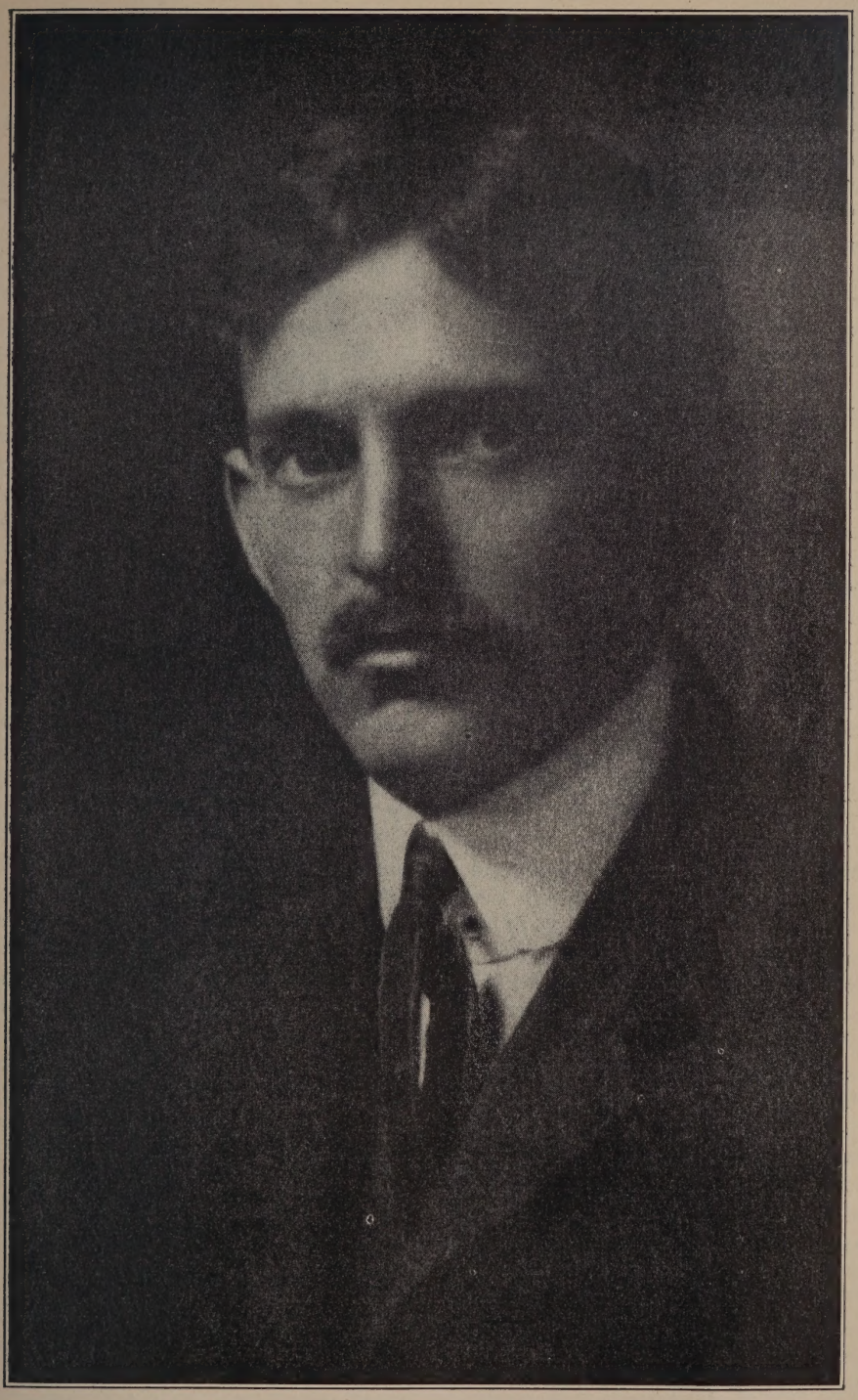
"If that is the Referendum and Initiative, sir," said the Texan, "if it simply means being obeyed by our public servants why, that is democracy, and you can count not only on me, but on a 200,000 majority for it in Texas, as soon as our people have come to understand it. And, mind you, what we are ready to vote for down there, we are ready to fight for."

"Do n't, pray, let us even discuss such a thing," puffed a fat bishop, who had overheard the conversation. "This would mean nothing less than ochlocracy. Representative government is all right, but this referendum means downright mob-rule. It is un-American, it is unconstitutional, and it leads to anarchy."

"Pardon me, sir," replied the Swiss, suavely, "but has it not been said: 'By their fruits ye shall know them'? Are you agreed to that?"

"Yes," replied the bishop stiffly.

"Very well; here are the facts: The referendum was opposed at first in Switzerland by the wealthy and the learned, the conservative and the reactionist forces of society. To-day, after a trial of over a quarter of a century, its chief opponents are the most radical Socialists, who find the great body of the people too conservative in their movements. In fact,



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the Federal Referendum has defeated more bills than it has passed. From its establishment in 1874 to January, 1895, the Federal Assembly passed 180 bills of a general character. The referendum was demanded for only eighteen of these, and the people accepted six and rejected twelve. Do you see anything very dangerous about that?"

"Well, no—ah—of course I was just—er—venturing an opinion. I have given the matter little study or thought. Perhaps there may be some truth in what you say," and he waddled off, wheezing and perspiring and, who knows?—perhaps thinking.

The referendum is not altogether new to the people of the United States. We use it in every state in the Union when adopting or altering a state constitution. In fifteen states the capital cannot be changed, in eleven no law can be passed for incurrence of debt not specified in the constitution, and in seven no laws can be passed establishing banking corporations without recourse to the referendum. Many other states make the referendum compulsory for a multitude of different kinds of legislation. The custom of referring to popular vote a proposition of a purely local nature, such as voting bonds to purchase a park, a light or water plant, to build school-houses, or what not, is very common in American cities and is the referendum pure and simple.

Both the Republicans and Democrats of Massachusetts advocated it in their platform in 1893, and in 1899 the Democrats of Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Oregon and California put a demand for it in their state platforms, as did the National Democratic conventions in 1900 and in 1904. By popular vote the people of South Dakota in 1899 and the people of Oregon in 1902 incorporated it into their constitutions. And since then, Massachusetts, Maine, Delaware, Montana, Oklahoma, Illinois, Ohio, Utah and Texas either have voted in favor of some form of the Initiative and Referendum or have elected to their legislatures majorities pledged to these measures.

The details of this system of legislation differ in the different Swiss cantons. The three principle types are: First, the *Landsgemeinde* meetings, similar to our New England town meetings; second, the Compulsory Referendum, according to which all laws must be referred to the people for their approval or rejection; third, the Optional Referendum. Under the last form, measures which the legislature has originated and passed, if agreeable to the people, after ninety days become laws. If, however, five per cent. of the people petition against them, such measures must be referred back to be voted upon, and thus finally accepted or rejected by the people themselves. The initiative is the right of seven per cent. of the people to propose a law. A law so proposed can sometimes be accepted and passed by Congress, but can in no case be rejected except by a majority vote of the people themselves.

It is this feature of the Swiss Republic—the power of the people to thwart all legislation destructive of their best interests, and to enact into law any and all measures that will minister to their welfare—which is the kill and cure of corruption in politics. It is this feature which has made the statesmanship of Switzerland *at once conservative and constructive*, which has in truth made this little mass of mountains, forests and lakes, the "model Republic of the world."

### INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

A striking illustration of the value of this institution came a week or so later when I went to Interlaken. There I met a Yale student, a native of Connecticut, who never before had seen anything higher than the Berkshire hills. Very early in our acquaintance I discovered in him a constitutional prejudice against

certain categories of ideas which he termed "advanced," and especially against any suggestion that squinted in the direction of an extension of the sphere of government. This feeling of his gave rise to some very interesting discussions and amusing episodes. I recall one especially memorable conversation. He had become so enthusiastic over the Swiss mountains, lakes and people, that he actually proposed establishing himself permanently in the country.

"I will offer you," I said, "the same advice that *Punch* gave to a man about to get married—'do n't!' If you feel that you have outgrown New England, you are ready for the West. There you will meet kindred spirits, graduates from every state in the East."

"What state are you from?"

"Kansas."

"You do n't mean to say," he broke forth, "that you are from the state where the grasshoppers, Populists and cyclones hail from?"

"I am from the state which started the struggle for the freedom of the slave, and which has generally been in the van of the forces which have been fighting against organized greed."

"But did n't I understand that you were a Harvard man and that you have been studying politics abroad for a couple of years?"

I nodded an affirmative.

"Surely," he continued, with a gleam of hope in his eye, "you do n't believe in those half-baked, a million-times-exploded socialistic vagaries of the government-ownership cranks?"

"For instance?"

"Oh, government railroads and telegraphs, state monopoly of liquor, and all that other balderdash you hear from people who know nothing of economics or——"

"Listen for an instant," I replied. "Did you know that the government-ownership cranks are in control of Switzerland?"

"Go ahead," he responded, "amuse yourself! If you get dangerous I 'll have you taken to a hospital."

"Do you see that man?" I said, pointing to a Herculean figure just entering the smoking-room. "That is Herr Z———, a Swiss captain of industry. He is now engaged in one of the most remarkable engineering feats of modern times—building a railroad up the Jungfrau. I had a most interesting conversation with him the other day. Would you like to meet him?"

He assented, and we approached the Swiss magnate. After presenting him, I said: "Herr Z———, does Switzerland own her own telegraphs, telephones and railroads?"

"Yes, sir."

"Does the government manage an express company and diligence lines in connection with the post-office?"

"Yes, yes! But why do you ask?"

"And does the government have a monopoly on spirits, and is it contemplating one on tobacco? Does it have an inheritance and income tax, the Initiative and Referendum, and Proportional Representation?"

"Of course, we have all these institutions and more," said Herr Z———, "but why do you ask? Surely you knew this before."

"Yes, but I am sorry to say that here is a young man to whom all this is not only unexpected but startling. Tell us, however, has experience proved that it is best for the government to own and control these natural monopolies?"

"If not, we should not be continually adding new ones as fast as they become monopolies. This plan is a complete success—it is beneficial to rich and poor alike. The only ones injured are those who try to make *illegitimate monopoly profits*. It checkmates their game to the advantage of all legitimate business."

"But does not this system develop much rascality and rottenness among the government officials?"

"Not at all! Most decidedly no! Corruption in politics, wherever it exists

on a large scale, is chiefly the result of powerful private monopolies influencing to their own advantage the affairs of state. There is but one remedy for this—monopoly control of government must give way to government ownership and control of monopolies. But this is not the whole story. This method works well because our officials are honest, and our officials are honest partly because there are no great private monopolies here attempting to influence them and partly because *in this country the politicians have but a limited control of the government.* If politicians were allowed to run the government here, as they do in many other countries, the advent of government ownership would mean merely a change from monopolistic control of politicians to politician control of monopolies. But this vicious circle has been avoided, because in Switzerland, with the people themselves lies final jurisdiction."

I thanked him, while the Yale graduate departed to walk off an attack of acute mental indigestion.

At Basle a few days later, my Yale friend proposed that we get some Cook's circular tickets and devote a fortnight to making a grand tour of Switzerland.

"Cook's tickets," he explained, "will be not only cheaper than tickets bought from place to place, but also much less troublesome. And do not overlook the fact," he added, as he started for Cook's office, "that this is an instance of a private company improving on the arrangements of your government railroads."

"Do n't get any ticket for me," I shouted after him, for in spite of a sneaking feeling that he was right, I determined not to give in until I had played my last card. Hastening down to the station, I discovered, not only that the government sold circular tickets at reduced rates but that it had recently introduced a new form of ticket called an "*abonnement general*," good for continuous travel during two weeks, a month or six weeks, on all the main railroad and steamship lines in the country. I gleefully bought a second-class fifteen-day "*abonnement*" for eleven dollars, and hastened back to the hotel, where I found my friend so pleased with his circular ticket, for which he had paid about one-third more, that I had n't the heart to say anything about my own purchase.

When our tickets were examined on the train he glanced at mine in a suspicious, inquiring sort of way, but I merely remarked that I had got hold of a new combination and would know after a few days' trial whether or not it was a success. At Lucerne, where we took a boat ride up and down the lake several times, just for the lazy delightfulness of the trip, he seemed annoyed at always having to pay while my ticket gave me the right to ride whenever I liked, "without money and without price." At Rorschack, on Lake Constance, where we made a little side trip to St. Gall and Appenzell, before going up to the Falls on the Rhine, again he appeared suddenly disconcerted at being obliged to pay the regular fare while I, like a railroad magnate traveling on a pass, had only to give the conductor a glimpse of my magical "*abonnement.*" The climax came, however, when on our return to Basle, we decided to go over to Arolla for a month's mountain climbing. The discovery that I still had time to make a trip before the expiration of my ticket, whereas his carfare would amount to about five dollars more, made him too furious for words.

While talking over this trip with the hotel porter, he found that by sending our baggage straight through to Arolla, we could go by rail and steamer to Frutigen, thence on foot over the Gemmi Pass to the baths of Leuk and from there on again by diligence, rail and our own feet to Arolla.

"It will cost about ten dollars," he told me, "to express both trunks and our three valises to Arolla, but I believe the trip will be worth it."

When the porter, after attending to the shipping, presented us with a bill for $2.85, the Yale man suggested that there

must be some mistake. "Did n't I tell you," he demanded, "to send our luggage to the Hotel Mont Collon, at Arolla, in the Valais?"

"Yes," said the porter, "and so I did."

"But," he urged, "it takes about ten hours by train, six hours by diligence, and two hours and a half by mule to get to Arolla. Do you mean to tell me that the express company only charges $2.85 for transporting that mass of baggage up there?"

"Do n't worry him," I said, "you forget that here we are not being robbed by an express company, as is our custom at home, but are being served by that wonderful institution, the Swiss Postal Department."

After our descent from Arolla, on several occasions I invited him to go with me to investigate the workings of the cantonal and Federal banks. At Glaurus we went to see the government salt mines, and at other places inspected government coal mines, cement factories, gun-powder factories, etc. But he never became enthusiastic over these trips, seeming at once to lose all interest in an industry when he learned that it was controlled by the government.

One day we started from Martigny to walk across the Tete Noir to Chamounix —meaning to return in two days and go on with our party to Zermat. But the air was so exhilarating and the mountains so enticing that we could not resist the temptation to spend two or three days climbing the smaller peaks in the vicinity of Mt. Blanc. We had left behind both our letters of credit, and when finally we were able to tear ourselves away and had paid our guide, our porter, and our hotel bills, suddenly we discovered that we had barely money enough left to get us to Geneva. On arriving there we were on the point of wiring our friends at Martigny for funds, when we saw a pawnshop, and my friend rushed in and pawned a diamond scarf-pin.

"I suppose that is the last of my pin," he said, as he came out, "but it was the easiest and quickest way to get the money."

As we were passing through Geneva the following week he stopped and redeemed his pin. The fee was so ridiculously small that he felt called upon to expostulate—though not perhaps as profanely as he did when bills were too large. The attendant looked at him pityingly and said: "Young man, we are here to serve the public, not to take advantage of its necessities. You have paid the regular fee. I have nothing to do with the charges; this is a government institution."

He sneaked out and said nothing, but I could see that he was very "hard hit."

### PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

A month or so later, finding ourselves in Zurich, we went to see one of the famous "Relief Stations," where men who are tramping from town to town looking for work find clean quarters, a wholesome moral atmosphere and nourishing food—all at no cost. There are thirty-six such stations in the Canton of Zurich alone, all supported at the public expense.

The place seemed quite as comfortable as our Salvation Army lodging-houses, and its inmates apparently were an honest, self-respecting lot, who regarded the station not as a charitable institution but as a very proper convenience provided by a wise government for the unemployed members of its industrial army. Some of them were young fellows taking advantage of this opportunity to see the world, to learn some new tricks in their trades and to prospect for better paying jobs; others were men in the prime of life, genuine "out of works" anxiously looking for regular employment; while still others belonged to the class of grizzled veterans of industry who, being a little the worse for wear, invariably are the first to be laid on the shelf in times of economic depression.

I asked one of them if he had ever been in a labor colony. "No," he said, flushing slightly, "it may some time come to

that but when I get too old to keep my place in the ranks I hope with the aid of my children that I shall be able to get a little truck farm. Labor colonies are places where those of us who have failed but who are not yet quite ready for the scrap-heap or the bone-pile are enabled to contribute somewhat to our own support. They are a mild form of charity, but their inmates none the less are paupers."

There is a free employment bureau in each station and the management is authorized to supply clothes and shoes to those in dire need. In some cases men, who are completely "broke" are given fifty or seventy-five cents, to have on hand in case of an emergency. When any of them are ill, they are sent at once to the splendid public hospitals.

"Does n't this sort of thing have a tendency to encourage idleness and thriftlessness?" I asked of the superintendent.

"Not at all," he replied, "in fact, quite the contrary. We are most careful to discriminate between the worker and the bum. The whole mission of these stations is, by putting the men in the way of taking care of themselves, to keep the temporarily idle worker from degenerating into a bum. Every lodger is required to show his 'traveling warrant,' a sort of industrial passport which is stamped and dated at each station, thus preserving a complete record of each man's movements. Any one who has had no work for three months or who refuses to work, or who has no 'traveling warrant' is relegated immediately to the work-house. Moreover, as a rule, no one is allowed to stop at the same station more than once in six months."

At Geneva we called on M. Jean Sigg—the Genevian representative of the Federal Workingmen's Secretary. This secretary who is paid by the government and elected by the labor unions, has done much good work in a variety of ways, such as collecting statistics, advising the unions as well as their individual members and helping to settle labor troubles by arbitration. We discussed with M. Sigg the interesting experiments which have been carried on in several cantons with insurance against lack of employment. He said the results had not yet been decisive either for or against the system.

"In addition to all these palliative measures," he continued, "Switzerland by constantly increasing its facilities for technical education, has been increasing the industrial efficiency of its workers and decreasing their liability to loss of employment; but we feel that if there is any one lesson which our varied experience teaches us it is this—that only by solving the greater problems of the organization of industry and the distribution of wealth can the question of the unemployed be effectually disposed of. This question is but an outward symptom of a deep-seated social disease—*i. e.*, the exploitation of one man by another, or in its aggravated form, the exploitation of all men by huge soulless corporate monsters. When once we have healed ourselves of this dread disease—quickly the army of the unemployed, with all its camp followers of vice and crime, will fold its tents and silently steal away, and its departure this time will be final."

The Yale man never seemed to tire of questioning all sorts and conditions of men about the practical workings of Swiss institutions. On one occasion he unearthed a perfect mine of information by cross examining a Swiss fellow-traveler while going from Geneva to Berne. "Tell me," he demanded, "your telephone and telegraph service is cheap, and your express charges, diligence, steamer and railroad fares are low. But we are told by many college professors and most newspapers and magazines in America that, were our government to enter business, not being as economical and sagacious as a private company, it must do one of two things, either give inferior service at high rates, or run at a loss and make up the deficit in taxes. Your government service is excellent,

your rates are low, do you have a yearly deficit?"

"True, our rates are low and our service good," answered the Swiss. "Once in a great while some branch of the government service has had a deficit. This is advertised abroad with the greatest publicity by private companies to discourage government enterprises elsewhere. But on the average our government enterprises make a handsome profit and lessen our taxes enormously."

"Well and good," interrupted the Yale man doggedly, "with some of your government concerns, but you will hardly pretend, I think, to be proud of the fact that your government helps pay your taxes from the profits of an alcohol monopoly—it is the devil's own business."

"But our government does nothing of the kind," said the other. "The profits from the sale of alcohol do not replace taxes. They are divided among the cantons and are added to the existing educational funds, and a goodly percentage each year is devoted to fighting intemperance or to charities made necessary by intemperance. The result has been that since the advent of the government monopoly, December 23, 1886, the consumption of alcohol has fallen off forty per cent. The object of this government monopoly is, indeed, not revenue, for Switzerland stands unique among the nations of the world in this, that far from going deeper into debt every year, she now has property called the Federal Fortune amounting to 400,000,000 francs, or $80,000,000. Her national debt* is only 65,000,000 francs, or $13,000,000. leaving a Federal Fortune free and clear of 335,000,000 francs, or $67,000,000. In addition to this, the separate cantons, communes and municipalities have fortunes amounting up into the millions."

All this, I thought, in a country which, as some one has said, "is the poorest in Europe, from the standpoint of *natural advantages.*"

Some of the Swiss towns are so rich that they levy no taxes, and at Buches, in St. Gall, in addition to this exemption, each citizen receives gratis more than an acre of land which he may cultivate, firewood for the winter and grazing ground for several cattle. The town of Soleme, in Schaffhausen, has forests, pastures and cultivated lands worth about 6,000,000 francs. The commune of Obwald in Unterwald, with 13,000 inhabitants, has lands and forests valued at 11,350,000 francs. These instances could be multiplied almost indefinitely, for nearly every commune and canton has public lands. The important fact, however, is not that the Swiss governments, national state and municipal, are wealthy, but that the wealth of the country is so diffused among the people that, roughly speaking, two-thirds of the heads of families are agricultural landholders.

### SWISS BOSSES.

That evening as we were having a quiet smoke, the Yale man reopened the discussion. "I have been carrying on some investigations of my own," he said, "and I have discovered that in spite of all the admirable features connected with the Swiss form of government, there is one very undesirable feature which the Swiss, like the rest of us, seem unable to get rid of."

"And what is that?"

"Bosses," he replied, pensively rather than triumphantly, for insensibly of late he had been assuming a more sympathetic attitude toward Swiss political institutions. "From what I can learn, every city and canton has its political boss who dominates his party and through it dominates the municipality or canton, just as our bosses rule our cities and states at home. Human nature is human nature, after all—no matter what political methods are employed. Men love to be led and so far as I can see, the rank

*This does not include the railroad debt, which is being liquidated automatically every year from the net profits of the roads and which is more than counterbalanced by the value of the railroads themselves.

and file of the voters are led around by the nose here, just as they are in every other so-called 'self-governing' country in the world."

"I would not for a moment attempt to deny that there is a good deal of truth in what you say," I responded, "but I think that perhaps you have overlooked one or two important distinctions. Swiss political leaders, or 'bosses' as you call them, have gained their ascendancy, as have Roosevelt, Bryan, LaFollette and Folk, principally by the ability and desire they have shown to serve the people, and only secondarily by their efficiency in building up strong political organizations. Nearly all the political leaders of all political parties in Switzerland are of this type. The Croker, Platt type which robs or betrays the people in order to enrich itself and its friends, does not exist within the confines of Switzerland. This difference you will see is absolutely fundamental."

"But let me make myself plain on another point," I continued. "I do not harbor the delusion that Switzerland is a paradise. It is true that the Swiss have less grinding poverty and less vice per capita than any other country in the world, with the possible exception of New Zealand, and yet one finds numbers of poor people, lazy people and dishonest people, as well as much drunkenness in Switzerland. While it is evident that the Swiss have disposed of many problems which at present are perplexing the rest of the world, it is equally evident that they have many serious problems still confronting them. Will they be able to solve these problems? I do not know. Will they continue to progress in the future as they have in the past? I hope so, but even more do I hope that the United States and the rest of the world will be able to put to practical use the splendid discoveries which the Swiss already have made in the realm of statecraft."

"Curious, is n't it?" mused my compatriot between puffs at his pipe, "the Swiss are the only people in the world with a capital larger than their indebtedness—and yet," he exclaimed, suddenly rising and speaking with great earnestness, "what does that amount to? Their greatest capital is in the civic sagacity, civic energy and civic purity of their citizens. Most of their voters have made politics their business, and statesmanlike politics has made of every legitimate business a success. I am very much tempted, when I get home, to go in for politics myself."

"Switzerland has perhaps more numerous government activities," he continued, "and yet less 'paternalism' than any country in the world. I could not understand this for a long time, but that was because I had not yet achieved the national point of view. According to that the people, by means of the Initiative and Referendum, are the government and consequently, whatever it does for them is self-help and not 'paternalism.' Switzerland has worked out not only a successful political democracy but also to a certain extent, a successful industrial democracy. It has no corporation-owned 'bosses,' no Napoleons of finance, no oil kings, no robber coal barons."

I was so astonished I could only grasp his hand.

"If the American people," he continued, "could see what I have seen this summer—political and industrial democracy in practice, they could not fail to realize that our present era of corporation regulation by executive denunciation is of interest chiefly as the precursor of a more rational future *régime* of gradually and conservatively worked out social reconstruction."

CARL S. VROOMAN.

*Cotuit, Massachusetts.*

# THE GOLDEN AGE OF ATHENS.

By B. O. Flower.

CIVILIZATIONS, like nations, have their great capitals from which issue power, light and life for oncoming generations and for many peoples. They are as mighty mountain peaks ever aureoled in light, whose glory falls upon and illumines the pathway of the ages—mountain peaks of inspiration for the moral, mental and physical virility and development of earth's millions toiling toward the heights. Three such capitals rise out of the dawning period of Western civilization as having contributed in a large and definite way to the upliftment and enlightenment of mankind: Zion, Olympus and the City of the Seven Hills.

From Jerusalem and her environing lands came the great virile and vital ideals of the religious life and ethical development that have in a large way influenced the upward course of Western civilization. Instead of the multitude of deities, many of them often grossly immoral, that peopled the empyrean of the older civilizations and which were represented in the Olympian councils of Greece and the Pantheon of Rome, Israel gave to the world the idea of God, omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent—God who was well represented by the sacred psalmist and poet when he exclaimed:

"Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?

"If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there.

"If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;

"Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.

"If I say, Surely the darkness shall cover me, even the night shall be light about me.

"Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day: the darkness and the light are both alike to thee."

And this Deity of Israel was far more than an omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent God: He was a Father whose love essence permeated the universe and who was fitly symbolized as Light dominated by Love; the embodiment of Truth and Justice. And with the idea of the Fatherhood of God necessarily came the idea of the common brotherhood of the children of that Father, an ennobling concept that found its supreme social and ethical expression in the Golden Rule: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

Nearer in the perspective of the past than Jerusalem or violet-crowded Athens rises the Imperial City of the Seven Hills. She, too, was one of the great schoolmistresses of the later ages. As Jerusalem taught master spiritual verities that were far more ennobling than those conceived in the nations that environed Palestine; as Greece in the world of social or collective life placed a necessary emphasis on the individual and his rights and worth, teaching the inestimable value of freedom, so Rome fulfilled a no less vital mission, complementing in many ways the lessons taught by Greece. She showed the value of union, of centralization, of coherent coöperation and order in general. She was also, when at her best, practically utilitarian without being devoid of idealism, while her supreme contribution to the succeeding ages was found in her law and order, contrasting boldly with the despotism of Oriental centers and reflecting a higher concept of justice, a broader understanding of the rights of man and the duties of government to the people, than had been current among most of the great nations in preceding periods. Law, order and

solidarity were the key-notes of Roman greatness, while the queen of Attica, the favorite city of Olympus and the special charge of the Goddess of Wisdom, became the greatest treasure-house of philosophic thought and the age-long teacher of art. Athens was above all else a diffuser of light on the mental and artistic planes, She was a great conservator of intellectual freedom and a developer of the artistic or the beautiful. Proudly she stands among the intellectual capitals of the world. Who can measure the debt succeeding ages owe to her?

As civilizations have their immortal capitals, they have also capital periods, summer seasons of fruition, golden days, when, in the compass of a few generations, the wealth of ages blossoms forth, crowning the favored period with fadeless splendor and making it a storehouse of wealth for men and nations throughout all future time. It is of Athens during her golden day that we now write. The divisions of time such as mark days, weeks, months and years, are arbitrary and artificial. It is impossible to say that on such a day or in such a year a nation awakened from lethargy, or in such a decade the light of a new day flooded a land; yet for convenience historians frequently set arbitrary dates as starting points or boundary lines, when considering great periods. Thus, for example, most historians date Modern Times from the fall of Constantinople, in 1453. The dawn of the Renaissance had flamed the sky before that date, yet it was some time later before the full splendor of the new day burst on Europe, giving to Italy the golden age of art; to the Europe north of the Alps the New Learning and the Reformation; and to Western Europe the quickening of the searching spirit that drove Columbus across the ocean in the teeth of the sneers of the world, so happily described by Lowell in these lines:

"'Whatever can be known of earth we know,'
Sneered Europe's wise men, in their snail-shells curled;
No! said one man in Genoa, and that No
Out of the dark created this New World."

And this searching spirit during this same period also led Vasco da Gama to double the Cape and open an ocean highway to the treasure-house of India, while it drove the ships of Magellan around the globe.

So when we come to notice the golden age of Athens, we cannot say with accuracy that in such a year or decade the new day dawned. But for purposes of convenience and because it most nearly covers the golden day of Athens, we will take the one hundred years immediately following the battle of Salamis, 480 B. C., for that century is marked by the most wonderful sunburst of intellectual and artistic splendor known to the history of any nation of earth during a like period.

The battle of Salamis destroyed forever Persia's long-cherished dream of European conquest. Ten years earlier, in 490 B. C., the fate of Athens had hung in the balance at Marathon, where more than fifty thousand Persian warriors from many fields of triumph faced ten thousand citizen soldiers of Greece—the forlorn hope of Athens. The Persians were disciplined warriors, trained to obey and accustomed to victory. The Greeks were lovers of art, culture, trade and peaceful pursuits, but they were free men, made desperate by the deadly peril that confronted hearth, home and fatherland; and though they were less than one man to five of the enemy, such was their heroism and dauntless courage that they swept to death or from the soil of Greece the legions of Darius.

Ten years later the hosts of Xerxes moved irresistibly over the plains of Greece. The heroism of Leonidas and his Spartan band thrilled with pride the Hellenic heart but could not save the land from the destructive onrush of the barbarian hordes. Under the wise guidance of Themistocles the Athenians were induced to desert their city and take refuge on their vessels, and though the City of the Violet Crown was destroyed and her temples burned, the people unscathed rode the waves of the blue

Ægean. Nothing remained for Xerxes but to attempt their destruction on the sea, and this promised to be an easy task, for the Persian armada contained more than six hundred vessels, over two hundred more than the Grecian fleet. Through the genius of Themistocles, however, the enemy was lured into a trap in Salamis Bay, and at a chosen moment, with a ringing battle-cry that meant victory or death and which was a thrilling appeal to every loyal child of Athens, the Greeks hastened into the fray. Æschylus, in his great poem, "The Persians," thus described the battle-cry of the Athenians:

"And when day, bright to look on with white steeds,
O'erspread the earth, then rose from the Hellenes
Loud chant of cry of battle, and forthwith
Echo gave answer from each island rock.

. . . . . .

"'*O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country;*
*Free, too, your wives, your children, and the shrines*
*Built to your fathers' Gods, and holy tombs*
*Your ancestors now rest in. Now the fight*
*Is for our all.*'"

Xerxes from a throne on a high hill overlooking the sea gazed on the battle. He expected to witness the entire demolition of the Greek fleet. Instead, to his amazement, rage and despair, he beheld one by one his own vessels sink to rise no more. The triumph of the Grecian fleet was complete.

Salamis was far more than one of the most decisive battles in the history of civilization. It was destiny-determining in its issue. Had Xerxes won, the heel of Oriental despotism would have crushed the free, aspiring soul of Grecian civilization, and Europe would have been orientalized.

This great period of stress and strain, when the life of Greece trembled in the balance, when on at least two occasions it seemed as though only Divine interposition could possibly save the Hellenes from subjugation, stirred the profoundest depths of life in this wonderful people. From Salamis, extending forward through a century of time, we find ourselves in the midst of one of those great summer days in civilization's history during which is reaped a bounteous harvest for all future ages. This period was marked by combined intellectual and artistic greatness unknown to the history of any other people in a like period. Here poetry and dramatic art were only surpassed by sculpture the greatest the world has ever known. Here history and statescraft went hand in hand; while ethical idealism and metaphysical philosophy, companioned by reason and imagination, ascended the Himalyas of human aspiration and desire.

To appreciate this period it is only necessary to call to mind a few of the great men whose work rises out of the historic past as lofty mountain peaks which look down on far-stretching plains below. Among the valiant Athenians who bravely battled at Salamis was Æschylus, the first of the great dramatic poets of Greece. Ten years before, at the call of the fatherland, he had joined the Grecian forces at Marathon, where he distinguished himself for dauntless courage. Though the great dramatist always regarded his efforts at the two great crucial battles in Grecian history as the most worthy achievements of his life, civilization remembers him chiefly because of his immortal contributions to the permanent literature of the world. He was one of the greatest tragic poets of all time. His creations are the work of a genius of the first order, characterized by profound philosophical insight, nobility of thought and colossal imagination.

"Justice," declared this master dramatist of the ancient world, "shines in smoke-grimed houses and holds in regard the life of the righteous; she leaves with averted eyes the gold-bespangled palace which is unclean and goes to the abode that is holy."

Hugo terms this master poet "the ancient Shakespeare." In characterizing him he says:

"Æschylus is ancient mystery-made man; something like a Pagan prophet.

His work, if we had it all, would be a kind of Greek Bible. Poet hundred-handed, having an Orestes more fatal than Ulysses and a Thebes grander than Troy, hard as rock, tumultuous like the foam; full of steeps, torrents, and precipices, and such a giant that at times one might take him for a mountain. Coming later than the 'Iliad,' he has the air of an elder brother of Homer.

. . . . . .

"Æschylus is one of those men whom superficial criticism scoffs at or disdains, but whom the true critic approaches with a sort of sacred fear. . . . Whoever does not understand Æschylus is irremediably commonplace. Æschylus is the touchstone of intelligence."

And Macaulay characterized his poetry as unsurpassed in "energy and magnificence."

Following Æschylus comes Sophocles, another immortal whose thought was destined to enrich all future ages. Sophocles lacked the sweep of imagination, the originality and strength of the elder tragedian, but his work was far more finished, beautiful and artistic than that of Æschylus.

Third in the trio of great tragic poets comes Euripides. His plays lack something of the colossal imagination of Æschylus and the polish or artistic perfection of Sophocles, but they were the most humanistic of the great dramatic creations of Greece. Euripides was a man of many tastes and accomplishments. He was at once an athlete and a painter; a student of all philosophies extant and a poet whose rich imaginative power was companioned by a profound sympathy for earth's unfortunates. Of this master tragedian it has been well said:

"No ancient writer seems so modern as Euripides; none knew human nature so well or sympathized so deeply with it—especially with women and slaves, with the unfortunate and the lowly." At a time when the Greek looked down in an arrogant contempt on the unfortunate slaves, Euripides wrote:

"'T is but a single thing that brands the slave with shame—his name; in all else no upright slave is a whit worse than free-born men."

This poet, though a deeply religious man, refused to condone the sins and immoralities of the gods. He was far more enlightened than many modern Christian rulers. Thus, he declared that the trouble that led to the Trojan war should have been settled by arbitration. Sometimes his moralizing reminds us of Shakespeare. "Heaven's justice may tarry awhile," he declares, "yet comes it at the last in no wise weakened."

These three great tragic poets whose works alone would have rendered the century of which we write forever memorable, each reflected in a large way the dominance of three passages expressed in the life of Athens.

"Æschylus," well observes Professor Botsford, "had represented the struggle of Athens for the preservation of freedom and for the acquisition of empire; Sophocles had embodied the spirit of Athens at ease, enjoying the fruit of her labor; but Euripides was the poet of her political collapse, of that period in which the great city in an agony of soul was casting off her ambition for worldly conquest to emerge more beautiful and more spiritual than she had been before."

In this period the annals of nations and civilizations began to engross the attention of the educated. Herodotus, often termed the "Father of History," having been exiled from his native city wandered far and wide studying the various peoples, their habits of life, individual aspirations and national dreams and aims. Wherever he went he industriously gathered all available facts relating to the past of the people with whom he was sojourning. These tales necessarily contained an admixture of fact and legend, for civilization at that stage was credulous rather than critical, and in man's groping for reasons to account for various phenomena he naturally resorted to myth and popular superstition; and the stories

of past days gathered by Herodotus which were handed down in many cases orally, sound oftentimes not unlike the wonder-stories of the Arabian Nights, for he was a fascinating story-teller and his history was as interesting to the child mind of his time as it was uncritical. It largely created an appetite for history and a wider knowledge of the world's events.

Far different in character and method were the writings of Thucydides, the other great master historian of the century. He was painstaking, judicial, and strove to state facts without bias. So valuable is his work that he justly occupies a place among the really great historians of Western civilization.

Xenophon was another important author of this century—historian, biographer and ethical essayist. To him we are indebted for most of the biographical data and many of the ethical ideas of his great master, Socrates.

In statesmanship Athens was served by an illustrious group of men of transcendent genius who justly rose to the peerage of the immortals by reason of their service to their state and civilization: Themistocles, the great successor of Miltiades the hero of Marathon; Aristides the Just, a man whose transparent honesty and nobility were only equaled by his valor and single-hearted service of his native land; Cimon, the son of Miltiades, a statesman who was greater than his illustrious father; and last and greatest of the group, Pericles, the patron of arts and letters, the master ruler in the most glorious days of Athens. All these statesmen were military geniuses of a high order, as was evinced when the exigencies of the hour compelled the statesmen to leave the halls of government for the field of battle.

Pericles was by birth an aristocrat, but he allied himself with the popular party and his period of ascendancy was marked for the most part by a high order of statesmanship. He governed through appeals to the reason and patriotism of the people and by his wise policy won the confidence of the electorate. He found the city overcrowded, and to meet this exigency he founded important colonies which became centers of civilization and feeders of Athens. He was the great patron of arts and letters and through his influence the Acropolis was made one of the most magnificent spots on earth. Here rose the Parthenon, and here was found the greatest work of that greatest of all the world's sculptors, Phidias. In various ways Pericles attracted to Athens the greatest artists and men of letters, making the city the world's chief intellectual center. He provided popular amusements that were at once one of the greatest educational influences of the time, great festivals which were the reverse of the Roman popular shows that appealed to the brutal and sanguinary appetites of the masses; as the Grecian festivals sought at once to arouse the loftier moral ideals and patriotic impulses while cultivating the artistic and intellectual tastes and affording amusement that was pure, refining and of educational worth. Here were given the immortal historic tragedies, noble, soul-stirring hymns, great patriotic songs, and various historical representations; while everywhere perfect art and nature in her most charming aspects rendered satisfying entertainments that appealed at once to sense and soul, to imagination and intellect.

Under the Periclean rule disabled persons received small pensions and all, public duties, whether political or religious, were paid for by the state. In addition to establishing various foreign colonies for the more able-bodied Athenians who could not make a comfortable living in the over-crowded city, Pericles supplied work for a great multitude, from common workers and artisans to the noblest artists, in the great architectural works for the defense and embellishment of the city, such as the double wall which extended from the Peiræus to Athens, the splendid temples, such as the Parthenon, and the magnificent approach to the Acropolis, the Propylæa, also adorned

with masterpieces of sculpture by Phidias and his disciples.

It was through the large plans and generous patronage of Pericles that Phidias was enabled to do his greatest work. This master genius of all sculptors possessed a power not infrequently found in men of transcendent genius—that of arousing moral, mental and artistic enthusiasm among his disciples. He called out the best in them, and as a result the splendid sculpture of the Parthenon and the Propylæa, partly the work of the master and partly that of his soul-awakened disciples, has remained as models for all after times.

Pericles' rule was absolute, but it was the rule of a popular leader rather than of a despot. He scorned demagogic arts, and though one of the most eloquent orators of ancient times, it was by appeals to reason, by his integrity and his ability that he carried the people with him. Of Pericles the historian Thucydides says:

"He was able to control the multitude in a free spirit; he led them rather than was led by them; for, not seeking power by dishonest arts, he had no need to say pleasant things, but, on the strength of his own high character, could venture to oppose and even to anger them. When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them; and, when they were depressed by groundless fears, he sought to reanimate their confidence."

Passing from the consideration of Athens as the art center of the world, as she became in the thirty years of Pericles' rule, we return to a consideration of her as the "intellectual preceptress" of civilization. It was during the century of which we write that Hippocrates, the father of medicine, lived, wrought and wrote. Among the great philosophers were Anaxagoras, the first Greek thinker to insist that the world was ruled by Intelligence, and Zeno, the "discoverer of 'dialectic,' the art of searching for truth and detecting error by systematic discussion."

There were many other able philosophers who would have been preëminent in many periods, but who sink into insignificance before the master brain of this century, Plato, and his intellectual awakener, the great ethical philosopher, Socrates, who may be called the John the Baptist if indeed he was not the spiritual father of Stoicism.

Socrates was one of the greatest ethical forces in the Athens of his age, and through the influence of his disciples, Plato and Xenophon, he has been a master teacher for all succeeding generations. He determined to seek knowledge by the help of his fellow-men. He was one of the keenest of inductive reasoners and concerned himself with moral duties. What was just, what was right, the duty of man, the essence of bravery and of cowardice, the character of a statesman, the nature of a state, and all the wide range of questions involved in moral conduct, were the field of his inquiry. His courage and resolution in following what he believed to be the guiding voice or monitor of his soul led to his martyrdom—a death that gave emphasis to the noble work that he wrought for moral advance. His most illustrious disciple was Plato, the greatest metaphysical and ethical philosopher that Western civilization has given to the world.

Plato in early manhood had determined on a military career. Chancing, however, to meet Socrates, the latter dissuaded him. He became an ardent disciple of Socrates and after his master's death he visited Italy to study the Pythagorean philosophy. Thence he went to Egypt to drink from the fountain of philosophy flowing from that ancient civilization. He probably also extended his travels to India, though this is not certain. Wherever he traveled he sought the highest philosophical concepts, weighing them in the scales of reason, sifting what he considered to be chaff from the wheat and bringing together in one harmonious whole rays of truth that had come to the brain of lofty thinkers in many climes

and ages. But Plato was far more than an assimilator of truth. He was profoundly original. True, as is the case with almost every man, in the works of this great master we often meet an unfortunate confusion of thought born of the limitations of the age and civilization in which he lived. This is especially noticeable in regard to Plato's idea of government, as, for example, when in *The Republic* he describes as his ideal of the perfect state that in which a people is ruled by the philosophers, guarded by a soldier class, while the rank and file support themselves and these other classes. His ideas in regard to property and the family also have not met favor with civilization. His observations of life in Athens and through the various countries in which he traveled convinced him that personal property and the fierce battle of man for worldly possessions with which to supply his own family, irrespective of justice or the rights of others, fostered a degree of selfishness that was inimical to the full-orbed development of civilization and detrimental to the largest and freest unfoldment of the individual life. Hence he advocated the abolition of private property and of the family. But aside from his social theories which are undemocratic in spirit or which have not met with the favor of society, Plato's ethical and spiritual concepts are among the loftiest and most elevating known to literature. The spirit of his ethical idealism is well voiced in the following utterance from *The Republic:*

"My counsel is that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow justice and virtue always, considering that the soul is immortal and able to endure every sort of good and every sort of evil."

He taught that ideas are the eternal and unchanging realities. In *The Republic* he elaborates this great basic idea and illustrates it by one of the most striking parables known to literature—the parable of the men in a cave, who had been chained from early childhood so that they beheld only shadows thrown in front of them from an elevation in their rear and where they were only able to hear the echoes of the voices of those who were behind them. If these men were later released and turned about, Plato held, they would for some time refuse to believe that the shadows and echoes to which they had always been accustomed were not realities. So he held that this sensuous life was a shadow world.

"According to his view," says Professor Botsford, "ideas are the only realities; they are eternal and unchangeable, and exist only in heaven; the things which we see in this world are only shadows of those heavenly forms. One is inclined to call Plato a theologian primarily, as he has so much to say of God, heaven and the future life."

His rich imagination made him at once idealist, poet and philosopher, and his profound and original thought has proved a perennial fountain from which the master minds of succeeding ages have drawn inspiration, after which they in turn have delivered some part of his message to the people in language easy of understanding. Emerson was more indebted to Plato than to any other thinker—a fact which doubtless accounts for the extreme praise that this usually very temperate and serene philosopher bestows upon his Greek master. It will be remembered that in his *Song of Nature* the poet represents the Great Mother as lamenting the tardy arrival of the perfect man-child, the full-orbed son of earth who should be at once spiritual leader, poet, law-giver and philosopher. She refers in these lines to her four great sons who have reflected most supremely these varying attributes as having already appeared:

> "One in a Judean manger,
> And one by Avon stream,
> One over against the mouths of Nile,
> And one in the Academe."

Here Jesus, Shakerpeare, Moses and Plato are referred to as the master personifications of spiritual light, poetry, law and philosophy; and in his essays on Plato Emerson tells us that:

"Out of Plato come all things that are still written and debated among men of thought. Great havoc makes he among our originalities. We have reached the mountain from which all these drift boulders were detached.

. . . . . .

"Plato is philosophy, and philosophy, Plato—at once the glory and the shame of mankind, since neither Saxon nor Roman have availed to add any idea to his categories. No wife, no children had he, and the thinkers of all civilized nations are his posterity and are tinged with his mind.

. . . . . .

"The biography of Plato is interior. We are to account for the supreme elevation of this man in the intellectual history of our race—how it happens that in proportion to the culture of men they become his scholars; that, as our Jewish Bible has implanted itself in the table-talk and household life of every man and woman in the European and American nations, so the writings of Plato have preoccupied every school of learning, every lover of thought, every church, every poet—making it impossible to think, on certain levels, except through him. He stands between the truth and every man's mind, and has almost impressed language and the primary forms of thought with his name and seal."

These names by no means exhaust the list of the great men of this period. Indeed, we have only allowed our eyes to rest on the loftiest peaks of human greatness in this wonderful century—this Golden Day of Athens, made possible by the thoughts, deeds and lives of men who for the most part were dominated by some noble impulse, dream or ideal which called from the depths of their souls the latent greatness and caused them to give their highest selves for home, country and the ages yet unborn.

B. O. Flower.

## THE ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.

By Edwin Maxey, LL.D., M. Dip.

THE AGITATION for a change in the method of electing United States Senators so as to make the Senate more responsive to the popular will is no new thing in our political history. But the increased strength of the sentiment in this direction is proportionate to the growth of the conviction that the Senate has become too reactionary and this attitude or condition of mind is due to the fact that it is controlled by the interests. By recommending legislation which the Senate has persistently refused to approve, President Roosevelt has done more than any one else toward crystalizing public sentiment on this question. For though the agitation is by no means new, there has during the last few years been a rapid clarifying of the conviction that something definite should be done. About the only classes who do not share this conviction are those ultra-conservatives who are opposed to change as such, "the interests," and the systematized Senators.

Several of the states have become impatient of the delay necessary to effect a change in legal forms, which can be done only by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, and have virtually effected a change to popular election by providing for the nomination of United States Senators in state-wide primaries. This nomination is, of course, not legally binding upon the legislatures, but as a matter of fact few of them would dare to disregard it. There are, however, a great

many states of the opinion that a change is necessary and that it should be made in the regular legal way. Hence we find a plank in the Democratic platform demanding the change, and, though the Chicago convention refused to adopt such a plank, Mr. Taft, more wise and more responsive to public sentiment than the convention which nominated him, has declared himself in favor of the change.

It frequently happens that laws, customs and institutions outlive the reasons upon which they rest. It is a maxim in law that reason is the soul of law and when the reason ceases the law should cease; this maxim is entirely logical, although the logic of theory does not conform to the logic of fact. As a matter of fact changes in laws do trail behind changes in the conditions and ideas which called those laws into existence and which form the basis upon which they rest. As evidence of the truth of this statement we need but to examine the records. The law of primogeniture in the male line had its inception in a state of society which subordinated peace to war and hence during the feudal *régime*, which was built upon the idea that society should be organized for war rather than for peace, we find this law of primogeniture almost universally recognized, as was natural; but the law long survived the death of the feudal system. The same is true as to the property rights, and in fact as to nearly all the legal rights of a married woman. The laws of England required that the records of the courts be kept in Latin long after there was any practical reason for so doing. French is still the language of diplomacy, notwithstanding the fact that the reason has disappeared, owing to the decided preëminence of the Anglo-Saxon. The law still requires the Presidential electors to choose the President of the United States, when everybody knows that the President has already been chosen in the November elections, and that the electors are not expected to, nay even dare not, exercise their discretion. But we trust that few, if any, will seriously dispute the proposition, therefore we will not submit further evidence upon this point.

However we may differ as to our explanation, it seems to us that the fact is evident, that customs, laws and institutions are in their nature conservative, static; that while they exist to enable society better to realize its purposes and ideals, they respond but tardily to changes in social conceptions, however rational those changes may be. Hence the existence of a custom, law, or institution, while it may be a presumption in favor of its expediency, is not proof of its expediency.

Applying the above bit of philosophy to the case in hand we are furnished with an explanation of the continuance of the present method of electing United States Senators, but not necessarily a justification for it. When the framers of our Constitution placed in that instrument the provision that Senators should be elected by the state legislatures, thus making it the supreme law of the land, they had a reason for so doing and they considered the reason a good one. They, or at least the great majority of them, believed that it would not be safe to have the United States Senators elected by the people, any more than it would be to have the President so elected. Their democracy had not developed to the point where they had sufficient confidence in the wisdom and conservatism of the people to entrust them with the power of electing more than one branch of Congress. We commonly look upon our Revolutionary Fathers as being intensely democratic, and measured by the political standards of those days they were; but judged by present standards they were not. Whether rightly or wrongly, they distrusted the political wisdom of the people, as can be clearly seen from Elliott's Debates containing the discussions of the convention which framed our Constitution. Holding these views, they had a reason for favoring the method which they adopted for electing Senators;

but our political evolution has removed this reason and in order to be consistent we should revise the method so as to make it conform to our changed political ideas.

Our political experience has shown that the election of members of the House by the people is attended with fewer inconveniences and upon the whole with better results than is the election of Senators by the legislatures. We will mention the more prominent inconveniences and evils which the actual working of this method has developed. These may be fairly well classified under three heads, according to their effects (1) upon the Senate, (2) upon the state legislatures, and (3) upon the people.

As a result of this method the Senate is congested with men whose purse and political trickery is out of all proportion to their ability as statesmen. For it is a matter which cannot be gainsaid that the political machine can be used far more effectively in electing a legislature favorable to a boss or his political creations than in securing their own election at the polls. And the further fact is well known that money can be used to better advantage in lobbying a legislature than in buying an election, where the money must needs be distributed over a larger surface and the safeguards against corruption are much more numerous. A Pennsylvania politician formulated this with more frankness than self-respect in the following statement: "I can use my money to better advantage in buying a legislature than in buying the people of the state."

Senators do not feel their responsibility to the people of the state to the extent they would if elected directly by the people. If a Senator is unscrupulous it is a matter of indifference to him what the people think of him so long as he can retain his hold upon their legislatures. It is a fundamental principle of representative government that power should be coupled with responsibility. While this in theory holds with reference to our United States Senators, as a matter of fact responsibility becomes considerably attenuated when the body to whom one is responsible is not a permanent body, and this is the case with our state legislatures—few members of our legislatures continue in office more than six years, so that a Senator may disregard the wishes of his state legislature with comparative impunity. Not so when his responsibility is to the people; they are a relatively permanent body and the same constituency which elected him once will have an opportunity to elect or defeat him again. The fact that they are elected for a six years' term—which is three times as long as that of a Congressman—removes sufficiently their sense of responsibility without having this insulating pad in the way of a legislature placed between them and the people. Responsibility is always most effective when direct and certain.

The effect upon our state legislatures is equally marked and all too often is equally demoralizing. The members of the legislature are chosen, too frequently, not with a view to their fitness to serve their state in the capacity of legislators, but because they favor this or the other candidate for the United States Senate. Here, then, is a mixing of issues in state elections, the effect of which is too easily understood to need comment. The next effect is to invite corruption; for there are always some members uninstructed by their constituents with reference to candidates for the United States Senate who can be influenced, and some more who are willing to disregard their instructions, provided the monetary arguments of the candidate or his friends are sufficiently eloquent; or, to put it in a balder form, they can be induced to set a price upon themselves. There is the further objection that it frequently uses a large portion of their time. A direct election by the people would thus save the legislature considerable time and if this be not needed for legislation they could adjourn and go home so much earlier, and by so doing save the state considerable expense as well as suspense. If the contest for a

Senatorship is fierce, the forces of the dominant party divided, and factional feeling bitter, we have a "deadlock." And of late "deadlocks" are by no means infrequent. If the case is an aggravated one, the whole session is sometimes consumed without getting anything done. This is a two-fold injury to the state first, in that the time which should have been spent in legislating for the interests of the state has been uselessly squandered; and, second, in that the state loses a part of its representation in the United States Senate. The "deadlocks" in Delaware, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Montana and California are too recent to need more than a passing mention in order to renew in our minds the disgraceful incidents connected therewith.

Upon the people the effect is certainly not such as to commend the present method. It increases their distrust of their state legislatures; because if the contest is at all close there are seldom wanting charges, too often well founded, of treachery and bribery. It is in part responsible for a lack of confidence in and respect for the United States Senate. It is a lamentable fact that the American people have, to a considerable degree, lost confidence in this body to which a half-century ago they looked with pride; and justly so, for during the early half of the nineteenth century it compared favorably with any legislative body in the world. True, they had the same method of electing Senators then as now; but circumstances have changed. The political machine exerted but a fraction of the effect upon the legislatures then that it does now; nor was lobbying practiced to anything like the same extent. Corporate influence, which now dominates the Senate was then a relatively unimportant factor.

Viewed in the light of past experiences and present conditions it seems to us clear that the present method cannot be justified either in theory or in fact. The practical thing to do is to make it conform to present conditions and consistent with present political ideas.

We are not insensible to the fact that it is an exceedingly difficult thing to amend our Constitution; but unless we greatly mistake the public mind on this point there is a strong popular sentiment in favor of amending that instrument with reference to the provisions in question in this case. All that is needed, then, is to crystallize this sentiment into action. A move toward this end would meet with serious opposition in but three directions, to wit: the Senate, the state legislatures, and that ultra-conservatism of some people which is opposed to change as such, no matter for what end. The opposition from the first two directions could readily be overcome by the pressure of public opinion, wisely and judiciously set in motion by the press, the platform and popular conventions. The reason for the opposition from these directions is not far to seek. Certain members of the Senate are convinced that it would render their "job" insecure; and as for the state legislatures it would necessitate a surrender of power, to which men are in general constitutionally opposed. But of these two the opposition by the Senate and interests backing it constitute the only serious obstacle; for in the ordinary method of amending the Constitution the amendment is proposed by two-thirds of both houses. The method of amending by a national convention called at the request of two-thirds of the legislatures of the various states has never been resorted to. The opposition due to the third cause would in all probability be in this case very slight, and may for all practical purposes be safely disregarded.

On the whole, it seems that the people are entitled to a change and that they can by a reasonable effort secure it. We therefore trust that they will, in the not far distant future, put forth such an effort.

Edwin Maxey.

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# SOCIALIST IDEALS.

By Eugene V. Debs.

WHILE Socialism is a political movement with an industrial purpose, and, because it pays chief attention to the bread-and-butter problem, has been called materialistic, it is really the most idealistic movement of the centuries. So idealistic is it in its aims that, while having no specific religious tendency or purpose, it partakes somewhat of the nature of a religious movement and awakens something of a religious enthusiasm among its adherents.

Of course there are misconceptions of Socialism. These neither agitate nor surprise the Socialist, because they are to be expected. Without referring to any of them categorically, believe me when I say that Socialism is not so much a cut-and-dried program as it is a method by which industry is to be operated. It does not say what it will do or what you shall do, but only that the people, the workers and producers, shall be master of themselves and do with industry and the proceeds of their toil what they may think best. It is a continuation of the old fight against monarchy and in favor of democracy, which was begun in 1776, and which has since been growing into an enlarged world-demand.

Then the ideal was for the overthrow of the political autocracy that prevailed and the establishment of political democracy in its stead. After our forefathers won in that revolution of blood, the ideal inspired France to a glorious but unintelligent struggle for popular rule, and it has been growing and spreading ever since, until now it is only here and there, in isolated places, that political autocracy prevails; for even though England may have a king and Germany an emperor, they both have constitutions and parliaments elected by the people. Democracy has been so successful that it is safe to say that the people will never permit a return to absolute kingly rule.

Socialism is merely an extension of the ideal of democracy into the economic field. At present, industry is ruled by the owners of the machines of production and distribution, who have literally the power of life and death over their subjects. There are now, in round numbers, seventeen millions and a half of people in America who are wage-workers and dependents on others for means of life. There are at least thirty million more who are dependents on the wage-workers for a livelihood. But these are not the only people who are affected by the monarchy that prevails in industry. In many lines the prices of necessary articles of consumption are fixed arbitrarily, and in all cases a tribute of profit is exacted on all things bought and all things sold.

Through these means the entire people are constrained and made helpless before the system. Under political absolutism the emperor did not kill unless there was at least the semblance of crime, but under industrial absolutism the masters of the machine may cut off the means of life at their will and without charge or trial, so that the innocent, the helpless, are left without means whereby they may live. Socialism proposes to put industry in control of the people so that they may no longer be dependents on others for a job, so that they may be freed from the tribute of profit, and so that they may manage industry in their own way, as seems best to them.

It is evident that our forefathers who established political democracy in America could not have known all the uses to which that democracy would be put through the years; they only believed that the people would fare better if they were permitted to manage the government for

themselves than if a few individuals should manage it for private good, and on these principles were ready to risk the future. Few there are to-day who will deny that their judgment was sound. To-day the Socialist does not pretend to forecast what measures the people will take under popular rule of industry. He only believes in the people, that it will be better and safer for them to manage industry in their interest, than it will be to longer permit the owners of the machine to dominate industry in their private interest.

It is not entirely a new and untried principle, but only an extension of the principle for which our forefathers struggled in 1776. We do not need, like them, to resort to arms, but may use the democracy they bestowed on us as a means for obtaining further democracy in the sense that political democracy is to be used as a means for the obtaining of industrial democracy is Socialism a political movement, and in no other sense. It will necessarily differ largely from political democracy in its application, and it is believed, will be the completion of the system begun so long ago that will make it automatic and simple in operation and successful in the solution of the problems that have hitherto baffled the ages. We know not what the people will do when they control the means by which they make their living, but we believe they will use them in their own interest and with a reasonable degree of intelligence. If they do, they can accomplish these results:

They can make it so no one who wants to do productive labor can be deprived of the opportunity of doing it, at any time.

They can make it possible to banish want from the face of the earth.

They can make it possible for every family to have a home and to be immune from the fear of want for themselves and their children.

They can make it possible for every child to have a good education, to be able to see the world, and to make its way without the least danger of losing out economically.

They can make it possible for every man to marry and support a family in comfort and security.

They can make it possible for every woman to be free economically, so that she may get along whether she marries or not.

These are part of the ideals that the Socialist cherishes. They are not mere visions, but are things that may be wrought into concrete form, whenever men shall have free access to the means with which things are produced and distributed. They have been impossible of attainment in the past, only because the earth and its fullness was held from the people by either political or industrial masters. In brief, Socialism holds as its great ideal that freedom of action which shall make the making of a living a simple, easy thing, possible to all; and beyond this lies the greater hope of being able to live, *to really live.*

Hitherto we have been engaged in a struggle for bread. We have been so busy seeking to make a living that we have not been able to make a life. So there have been no real men and no noble women in the world, in the high sense in which they may be when men and women are free. If Socialism meant the solution of the breand-and-butter problem alone then it would be the most wonderful idea ever given to earth, for with all our philosophy and with all our machinery we have not yet accomplished this. If it meant the solution of the bread-and-butter problem only, even then it would surpass all other movements the world has seen, because it would mean an end of the slum and sweat-shop, of child slavery and white slavery, of the worry that kills and the anxiety that ages and destroys both temper and joy.

But it will mean infinitely more than this. When the bread-and-butter problem is settled and all men and women and children, the world around, are rendered secure from dread of war and fear of

want, then the mind and soul will be free to develop as they never were before. We shall have a literature and an art such as the troubled heart and brain of man never before conceived. We shall have beautiful houses and happy homes such as want could never foster or drudgery secure. We shall have beautiful thoughts and sentiments, and a divinity in religion, such as man weighted down by the machine could never have imagined.

Think the best you can of good and beauty now, and it is only a rude and grotesque conception of that which will be possible when man is really free by virtue of being master of his own life and free from the mastery of the devils of want and worry.

Religion in its primaries is a great conception, a masterful longing, a transfiguring ideal. To Israel emerging from Egypt it took the form of aspiration for a land flowing with milk and honey, where every man might sit under his own vine and fig-tree. This was as materialistic a conception as that which actuates the Socialist. But beyond that was the individual desire to make of his own life the best and happiest thing he possibly could. The Socialist wants the same thing. His vision of a free world is auxiliary to his ideal of making his own life better and sweeter. And when freedom comes, when the vision enlarges because of the horizon lifting with the higher plane man takes, then the ideal will expand beyond what is beheld now, until it reaches a grandeur such as eye hath not seen, or ear heard, or it hath entered into the heart of man to conceive.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

*Terre Haute, Indiana.*

## THE RELIGION OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

BY ERNEST C. MOSES.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was not a sectarian religionist. His nature was essentially religious, but it was mostly expressed in practical demonstrations of marvelous statesmanship which were greatly beneficial to his fellow-men, rather than in professions of faith or doctrine. He never affiliated closely with the churches of his period. His writings indicate that he remained outside of all religious organizations, because he observed so much in the lives of those who adhered to the competing theological schools of that period which was at variance with the tenets of true Christianity recorded in the Scriptures, of which he was evidently a close student. The strife, injustice and lack of brotherhood manifested by many who claimed to be Christians, were so repugnant to his clearer sense of cause and effect, that he declined to accept any sectarian view of religion. His creed seems to have been centered in "doing good," putting his whole heart into a work of wisdom and love for his fellow-beings to which he was called and abundantly supported.

In proof of this simple article of faith, Franklin was generally found on the side of justice, equality, mercy and truth—on the side which aimed to uplift humanity. If judged solely by the fruits of his grand services to the American cause, and by his noble and forbearing attitude when placed under the stress of indignity and persecution in England (1774–75), Franklin's character will compare most favorably with many of his contemporaries who made far larger professions in respect to religious theory and doctrine. If we compare Franklin's record with that of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who may have

held a few under the spell of his erratic philosophy while scaring many more into helplessness inactivity by his false views of hell and eternal damnation, we shall find Franklin accomplished much more of good outside any one of the dogmatic folds than Johnson did inside his own. Dr. Johnson certainly never made his own form of ecclesiasticism very attractive to a free lance like Franklin, when as one of the most applauded and flattered leaders of the Tory party in England he declared in Taxation no Tyranny: "The Americans are a race of convicts. They ought to be thankful for anything we can give them. I am willing to love all mankind *except an American.*" Boswell tells us that this scholar who professed to be a minister of the gospel of peace and goodwill, at times called the Americans "rascals, robbers, pirates," and exclaiming he would "burn and destroy them." Johnson seems to have continually emphasized the negative human qualities in his political affiliations, relying far more on their alleged importance than was good for himself or his fellow-men. Franklin threw much of his force on the other side, and worked with heart, mind and body for harmony, for his brother man everywhere. It made little difference to him what the brother thought in a sectarian religious way; he desired to uplift all. Franklin saw too much of the Johnson type of religion to be attracted to it, and it is to his credit that he preferred independent isolation to formal observance of any religious system to which he could not fully subscribe. In a human way he made his mistakes and paid his own individual penalties. We do not write to defend his mistakes, which were minor notes in the composition of his life-work, but to recognize the nobility of his character, the good which he was instrumental in bringing to his own day and to our own. To obtain the right perspective we must swing our estimates on the positive side of his character—on the side upon which we hope to be estimated ourselves.

Franklin was not a scoffer at religion. He respected the good motives of all, and believed that the churches in the main accomplished much good. Particularly he regarded them as restraining influences which did much to hold people in check. He once stated a query in these words: "If men are so wicked with religion, what would they be if without it?" He held very tenaciously all his life to the doctrine of good works rather than to profession of creed, or to the influence of periodical preaching. He evidently believed that one good helpful act would outweigh many scholarly orations, and his declarations along this line were paraphrased in his life-work. Franklin declared his own inner convictions when he wrote at one period of his life: "For my own part, when I am employed in serving others, I do not look upon myself as conferring favors, but as paying debts. In my travels and since my settlement I have received much kindness from men, to whom I shall never have any opportunity of making the least direct return, and numberless mercies from God, who is infinitely above being benefited by our services. . . . I can only show my gratitude for those mercies from God by a readiness to help His other children and my brethren. For I do not think that thanks and compliments, tho' repeated weekly, can discharge our real obligations to each other, and much less those to our Creator. You will see in this my notion of good works, that I am far from expecting that I shall ever merit Heaven by them. By Heaven we understand a state of happiness, infinite in degree and eternal in duration. . . . I content myself in submitting to the will and disposal of that God who made me, who hitherto preserved and blessed me, and in whose fatherly goodness I may well confide, that He will never make me miserable."

His view of good works was further amplified in some comments which he wrote on a particular religious sect: "I wish it were more productive of good works than I have generally seen. I

mean *real* good works, works of kindness, charity, mercy and public spirit; not holiday keeping, sermon reading or hearing, performing church services or making long prayers, filled with flatteries and compliments—despised by wise men and much less capable of pleasing Deity. The worship of God is a duty, the hearing and reading of sermons may be useful: but if men rest in hearing and praying, as too many do, it is as if a tree should value itself in being watered and putting forth leaves tho' it never produced any fruit."

At one time in writing his sister who had evidently taken him to task for his non-agreement with her views of religion, he stated that there were some features in her New England doctrine and forms of worship which he could not endorse. In the spirit of toleration, however, he added that he would not therefore condemn them nor desire to influence her to other issues or practices. Reminding her that people often are prone to dislike things which are nevertheless right in themselves, he suggested that when she perceived that the fruit was good she should not terrify herself with a fear that the tree may be evil, and referred her to the immortal statement of cause and effect made by the Master, who said: "Men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles."

Franklin once wrote to his father and mother who had remonstrated with him because he repudiated doctrinal religion: "I think vital religion has always suffered when orthodoxy is more considered than virtue; and the Scriptures assure me that at the last day we shall not be examined for what we *thought*, but what we *did;* and our recommendation will not be that we said, 'Lord! Lord!' but that we did good to our fellow-creatures. See Matthew xxv."

In commenting on the distinctions men made in their various religions Franklin once jokingly said: "Orthodoxy is my doxy—heterodoxy is your doxy." But he really never made any such distinctions in his practical life-work. He tried to treat his fellow-men as if they were all sufficiently orthodox to be brothers in fact, if not in religious doctrine.

Some incidents connected with the closing days of Franklin's career which transpired in the constructive period following the final political separation from Great Britain, very forcibly illustrate the religious character of the man. In the year 1787 the constitutional convention met in Philadelphia to frame a new constitution for the United States. Franklin was called into his final public service in this convocation at the age of eighty-one years. It was said that his good nature and wisdom ruled the house. He opposed every measure which had any appearance of aristocratic privilege, standing firm for the liberal democracy for which in its various progressive movements he had worked at home and abroad for over one-third of a century. His theistic nature asserted itself in this convention in a way which leaves little chance for cavil concerning his inner convictions. He saw the necessity of appeal to the higher Power, and at the proper moment he offered this memorable proposition:

"*Resolved:* That henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in the Assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate."

His resolve was accompanied by these words:

"Mr. President! The small progress we have made, after four or five weeks, close attendance and continual reasonings with each other; our different sentiments on almost every question, is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. . . . In the beginning of the contest with Britain when we were sensible of danger we had daily prayers in this room for divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard, and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances

of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that happy Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting, in peace, on the means of establishing our national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend?

"I have lived, sir, a long time. And the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth: *That God governs in the affairs of men*, and if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an Empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this. I also believe that without His concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the building of Babel."

Franklin's statement was within itself a prayer, and so far as he was individually concerned no additional public prayer was necessary. This humble confession of the patriarch of our primitive national politics was of itself the sincere prayer of an earnest man springing from the innermost folds of a nature responding to the God who gave it life. All the clerical prayers or formularies of Christendom could have added nothing to its potency.

Notwithstanding his appeal, Franklin's resolve was negatived by a large majority, a circumstance probably due to the many different ideas on the subject. But, Franklin's prayer was answered, for the subsequent developments prove that the same Provident Hand safely guided the patriots through the crises of constitutional organization and anchored the federation in its safe haven of executive and legislative authority. The task was certainly far beyond human calculation or power. Franklin's statement contained the word of truth, and that element accomplished that whereunto it was sent.

Franklin was generally non-committal on the subject of Christianity as he observed and understood it through the scholastic interpretations of the period in which he lived. It has been said that at one time he rejected Christianity and the divinity of Christ, but this was not so. Franklin only rejected the various disagreeing theories, dogmas and ceremonial religious systems which were not reconcilable to his deeper sense of rational Christianity. He could perceive that the Master established but one creedless church, while Christianity as it was presented to his epoch embraced many competing, disagreeing creedal organizations. These divisions indicated to him a palpable inconsistency, a lack of the true essence of Christianity—unity in religious motive and action. True Christianity stands for unity, not for sect, dogma or theological competition.

During his last year he received a letter of inquiry on the subject of his religious status from his life-long friend, Dr. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College. His reply contained the following statement: "This is my creed: I believe in God, the Creator of the universe; that He governs it by His providence; that the most acceptable service we render to Him is doing good to His other children; that the soul of man is immortal, and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this. These I take to be fundamental points in sound religion, and I regard them as you do, in whatever sect I meet with them. As to Jesus of Nazareth . . . I think his system of morals and religion, *as he left them to us*, the best the world ever saw or is likely to see. But I apprehend *it has received corrupting changes*. . . . It is a question I do not dogmatize on, . . . respecting myself, having experienced the goodness of that Being in conducting me prosperously through a long life, I have no doubt of its continuance in the next, 'though without the smallest conceit of meriting such goodness. . . . I have ever let others enjoy their religious sentiments without reflecting on them, and as I have never opposed any of their doctrines I hope to go out of the world in peace with them all."

James Parton, the historian, sums up his extended biography of the great statesman in these words: "I have ventured to call Franklin the consummate Christian of his time. Indeed I do not know who has expressed more of the spirit of Christ. He lived among a host of narrow and intolerant sects without quarreling with any of them. He was tolerant of everything but intolerance, and made some charitable allowances for that. His whole life was a calm, good-natured protest against narrowness, intolerance and bigotry, and a moving comment upon the fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion that 'the acceptable way of serving God is to do good to his other children.' . . . This doctrine of the nothingness of theological opinion compared with right conduct and right feeling, seems to be the essence of Franklin's religion."

These statements should forever set at rest any question concerning the profound intelligence and religious character of Benjamin Franklin. His career was somewhat checkered and reflected more or less of the color and shades of the time and environments in which he lived. His true religion was found not in the letter of his public declarations but in the fruits of his life. His unselfish devotion and works for the cause of Independence which was the temporal foundation for the liberal democracy and social structure under which we beneficially live to-day, constitute the best evidences of his religious character and life-work. Few men in his own day accomplished more for the unity of the American Colonies and for a broader freedom from the outgrown "traditions of men" than Benjamin Franklin.

Ernest C. Moses.

*Chicago, Illinois.*

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LINCOLN-ROOSEVELT MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA.

By Hon. John D. Works.

IN CALIFORNIA a division has taken place in the Republican party that is of no little significance. It is a protest against present political methods in the state and an uprising of the better element of the party against political domination and boss rule. It has its weakness of management and is not wholly free from the influence of the interested politician selfishly seeking to wrest the control of the party from other politicians with whom they have trained in the past.

The success of the movement depends largely upon the willingness and ability of its management to free it from such influences. If they will not, or cannot do so, the uprising will amount to nothing. Its success would mean no more than the transfer of power in the party from one set of politicians to another of the same stripe. Such leaders, if they obtain control of the party, would soon find it to their personal advantage to submit to the wishes of the corporations and the temptation would not be resisted. Many of the active leaders and workers in the movement for reform are readily recognized as former machine politicians, who wore the collar of the railroad without seeming irritation. Naturally this being so, their zeal in the reformatory movement is attributed to other motives than that of purifying politics and freeing the state from corporation domination. They are apt to be looked upon as cast-off and disappointed machine politicians seeking their own revenge and personal advantage rather than the public good.

But it is not the part that such as these are taking in the movement that is so significant, but the spontaneous response of the masses of Republican voters to the call for freedom of political action by the individual voter, and the overthrow of boss and corporate influence in elections and in the administration of public offices that has become so alarming.

The affairs of the state have been practically in the hands of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company for years. Every man seeking office, from United States Senator down, has sought the influence of that corporation to secure his desire, or failed to succeed, and it has come to be perfectly well known that no office in which the railroad company has interest enough to assert its influence, can be had without the company's consent. The legislature is packed with its willing and pliant tools; the railroad commission is wholly subservient to its interests and wishes; the governor of the state owes his office to its influence and his future political preferment is in its hands. It, and other utility corporations, control city councils and other public offices dealing directly with their interests, by less offensive influences, if effective for their purposes, but by bribery and corruption if necessary to accomplish results. Usually the fact that the necessary number of any public body, or any single officer, hold their places through corporate influence is enough, but if it is not other influences more potent are brought to bear. The attorneys and other officers and employés of the company are often valued more for their ability and willingness to manipulate politics and corrupt public officials, than for the efficiency of their service in the legitimate business of maintaining and operating its roads.

This condition of affairs has prevailed in California for many years. Both the leading political parties have been controlled by the railroad company. So one of two things must be done to remedy the evil that has been destroying all pure and unselfish political ambition; either form a new and independent party, or undertake the purification and liberation of the old party within its own ranks. The latter course was chosen and resulted in the organization of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League, composed of Republicans and maintaining Republican principles, but with the avowed purpose and intention of renouncing corporation domination and boss-rule, and freeing the party from the management of machine politicians who were, and had been for years, controlling the party in the interests and for the benefit of the corporations and themselves.

The party and the state had been so long ruled by the corporations and selfish and designing politicians that the great body of the electors had lost all interest in political affairs and a most dangerous state of indifference and apathy had resulted. A very large proportion of those entitled to register and vote neglected to do so, and thousands of the best citizens of the state had lost all interest in civic affairs and neglected the most sacred duties of citizenship. The Lincoln-Roosevelt movement was a reaction from this unfortunate condition that bid fair to give the corporations full and unobstructed control of state and municipal affairs. The quick response to the call to duty by this new organization is evidence sufficient to show that the sense of civic duty and patriotism in the masses of the people was not dead but only sleeping. Considering that the formation of this organization threatened the continued control of public affairs by the corporations and the nefarious business of the boss and machine politician, that the whole force of the active and controlling influence in the party was aroused against it, that the strenuous and vindictive opposition of the subsidized press of the state was aroused to opposition, and, taking into account the general condition of indifference and lack of interest on the part of voters, the showing made by the organization may be considered remark-

able. It is a beginning of the work of good citizens to free the state, the municipalities and the individual electors from the bondage of corporate influence and corruption. If pressed forward by the right class of people under the management of leaders free from the taint of machine politics, and with an eye single to the purification of politics and the destruction of corruption in public office, it is bound to succeed.

If the present leaders of the party, some of whom are honest and upright citizens, recognize the justice of the principles of the new organization, and the force of public sentiment against prevailing political methods, the Republican party will live; otherwise it will go down to defeat, not only in California but elsewhere, for the conditions that prevail here exist in other states to a greater or less extent, and the movement once inaugurated is bound to grow and spread, and if its influence does not redeem the old party it will bring a new one into existence sooner or later.

Some evidence of the work of the league, its purposes and accomplishments, is found in an address issued by the Central Committee for the county of Los Angeles, in which it is said:

"To the 13,000 Republicans of Los Angeles county who gave the Lincoln-Roosevelt Republican League their loyal support, and to the hundreds of unselfish workers in the good cause, whom it is impossible to thank individually, the County Central Committee expresses its hearty appreciation.

"It should hardly be necessary to enumerate the victories that the league has won in the first year of its existence, yet it may be well to recount them for the benefit of those who may have suffered some measure of discouragement because of incomplete success, or because of the abuse and misrepresentation leveled against the movement and those earnestly working for its success.

"At the August primaries, when was polled the largest Republican vote ever recorded in any primary election in this county, the Lincoln-Roosevelt Republican League received 47 per cent. of all Republican votes cast.

"Three hundred and eight and a half delegates in the county convention cast their votes for the Lincoln-Roosevelt candidate for chairman.

"Two members of the assembly and one supervisor previously indorsed by the league were nominated by the conventions.

"Owing to the work of the league and its opposition to boss-rule and corporation subserviency, the nominees in general are of higher type than those named by certain previous conventions.

"The Republican county convention adopted every plank except one proposed by the Lincoln-Roosevelt League for its legislative program. These planks are:

"1. A direct-primary election law applicable to all offices from the highest to the lowest.

"2. An advisory vote within the party for United States Senators.

"3. A stringent anti-race-track gambling law.

"4. The endorsement of the Hepburn railway rate law and its application to California, carrying with it the penalizing of rebates and discriminations, and the prohibition of the issuance of free transportation.

"All the Republican nominees for the state senate and assembly are instructed and pledged to work and vote for these measures which (had a reciprocal demurrage bill been included) comprise the essential reforms to which the Lincoln-Roosevelt Republican League is committed and which it is pledged to enact into law.

"Throughout the state the Lincoln-Roosevelt League made an excellent showing, and in the four principal counties of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Alameda and San Diego polled 49 per cent. of all Republican votes cast.

"It has been demonstrated that the great rank and file of Republican voters

of California sincerely desire good government by and for the people."

In this statement it is further said:

"With the close of the Republican county convention the work of the Lincoln-Roosevelt Republican League came to an end for this campaign.

"Now with the ending of the primaries and conventions, and in compliance with the line of policy laid out at the time of the organization of the league, its activity as an organization ceases and the management of the campaign is left entirely in the hands of the Republican County Central Committee, in which body the league has secured representation."

To lovers of pure politics and good government, this statement that the league will suspend its work until another election is a distinct disappointment and is regarded as a grave mistake. The league should be active not only to nominate good men but to prevent the election of bad men. No sentiment of party loyalty can excuse the league from the duty of wresting political power from the corporations and political bosses and ridding the party of dishonest or subservient candidates at the final election as well as at the primaries and nominating conventions. It is only by such means that the Republican party in California can be redeemed and rescued from the pit into which it has fallen. But the quickened political conscience, the better understanding of the duties of citizenship and the indignation that has been aroused throughout the state by the open and unblushing control and corruption of elections and public officers, will sooner or later either purify or destroy the party in this state. The violation of the rights of the people has become so open and flagrant that to permit its continuance is the basest cowardice and the masses of the people of California are not cowards nor the promoters of political corruption. The people of this country must govern or the country is not worth preserving.

One of the obstacles in the way of the league was the army of officers of the state, counties and municipalities, most of whom owed their places to the railroad company. With very rare exceptions, all office-holders stood by the old party leaders and announced themselves as the "regular" Republicans and the Lincoln-Roosevelts as renegades and traitors to the party. In their estimation it was an offense to declare for pure and honest politics and political methods. They arrayed their forces and waged a most bitter warfare to maintain their hold on the party mnagement and the public offices. A banquet was given in the city of Los Angeles which was attended by both of the United States Senators from California and the Congressman from the district, and in which the league was arraigned and assailed as an enemy to the party and one of the Senators openly denounced it. Some of the public officers whose sympathies were with the league, lacked the moral courage to come out openly and espouse its principles because they were afraid of the railroad influence. The standard of political honor and patriotism in official life has fallen very low when the officers themselves, almost to a man, are found arrayed against a movement whose only object is to purify politics and official life, elevate the party above the polluting influence of corrupt politics, and elect men to office who will serve the state instead of the corporations.

The movement is largely educational. If the lessons of the conflict, as far as it has gone, are heeded by the people of the state, the organization will advance and grow and the state will, before long, be liberated from the bondage of corruption and corporate domination that has made the politics of the state a by-word and a stench in the nostrils of all good and observing people.

The movement is one of national interest because California is only one of many states needing political regeneration.

JOHN D. WORKS.

*Los Angeles, California.*

# CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ORGANIC DISEASE.

By B. O. Flower.

I.

TO ONE who has carefully studied the phenomenal spread of Christian Science during the past twelve years, since the first church was dedicated, nothing is more significant than the rapid shifting of ground on the part of physicians and conventional critics in regard to the curing of the sick. At first there was general incredulity expressed and very positive denials of the claims were made by a large proportion of those who think along conventional and scholastic lines.

Later, when a grudging admission was forced in regard to cures, owing to the large number of cases in which healing was claimed and the unanswerable character of the evidence, it was urged that the people cured were for the most part ignorant, over-credulous or neurotic characters, long the victims of imaginary diseases, but that no well-defined cures of persons really ill could be adduced.

Unhappily for its critics, investigation revealed the striking fact that a very large proportion of those who had accepted Christian Science after they had been cured by it were persons of prominence in public, professional, educational and business life; persons of far more than ordinary intelligence and in many instances individuals who by special training, such as judges, for example, were accustomed to close and logical reasoning and the weighing of evidence in a critical manner. Moreover, it was apparent on personal investigation that a very large proportion—probably seven-tenths, of the Christian Science fellowship had come into the church through being healed after orthodox medical treatment had been long and faithfully, but fruitlessly, tried.

II.

Since the volume of evidence relating to remarkable cures wrought under Christian Science treatment has grown so great that it is no longer possible for persons having any regard for their reputations to deny the facts, certain physicians and clergymen have been forced to again shift their ground. They now admit what can no longer be ignored, but in lieu of the denials of yesterday they now advance the claim that while functional diseases may be and are being cured by Christian Science, no organic disease can be thus successfully met.

It is our purpose in the present paper to examine this claim and in so doing we shall cite the testimony of men who, even in the eyes of the medical fraternity, must be regarded as having the training and practice that would render them competent to differentiate between functional and organic disease; men who through medical training and wide or extensive practice in the treatment of the sick according to the orthodox books, are certainly entitled to the serious attention of those who believe that only regularly-educated medical doctors are competent to determine when a disease that is killing a patient is functional or organic.

Clergymen, editors and doctors have recently appeared in print, assuming almost as dogmatic an attitude as that taken by the critics ten years ago, who ridiculed the claim that any disease could be cured by Christian Science.

Perhaps the most distinguished of these recent critics is Dr. Richard C. Cabot, the well-known Boston physician and instructor in the Harvard Medical School. In a late issue of one of the popular magazines this physician undertakes to examine Christian Science cures with a view to showing that though "most Christian Science cures are probably genuine . . . they are not cures of organic diseases."

Dr. Cabot, in common with many physicians and other critics of Christian Science, makes much of the inability of

the sick to judge of what is affecting them and their equal inability to correctly understand or report the opinions given by their physicians. Now while it is right and proper to make a certain degree of allowance for ignorance on the part of the sick in regard to the exact character of their diseases, and perhaps for carelessness or mendacity in reporting the opinions given by their family physicians or the doctors who have treated their cases and failed to cure their ailments, it is quite possible that too much emphasis is placed on this alleged ignorance and loose thinking on the part of the patients by the critics of Christian Science; while, on the other hand, it is important to remember that the physicians who are so ready to discredit the testimony of thousands and tens of thousands of persons, many of whom are men and women of very superior intelligence, who have been cured by Christian Science, are themselves largely disqualified for passing on the evidence in a thoroughly judicial spirit.

And in saying this, it is not necessary to maintain that the doctors in question are intentionally dishonest or unfair. They have, however, been thoroughly educated to believe exactly the opposite of what the Christian Science philosophy teaches. Not only has their scholastic training taught them to regard with intolerance and contempt theories which claim that disease can be cured by means other than what are known as material, but their practice naturally fortifies the teachings which they have accepted as true. They are day by day administering medicine; their position is emphatically the materialistic as opposed to the mental. Theoretically they are at one pole, the Christian Scientists at the other. And all students of history and human life know full well how difficult it is for even the broadest-visioned thinker to rise superior to prejudice, when he is viewing something that he has always regarded as the antithesis of the truth. The mental eye becomes accustomed to seeing things in a certain light. Change the focus, and everything appears distorted. The old Cretan who for thirty years was imprisoned in a dark cave, when dragged into the glorious sunlight shrieked in agony, declaring that the sunlight poisoned him. So it is perfectly obvious that persons whose education, environment and daily practice are opposed to a certain theory, are to a great degree incapacitated from fairly, judicially or competently judging such a theory.

There is a further factor entering into the case, in so far as the physicians are concerned, which in many instances doubtless tends to bias judgment, and that is the bread-and-butter consideration—the circumstance that the livelihood of the physician and the success of the medical schools are measurably threatened by the rise and rapid growth of a new and successful method of cure. The bitter opposition which confronted Hahnemann, following his wonderfully successful treatment of typhoid fever, became so intense that he was compelled to leave Leipsic; and all persons familiar with the history of medical advance know full well how bitterly the schoolmen have fought every innovation that came from without.

During the past fifty years, or since the age of consolidation and the growth of monopolies and trusts, the medical profession has been the most active of all professions in its attempt to gain legal protection that would grant it a monopoly in the treatment of the sick.

Herbert Spencer, in *Social Statics*, aptly touches on this aspect of the matter—the motive of gain. After pointing out the analogy between the would-be medical hierarchy and that of the church in earlier days, when she arrogated to herself the right to compel men to believe whatever she deemed the truth, or suffer torture and death for refusing to conform to her demands, says:

"Moved as are the projectors of a railway, who, whilst secretly hoping for salaries, persuade themselves and others

that the proposed railway will be beneficial to the public—moved as all men are under such circumstances, by nine parts of self-interest gilt over with one part of philanthropy—surgeons and physicians are vigorously striving to erect a medical establishment akin to our religious one."*

Now when this motive—the bread-and-butter phase of the question—is added to the other even stronger influence—that of prejudice, environment, education and practice, is it not clear that even if doctors desired to be fair and just, yet they cannot be expected to be unbiased in their views? Though, as we have already observed, it is not necessary to hold that a physician who opposes Christian Science is consciously influenced in a dominant way by his desire to protect his practice or to further the interests of the school in which he is a professor; nor is it necessary to claim that he is consciously the slave of prejudice and preconceived ideas; yet certain it is that in a large number of cases these things, and especially the education, practice and prejudice, incapacitate doctors from impartially judging the question of cures produced in a way which, according to their books, is as absurd and impossible as was the Copernican theory ridiculous and impossible to the scholars who all their lives had taught the theories of Ptolemy. And it is very important to keep this fact in mind when considering physicians' criticisms of Christian Science. In some respects it would seem that the doctors were peculiarly well fitted to consider the question, but in equally marked respects they are of all persons the least able to rise above prejudice and become wisely judicial.

Dr. Cabot, in the opening page of his paper, says:

"In my own personal researches into Christian Science 'cures,' I have never found one in which there was any good evidence that cancer, consumption, or any other organic disease had been arrested or banished. The diagnosis was usually made either by the patient himself or was an interpretation at second or third hand of what a doctor was supposed to have said."

Let us hope that the good doctor does not belong to the class that are blind because they will not see, or that class of spiritually blind and deaf referred to by the Great Nazarene in one of his parables, when he said, "Neither would they be persuaded if one came from the dead."

That Dr. Cabot finds it difficult to fit his theory to the facts, in the presence of all the evidence with which he has been confronted, is indicated by the labored way in which he prefaces his discussion, when describing functional and organic diseases, and the many loopholes he leaves for escape in the event that cures exhibiting conditions that are supposed to be characteristic of organic troubles are adduced. To appreciate this fact, we need only peruse his words, as follows:

"I have never seen any reason to believe that lies were told by the persons concerned. Their claims were the result of mistake or intellectual mistiness, and not of intentional deception. The cures no doubt took place as they asserted, but they were not cures of organic disease. Now, before going further, something must be said in explanation of the terms 'organic' and 'functional.' By organic disease is meant one that causes serious, perhaps permanent deterioration of the tissues of the body; by functional disease is meant one due to a perverted action of approximately normal organs. Functional diseases are no more imaginary than an ungovernable temper or a balky horse is imaginary. They are often the source of acute and long-continued suffering; indeed, I believe that there is no class of diseases that give rise to so much keen suffering; but still they do not seriously damage the organs and tissues of the body. Organic disease, on the other hand, may run its course accompanied by much less suffering, but the destruction of tissue is serious, perhaps irreparable. The sharpness of this dis-

*Social Statics*, p. 409

tinction between organic and functional troubles is somewhat blurred by the fact that a functional or nervous affection, such as insomnia, may lead, both directly and through loss of appetite, to a loss of weight or to a considerable deterioration in the body tissues. Here we have what might be called organic disease produced by functional disease. . . . We must also recognize the fact that there are a few rare diseases which we cannot certainly assign either to the organic or the functional class. Yet, despite these reservations, the distinction which the words indicate is still a clear one in the vast majority of cases."

Personally, we believe that the alleged ignorance of the thousands and tens of thousands of patients who have been cured by Christian Science, after long and faithful trial of other means has proved entirely futile, is being largely overworked by the physicians. Thus, for example, the Christian Science Committee in New York has a record of 11,244* cures that have been wrought by Christian Science in the Empire State. A large number of these have been, according to the testimony of thoroughly intelligent men and women and their declaration as to the diagnosis of the physicians, such organic diseases as cancer, tuberculosis of the lungs, Bright's disease of the kidneys, etc. New York is under a strict medical law which has enabled the regular schools to drive out irregular medical practitioners, and yet, according to the statements of hundreds of well-known citizens of New York who have been cured by Christian Science, the physicians who previously treated them diagnosed their diseases as organic. And what is true of New York is true of various other states.

Moreover, Christian Science practitioners with whom we are well acquainted—men and women of fine education, high-minded, conscientious and intellectually brilliant, inform us that it has been their experience in the treatment of disease, that organic troubles yield quite as readily as functional disorders. Personally, we believe that the evidence obtainable would amply disprove the claims of the physicians before any unprejudiced or impartial tribunal.

*See *Broadway Magazine*, November, 1907.

III.

But since the physicians lay so much stress on the testimony of their own schoolmen; since they would have us believe that only those who have been trained by an education in medical colleges and by long years of practice are competent to authoritatively differentiate between organic and functional diseases, we at the present time shall devote our attention to the testimony of physicians on this point; and in the first instance we desire to call the reader's attention to some facts presented by Dr. W. F. W. Wilding, a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, of the British Medical Association, the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers of Health, and of the Licentiate Royal College of Physicians of London, England. Surely this man ought to be competent to diagnose disease to the satisfaction of his medical brethren, and his testimony therefore has peculiar interest and value in this connection. In giving the story of his own personal observation and experience in regard to the cure of organic disease by Christian Science treatment, Dr. Wilding says:

"My father had been suffering for many years from an internal trouble, culminating in a serious attack of hemorrhage, and while contemplating an operation, he was persuaded to try Christian Science first, with the result that the operation was never required. He was completely healed in a few days' treatment. The report of this healing raised such a bitter feeling of resentment in me that I think I should have been more pleased if the cure had failed, for I then deemed Christian Science to be quackery.

"However, some months later came my extremity, when medicine failed to

check my daughter's headlong passage to her grave. . . . The disease my daughter was suffering from was tuberculosis, in both hip joints, and also consumption of the lungs. For the diseased joints she had been kept rigidly bandaged down to an iron frame reaching from the shoulders to the ankles, holding the body firmly fixed in the prone position. This was the usual surgical appliance for double hip-joint disease. Life in the open air and residence in a pure atmosphere and all other means to combat the scourge were tried, and yet at the age of nearly eight years she had wasted down to less than thirty pounds, *i. e.*, to the weight of an average child of two years; in fact, to less than her own weight at two years of age."

Dr. Wilding then describes how he placed his daughter, who was then very near to death, under Christian Science treatment, a treatment that resulted in "transforming the whole outlook for my daughter. The material shackles were at once discarded and the child began to walk without suffering pain.

"From that day, six and a half years ago, she has gone on improving, without any setback and without spending an hour in bed through sickness. The joints became free, the stiffened limbs supple, and the wasted tissues were steadily and regularly rebuilt, until she is now one of the most healthy girls in her school, never ailing, never absent, always able to take her part with other girls, both in school and out of school. She has not one symptom of disease about her.

. . . . . .

"In my practice were several patients suffering from organic incurable disease; some of them in their helpless condition decided to try Christian Science. One young man had suffered for about two years from traumatic disease of the knee-joint. This joint was very much enlarged and the various component parts were little else than a mass of pulpy swelling. The surgeons in the infirmary he was attending, told him that the only cure was excision of the whole joint, bringing the healthy upper and lower parts of the limb together and letting them unite, leaving him with a leg shortened by several inches and stiff. We, surgeons, considered this course as a practical success, but the patient felt he would like to keep his *whole* limb, and therefore turned to those who held out hope to him. He consulted a Christian Science practitioner and was absolutely healed there and then. I myself personally examined this joint the day before and the day after his healing, and can testify to the condition and to the complete healing resulting from one Christian Science treatment.

"A patient had been under my care, more or less, for over six years, suffering from organic disease of the valves of the heart, steadily growing worse most of the time. The last attack had nearly proved fatal. This was another case of rapid healing when Christian Science was tried. One day she was going about in a bath-chair, the next working hard from early morning in her own cottage home."

At the time Dr. Wilding made this statement, the woman had been in the enjoyment of perfect health for six years, working hard every day.

Dr. Wilding, after observing that he could cite numerous other cases of similar healing of organic troubles, gives the following interesting case which came under his personal observation a year and a half after he had become convinced of the power of Christian Science to cure all manner of disease. Every step of the following case, he declares, "passed under my personal observation."

"The patient suffered for twenty years from a form of paralysis and most of the time losing more and more control over her limbs, the latter eight years being completely paralyzed in the lower limbs, and partially in the arms, and she was so helpless that others had to carry her downstairs to her couch or bath-chair in the morning, and upstairs to bed at night, when she was even well enough to leave her bed at all.

"The attending medical man at this period, when asked his opinion of the future progress of the disease, replied plainly in effect, that there was no hope of any cure, but a very grave fear that she would steadily grow worse and that a fatal termination in the near future was not at all improbable—and then he followed this up with a strong recommendation to her to try Christian Science, because he had known of a case in his own practice of partial spinal paralysis being healed by this treatment.

"The patient, after consulting with her relatives and also with the one healed by Christian Science, to whom her doctor had referred, applied for Christian Science treatment.

"During the first treatment given, the Christian Scientist had the joy of witnessing the active return of movement in the paralyzed limbs, at first in an involuntary and uncontrollable swinging of the legs under the bed clothes. There had been no movement of these limbs for nearly eight years. In the early morning after the Scientist's visit, which had been paid in the evening, the patient made her sister get up, light the gas and help her out of bed, saying she 'felt sure she could walk.' She arose and walked around her bed. Their great joy may be imagined.

"The healing was so rapid that in two or three days she was able to go out, walking about the town."

IV.

We next invite the attention of our readers to some extremely interesting and valuable data furnished by another physician, whose thorough medical education, experience as instructor in a leading medical college, practice in one of the largest hospitals of the continent, and extensive private practice render him especially well qualified, from a regular view-point to accurately diagnose disease. Moreover, the special cases here given cannot fail to command the consideration of unbiased and thoughtful people, because, in addition to the opinions of an eminent expert diagnostician, the general facts observable by lay attendants and friends who were cognizant of them are substantiated by affidavits from these parties. Before giving this report, however, a few words in regard to Dr. Edmund F. Burton, who furnishes this data, will be interesting.

Dr. Burton graduated from the Rush Medical College of Chicago, Illinois. He served an interneship of eighteen months in Cook County Hospital of Chicago. After his interneship he was appointed a member of the surgical consulting staff of the same hospital. He was also appointed instructor in the Rush Medical College. Both these positions he held until he was compelled to leave the north on account of the rapid inroads made upon his health by tuberculosis of the lungs. He first went to Arizona, and later to Los Angeles, California. While in Arizona he served as Acting Assistant Surgeon of the United States Marine Hospital Service. In reporting on his condition after the development of consumption, prior to his leaving Chicago, Dr. Burton says:

"I was obliged, on account of tuberculosis of the lungs, to abandon my medical practice in Chicago and go to Arizona, where it was hoped, against expectation, by those who advised this move that the disease might be overcome; but the prognosis was that I would not live more than a few months. I myself had discovered accidentally the presence of the disease more than a year before the time of leaving Chicago, but had delayed following the advice which I would have given to any one else, partly with the hope that I could overcome the trouble without the aid of a more favorable climate and partly through dread of the life at a consumptive resort. However, during the last two months preceding my leaving for Arizona the hemorrhages became so frequent and profuse that it was no longer possible for me to go on with my work, and I accepted what seemed to be the

inevitable. During the year previous to my leaving Chicago I had been depending upon alcohol and opium in different forms to control as far as possible the symptoms of the lung trouble."

Later, Dr. Burton, as have so many physicians in like condition, resorted to cocaine to stimulate the faculties drugged and drowsed by morphine, in order to enable him to continue his practice. Finally the stomach refused to assimilate food, and there was added to other troubles a complete nervous break-down. The doctor's life was despaired of. So certainly, indeed, did death in the near future appear inevitable, that a local hospital refused to take the patient, and preparations were being made to remove the supposedly dying man to a state institution. There was a period of unconsciousness, reports Dr. Burton, of more than forty-eight hours, after which "a number of physicians who had known me for several months, in consultation pronounced me incurable, and told my friends that I had from a few days to a few weeks to live. A private sanitarium to which my wife applied refused to admit me on account of the hopelessness of the case. . . .

"During the evening following this verdict a lady suggested with much trepidation the advisability of calling a Christian Science practitioner, and my wife consented that this be done, not with a feeling that anything could be accomplished, but in the same spirit of desperation in which any other harmless although probably useless thing would have been allowed. A practitioner came and remained with me three hours. At the end of the first hour I was sleeping quietly, and when I woke about eight o'clock in the morning it was with a clear mind and the absolute conviction, which has not changed since, that I was free and well. I asked what had been done for me, insisting that a radical change had taken place in my physical and mental condition. Naturally the conviction that I had been healed came very slowly to those about me, and it was months before it was fully acknowledged, but to me there was such a mental change that from the first there was no room for doubt. There is no need here to give figures, although I shall be glad to do so privately to any one, physician or layman, but I will say that so far as I know there is no instance in medical literature of the recovery of any one taking the amount of these drugs which I was taking up to the time referred to. And to one who knows the state of the nervous system and of the digestive organs which exists in such cases, it is stating it mildly to say that the most remarkable feature of the cure was that there was no period of convalescence. From the time of my waking on the morning following the treatment there was no nervousness or twitching, sleep was natural and quiet, appetite healthy, digestive functions all in good working order, and mind clear and composed. The same afternoon I drove my automobile for two hours without weariness or excitement of any kind. During the following thirty days I gained thirty pounds in weight. Within ten days of the time that I was pronounced incurable I undertook a most arduous trip across the Nevada desert, where unusual endurance and physical strength were absolutely necessary, and I found that I had an abundance of both. Moreover, from the day of the treatment to the present time [a period of over six years] there has never been any desire for alcohol, opium in any form, cocaine, or any other stimulant or drug.

. . . . . .

"Two months later I was able to lay aside glasses, which I had been obliged to wear constantly for several years on account of compound astigmatism, and my vision since has been such that there has been no need to use them. About the same time and without any feeling of inconvenience I was able to abandon the habit of smoking, which I acquired in early boyhood and with which I had had many a hard and unsuccessful struggle.

. . . . . .

"I was forced by my own healing to the conclusion that there was a power in Christian Science of which I had never taken account. My own changed condition convinced me that there was something in the system, and I was determined to find out what it was, although I had no thought at that time that it could take me out of my profession."

v.

Last winter a magazine published a paper from the pen of Dr. Burton, in which, after giving a detailed statement of his wonderful cure, he cited some remarkable cases that had come under his own observation, involving the cure of organic troubles through Christian Science. This article called forth the following letter from one of the leading Boston physicians:

"*Dear Dr. Burton:*

"1. What was the 'broken bone restored to normal condition and function within a few hours'? (*Midwestern*, February, 1908, p. 98.)

"2. What was the patient's name and address?

"3. To what witnesses can you refer me on this case? Will you give me similar information regarding the 'congenital deformity' in a child five years? (See same reference.)

"What are the names and addresses of the 'best medical talent' who diagnosed the case of cancer referred to in the next sentence of the article referred to?

"If we can all of us get proof of these statements we must all become Christian Scientists. It seems to me therefore only fair that you should let us have the proof of these facts, and I hope that you will be willing to oblige me in this matter."

In reply to the above, Dr. Burton wrote at length. That portion of the letter bearing on the cases in question we reproduce in full, together with the statements and affidavits of outside parties cognizant of the facts involved.

"*My dear Doctor:*

"Replying to your favor, would say that I am glad to give you the information for which you ask. . . . You may be sure, however, that I appreciate your inability to understand such healing, in surgical cases especially, but to refuse to believe on testimony even where one fails to understand is not the position of investigators to-day.

"The 'broken bone restored to normal condition' was in the arm of my wife. There was fracture of the olecranon and backward dislocation of the elbow joint. The examination was made by myself about an hour after the accident, and was made most carefully since it was my wife's desire that the healing should be left to Christian Science, and I made sure of the condition to be met, from a surgical standpoint. I might refer you to Drs. Frank Billings, J. B. Murphy and James Nevins Hyde of Chicago, with whose names you are familiar, and who will, I think, tell you that my diagnosis of such a case can be relied upon—at least they will agree that it could be relied upon before I became a Christian Scientist, and there is nothing in that teaching to lead one to have less regard for the truth than otherwise.

"As witness of the accident and its results, I refer you to Mr. and Mrs. Tully Marshall, who can be reached at the Astor Theater, New York, and Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Clawson, Pacific Electric Building, Los Angeles.

"There was no manual reduction of the dislocation or fracture and no dressing or splint of any kind applied. Thirty hours later there was no sign of dislocation or fracture, Mrs. Burton dressed her own hair and fastened—in the back—her waist, using the hand of the injured arm, and was about her usual occupations, went bathing in the surf and used the hand and arm freely. There was never at any time enough swelling to be noticed without comparison with the other arm, although there was slight discoloration for several days.

"The second case referred to was that of a child in whom there was such

deformity as to prevent action of the digestive tract with anything like normality. There never was an action of the bowels up to the time of her healing. Water was forced into the lower bowel and simply ran out without any sign of the slightest bowel action. She was never able to nurse, and a few drops of milk at a time were swallowed with pain and difficulty, and there was complaint of pain in the stomach and bowels always. At the time of her healing she could take a small glass of milk in an hour. One five-minute treatment resulted in entire removal of all these troubles, and she has eaten, digested her food and evacuated the bowels normally ever since. Her mother is Mrs. William Johnson, Hollywood, California.

"The case of cancer referred to is Mrs. Belt, Bellevue Terrace Hotel, Los Angeles. The healing was done in November, 1906. Her brother, through whom it was done, is Mr. W. S. Alexander, 121 West First street, Los Angeles. The case had been diagnosed by several physicians and at the time referred to was in charge of Dr. Barton Dozier, 412 Grant Building, Los Angeles. There were all the classical symptoms and signs of inoperable carcinoma of the stomach. She was believed by two nurses in charge of her at the Clara Barton Hospital, this city, to have died and such notation, together with the hour of death, was made by the head nurse. Her brother refused to accept this verdict and continued with Christian Science treatment, with the result that she was restored to perfect health, left the hospital in a carriage in a few days, and is to-day a normally healthy woman."

Mr. Tully Marshall, who at the time of making this statement was leading man at he Astor Theater, New York City, in an affidavit dated New York, March 30, 1908, says:

"During the summer of 1907 my wife and I were visiting in California, and on the first day of July of that year were bathing in the surf with some friends at Ocean Park, California. My sister-in-law, Mrs. Alberta N. Burton, wife of Dr. Edmund F. Burton of Los Angeles, was bathing with us on that occasion.

"The surf was unusually rough, and in battling with the waves my sister-in-law was thrown violently, being struck suddenly by a more than usually heavy wave. She instinctively threw out her left arm to save herself, and in falling struck heavily on this arm.

"My wife and I went to her assistance and helped her to our house where on examination it was found that her left arm was rapidly swelling, the pain also being most intense. She was unable to raise the arm at all. I could see plainly that the elbow was dislocated, although I did not know at the time that the elbow joint could only be thrown out in the manner which I have described by the breaking off of a hook-like bone which forms part of the socket.

"Within an hour after the accident, Dr. Burton took the case and treated it through Christian Science. While the severe pain was not relieved at once, the patient was able to sit up and eat her dinner, and moreover, slept quietly that night from eleven o'clock until the following morning.

"Within three days my sister's-in-law arm was, to all intents, well, and she went with us to a picnic, and went in bathing again with us.

"In less than a week she was able to play on the piano (of which she is an enthusiastic devotee), and was able to dress herself completely without assistance and to attend to all her daily affairs as usual.

"During this period the arm was discolored (inside particularly) from the wrist nearly to the shoulder, the darkest patches being nearest the elbow where the ligaments had been torn loose. This discoloration disappeared within a few days from the time of the accident and the arm was as well as the other, in every respect, the healing being complete.

"It seems only fair to add that I have been since told by surgeons that with the

best surgical attention such a fracture leaves a more or less stiffened arm, but in this case there were no such effects.

"I wish to reiterate that I was not only present at the time of the accident, but that subsequent thereto my sister-in-law was under my close and (it must be confessed) skeptical observation, as my wife and I were then living in the same house with her.

"At that time I was disposed to criticize the methods employed to relieve my sister-in-law, feeling convinced that the bone should be set or the arm at least bandaged and carried in a sling as is usually done in such cases. However, in this instance, the results disarmed all criticism, the healing being complete."

Mrs. Marion Marshall, in an affidavit made the same day, says she has read her husband's statement, is familiar with all the facts set forth in his affidavit and declares that the same are true of her own knowledge.

The statement made by Mrs. Alice Higginbotham Johnson, of Hollywood, California, in respect to the second case, that of a child, cited by Dr. Burton, declares that her daughter from birth "showed evidence of an abnormality in the digestive tract, manifested by great difficulty in swallowing, signs of pain in the stomach and bowels, and lack of bowel movement. Swallowing seemed to be accompanied by pain in the throat and was frequently impossible, the food not being passed at all, but lodging in the mouth or throat and ejected later or at once. A glass of milk fed her with a spoon required from one to two hours to be swallowed, even up to the time when she was relieved of the condition in September, 1907.

"In September, 1907, she received a single treatment from a Christian Science practitioner. This was followed at once by disappearance of all of these conditions. Bread and milk were swallowed freely within a few minutes; the bowels moved naturally within a few hours, and the pain in the stomach disappeared. She has been in normally good health and condition since that time."

Mrs. Johnson's account of her daughter's healing is attested by the child's grandmother, Mrs. J. I. Shackelford.

The confirmatory evidence in the case of Mrs. Belt who was healed of cancer, is exceedingly interesting.

Mrs. Ollie Malone makes the following explicit statement, dated Los Angeles, California, March 26, 1908:

"I hereby certify that I was a special nurse at the Clara Barton Hospital in the city of Los Angeles at the time Mrs. Mary A. Belt was brought there as a patient on or about the first of November, 1906. She was almost continually vomiting and suffering; was unable to eat or sleep or retain anything on her stomach for several days. Her stomach was very much bloated, and she had been there suffering in that way for four or five days; phlegm, similar in appearance as soap-suds at times almost filling her mouth and nostrils. This slightly mingled with blood from the nose. Her ankles had both turned dark, indicating that congestion had set in, and we were not expecting her to live through the night.

"About this time she was treated through Christian Science. Her brother, Mr. W. S. Alexander, remained at the hospital with her practically all the time, day and night, for five days. (I understand there were two other Christian Scientists treating her.) She appeared to rest easier and not suffering so much pain soon after she was receiving Christian Science treatment, and I think it was the second or third night after she was taking Christian Science treatment, she appeared to have expired.

"I was unable to locate any pulsation. This was about twelve o'clock at night. I immediately looked up the head nurse, and she came to the room with me. She called Mrs. Belt and then tried to locate her pulse. In the meantime her mouth had come open and the jaw turned slightly to one side, every symptom and indication that death had taken place, and

the head nurse, in my presence, recorded her death.

"It was then that Mr. Alexander, her brother, stooped in front of her, and, placing his hands to each side of her head, he called her by name, 'Mary,' the second time, and she opened her eyes, and breathed a natural breath, and that morning she turned over on her stomach and had a sleep for the first time while she was at the hospital. Within a few days she left the hospital, and I regard it as miraculous and the most wonderful case of healing through prayer.

"I am not a Christian Scientist, and have told others of this wonderful case of healing, which I could never have believed had I not witnessed the same with my own eyes."

Mrs. Belt's brother, J. B. Alexander, who is not a Christian Scientist, in a statement dated Los Angeles, California, April 1, 1908, confirms the account of Mrs. Belt's suffering and the characteristic symptoms of her case and relates how, after her failure to improve under the hospital treatment, she asked her brother, Scott Alexander, for Christian Science treatment. Mr. J. B. Alexander's statement continues:

"Her improvement seemed slow. A couple of days after she had asked for Christian Science treatment, when I called by as usual, it seemed to me there was then no hope for her. She conveyed to me the idea that she expected soon to expire, and had grasped my hand, but my brother Scott assured us both that all would be well, and I was much impressed with the firmness of his statement.

"The next morning I called by I noted a marked improvement, and learned that she had for the first time in several days had sleep. She soon began to eat and relish her food, and within a few days, left the hospital very happy. She soon regained the flesh she had lost, and we all recognized the fact that she has been healed through Christian Science treatment.

"I am not a member of the Christian Science church, although the religion appeals to me as beautiful and consistent with the scriptures."

Mrs. Belt's own affidavit goes into detail as to her experiences and condition prior to her healing by Christian Science and dwells at length on her condition before and after taking Christian Science treatment. She narrates how, just before the cure, "the phlegm, like foam, filled my mouth and nostrils, mingled with blood, and I observed one of my ankles quite dark and blue, and asked the nurse, how I had hurt my ankle. I then observed the other ankle was also dark, and asked her what caused that. Then I told her it was congestion that had set in, and she stated, 'Never mind about that.' . . . I felt that death was near, and told my brother, even if I died, I felt that my soul had been saved. I do n't just remember what expressions my brother made, but he would never admit that I would die. He would tell me that life was spiritual and eternal, that in God, in Spirit, we move and live and have our being, and similar statements.

"When I became unconscious, or after I had expired, I do not know for how long, when I became aroused, or awoke from that condition, I felt and knew that I was healed. Such a change had taken place, and I was made exceedingly happy. I was thirsty and hungry and asked for water. My brother told me that life was spiritual and not to care to eat or drink with the thought before me, that it was necessary for health and strength but that I would soon have a natural appetite, and I could then eat and drink whatever I cared for, and it would not hurt me. I then told him I wished for a drink of water, which was given me, and I asked for an apple. A half of an apple was found, which I relished, and I turned on my stomach and had a sweet sleep for the first time for about nine days. The next morning my brother brought me a lot of figs and grapes and I had other things to eat, and on that day I sat up in a chair part of the day. The next day

I walked about the place, and that evening I had a hearty meal, including corn bread and breakfast bacon, and the next day, with others of the family and friends went up into the roof-garden. The following day, my brother called by with a carriage for me, and we enjoyed a long drive.

"I had been reduced in weight to 105 pounds. Within a few months I regained my normal weight of about 145 pounds."

It was our purpose to cite a number of further interesting and important cases given by other physicians, and testimony from prominent or well-known individuals relating to cures where the facts in evidence leave no doubt as to the organic character of the diseases cured. Lack of space, however, renders this impossible at the present time; but the clear, explicit and unequivocal testimony of the distinguished English physician and surgeon and that of the American physician whose medical education and ability was signally recognized by his professional brethren when he was made instructor in his *alma mater* and appointed on the staff on one of the largest hospitals in the country, reinforced as is this last testimony by the sworn affidavits of reputable citizens as to the facts observable by those in attendance on the patients, is entitled to far more consideration from impartial truth-seekers than the opinions of doctors who have made but superficial investigations and who have started out with the conviction that no organic disease could be cured by Christian Science.

B. O. Flower.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF TO-DAY.

By Saul Beaumont.

IN THE life-time of a nation various changes take place. At times these changes develop slowly, peaceably; at other times they stride forward rapidly, forcefully, accompanied frequently by spasmodic and tumultous upheavals. The former changes mark its healthy, unperturbed development; whereas the latter indicate abnormal evolution and unhealthy existence. Both cases, however, contribute their part in its evolution as well as in its downward march.

In the contemporary drama of our national life, instances of both of the above-mentioned phenomena evidence themselves prominently. Side by side with the normal evolution of its various phases, abnormal ones also abound. And here it is where enormous riches thrive alongside of extreme poverty and want. It is here that the institutions of learning turn into bureaus of misinformation, and press and pulpit sell out to Mammon for a consideration. It is here that the political power of the country is being used to deceive, subjugate and crush the workers of the nation. It is here that multitudes suffer, starve and perish, while a few cunning ones revel in luxury and licentiousness. It is here that healthy economic and social growth, and foul, infectious degeneration go hand in hand, and the result is certainly appalling.

In the midst of vast natural resources, with plenty of machinery of production and transportation, and with millions of workers willing to work for the welfare of their country, multitudes are idle and therefore forced to live in constant privation; many of them are actually starving; many more are maimed, killed and crip-

pled; and vast numbers fill the poor-houses, the penitentiaries, the hospitals, the insane asylums and the houses of ill-fame. These are facts—living facts. And what are the causes that produce these chaotic conditions in our social organism?

At the bottom of these phenomena, the economic evolution of the past several centuries plays the most important part. This evolution, assisted by the discovery and use of steam, electricity and various mechanical appliances which have so simplified the production of the commodities of life and have therefore so enormously increased their output, and, while forcing its way through the various stages of industrial competition, resulted so disastrously to the small manufacturers and merchants, by ruthlessly eliminating them from their economic independence, and having also attained the present high mark of concentration, the trust and the merger, with its modern paraphernalia of management and administration—this economic evolution has produced on the one hand a small but enormously wealthy class of industrial magnates, whose possessions amount to about seventy-five per cent. of the total wealth of the nation, and on the other hand it has created a vast number of propertyless workers whose very existence is dependent upon the reckless and greedy manipulations of the former.*

In the competition stages of industrial evolution, the struggle between the possessors of the means of production and the producers was the natural outcome of the economic development of our social system. Therefore the former could not be blamed so much for the results that sprang therefrom; because the capitalist in order to preserve himself and his possessions was compelled to submerge the interests of all his opponents—of competitors and wage-earners alike. But to-day, in the present stage of industrial centralization, it is sheer greed and selfish ambition that prompts the capitalists to wage war on the rest of society in order to exploit it to the limit. And it is this selfishness, this greediness to take hold of everything and use it to their hearts desire that prompts our mighty magnates to concerted action against the workers of the nation.†

These predetermined activities of the capitalist class and their political tools are, instead of ameliorating, still keener sharpening the class struggle of to-day. Blinded by the glitter of their gold and intrenched behind the power it wields, they are so aggravating the situation that it is becoming almost beyond the limits of toleration. The curtailment of production and the locking out of millions of toilers, the harsh treatment of the police and the judiciary toward organized and unorganized labor, and the non-resistance of the latter, have so emboldened our benevolent masters and their faithful supporters that even the red letters‡ on the walls of time have no restraint upon them.

Such is the attitude of the rulers of our country towards the masses. Being in possession of the land and its natural resources, and having also appropriated the material wealth the workers produced, they are on the alert to defend and safeguard with all their might what they have and what they expect to get hold of. And to follow out this policy, the "upper class" predetermined approximately the following plan of action:

First of all, the weakening of the workers' economic power was decided upon. Hence the curtailment of production; increase of the army of unemployed; decrease of wages; in a word, the lowering of the "standard of living" of the proletarian masses and bringing them down to a point of constant misery

*"A quarter of a million . . . men in New York City are out of work. . . . The million wives and children dependent upon them are starving."—*Appeal to Reason.*

†See interview with J. Pierpont Morgan by Editor Mirel, in February, 1908.

‡Fifty thousand organized Socialists, and half a million votes cast in their favor at the last general election.

and privation.* Next, the workers must be deprived of their economic, social and political rights; that is, to disrupt their unions, to prevent assemblage and to coerce them into submission. To accomplish this the courts of the land were appealed to, and they were not slow in obeying the orders of their masters.† But this is not all. Strict ukases were sent out from "headquarters" to the "heads" of the military and police forces of the industrial centers, to spare no means in crushing or subduing any and all attempts at demonstrations on the part of the unemployed and starving workers, and in case of resistance, to Russianize America.‡

Thus open warfare was declared by organized capitalism against the working class of this country and the gauntlet thrown in their faces. Will they take it up?

In order that this question may be answered aright, the subject under discussion—the class struggle of to-day, must be traced to its inception. And as it is as old and changeable as the race itself, and as variable as the conditions under which it lives, a short sketch of its evolution would not be out of place before we proceed.

*"To-day the factories and workshops are closed, or operated with reduced labor forces. It is estimated that nearly two million men and women are at present out of work. Men . . . are compelled to beg, to eat at charity soup-houses, and to sleep on the cement floors of our police stations. Others lose all hope, and in their despair give up their life by self-destruction."—The Socialist party of St. Louis, Missouri, March, 1908, in a call to organized labor to invade the political field and check capitalist rapacity.

†In less than six months, from August, 1907, to January, 1908, a dozen injunctions and otherwise adverse decisions were issued by the courts against various labor organizations throughout the country, forbidding them to demand concessions, to declare strikes against or put on the "unfair list" certain business concerns that were most unfair to them, etc., thus practically nullifying the rights and privileges they have hitherto attained.—See "Anti-Labor Decisions of the Last Six Months," in *The Worker*, New York, February, 1908.

‡The action of the police against the demonstrations and protest meetings of the unemployed in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and numerous other places, strikes the point home clearly enough.

A long, thickly-interwoven chain of strife and struggle marks man's progress on earth. In the infancy of the race savage fought savage, and the victor unceremoniously devoured the body of his fallen opponent. However, with the advance of man to a higher plane of culture, this form of combat changed; the stronger, instead of devouring his opponent, subjected him to servitude and eagerly absorbed the fruits of his toil. Slavery then began its existence. Later, organized bands of marauders vanquished, ruled and plundered vast multitudes of men, women and children and made playthings of them for themselves and their kindred. In modern times classes predominate over each other, and the cunning exploit the less ingenious ones. And as various as were these conflicts in the different stages of man's social evolution, so also was the velocity of their character of procedure. At times few only fell the victims of savage brutality and passion; at other times vast multitudes succumbed to the harshness of battle; and on many occasions whole nations were exterminated on the altar of greed and ambition. Of course, there were at times cessations of hostilities; but these were only sham armistices—calms before the storm, at the culmination of which the contending forces rushed again upon each other with greater force and destructiveness. And for ages these conflicts of man against man tore asunder human society. They not only subdued, demolished and destroyed individuals, classes and nations, but brought their interests as well under the yoke of the victors of "right and might," ignorance and superstition. And it was this submerging of the interests of the individual, or group of individuals, by another individual or group of individuals, that caused the struggle for supremacy among them. To possess, to hold this possession, and to strive for more was the overruling incentive at all times. It is the same to-day with the classes possessing wealth that others have produced. Hence

the struggle of classes, and the misery, privation and degradation it brings about. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."* Therefore, the class struggle of to-day is but another link in the long chain of war between the interests of the classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The harsh methods therefore of late employed by the former against the latter are no longer surprising. Greed and selfishness were always the motive power of heartless men. And although so many years have elapsed since the primitive days of our race, precisely the same selfish spirit that followed it throughout the ages is permeating it to-day. All the suffering of the victims that fell before us in this strife for the necessities of life; all the sacrifices of mankind's best sons and daughters on the altar of social progress, and all the teaching of the learned and wise, the manly and humane, were of no avail. And to-day, as of yore, humanity entangled and suffering in the web of human spiders, is standing aghast before the impending social storm, helpless to avoid or check its velocity. Evidently the same underlying causes are bound to-day, as in the past, to force the clash of arms of the contending forces, and the battle will have to be fought out once more, this time on a much larger scale and with more appalling ferocity.

Already the vanguard of the approaching conflict is upon us. It expresses itself in the restless, feverish activities that to-day permeate all classes of constituted society. The rich in their luxurious mansions, as well as the poor in their pestilental hovels, seem to be in constant expectation that "something" may happen in the near future that will shatter the very foundation of our social system and its co-existing institutions. Moreover, the very atmosphere seems to be filled with the menacing sounds of discontent and the threatening upheaval of the oppressed masses. Already the sensitive ear discerns the rumblings of the impending cataclysm, and the rising temperature of unrest in the social body bodes a calamity to vested interests of no slight importance. And all who read the signs of the times are either terrified into insensibility or are swiftly arraying themselves on one side or the other and earnestly preparing for emergencies.

Evidently conscious of the approaching clash, both contending forces are preparing for the fray all along the line of action.†

Thus once again the forces of human society stand in the social arena contending for the interests at issue. And how conscious they are of these interests of their respective classes can readily be seen from the earnestness of the utterances from either side.

"The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for . . . by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country," cries George M. Baer, the apostle of the capitalist side.

"To the worker belong the products of his toil, and he will take care of it himself," responds the class-conscious working class.

These are the slogans of both contending factions, and such is the situation in this struggle-infected arena of our social life.

And what is to be done to ameliorate these chaotic conditions?

This question must be answered thus: These things cannot go on forever. A change must be made, a change at the very foundation of our social order—the

*See *Communist Manifesto*—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

†"There is no denying the fact that we must look forward to a gigantic controversy between labor and capital."—William H. Taft, Secretary of War.

"The financial condition in America is attracting not only my attention, but that of the politicians and financial specialists of the whole world. It is only the beginning of a new period in social life, and I feel safe to predict that it is for the American people the signal for their revolution of labor against capital."—Count Witte, ex-Premier of Russia.

"I prophesy . . . that before another half-decade blood will flow in our streets, and the night-rider's torch will light the heavens with its appalling glare."—Chancellor Day of Syracuse University.

economic basis of society. And this change is imminent. All the forces of our social fabric are irresistibly working for it. Things are certainly moving fast in that direction, and there is no escape. We are on the verge of a social upheaval, on the threshold of a radical change—the Social Revolution. How, then, shall it be accomplished—by force or by reason?

True to the traditions of their kindred of all ages, the rulers of to-day are responding with cunning, force and treason. Organized labor is being mercilessly persecuted by the judiciary, police and military forces. Their leaders and officials are thrust behind prison bars and are black-listed forever. Injunctions are issued. Unorganized labor fares no better. The general public is being frightened by "anarchists" and their (police-made) attacks on "the safety of society." The reactionary press is muzzled beyond recognition, and they are trying to do the same with the organs of the progressive forces of the nation.* The police force is on the increase; the militia reorganized;† the pay of soldiers is raised‡—evidently to induce the scum of the land to join the army. More warships are called for and built. Armories are constructed and equipped with weapons and ammunition. And the "triple alliance" of capitalism's physical forces—policemen, militiamen and soldiers—is ordered to "shoot to kill," in case of "insubordination" or resistance of the masses against its predominating power. "Rule or ruin" where deceit fails seems to be the general order from "above." And after political trickery and judicial persecution fail to accomplish the desired result, force is to be resorted to and capitalism *must* dominate at all hazards.

These are capitalist tactics, and what are the results?

Instead of subduing the aggressive spirit of the class-conscious proletariat, they simply make matters worse than ever. On the one hand the aggravation of the intelligent workers grows more intolerable as the days pass, and on the other, an epidemic of crime is sweeping like wild-fire over the land.

The so-called "legal" acts of the criminals at the top of the social ladder react upon the criminals of the lower steps thereof. Crime rampant at the top produces crime below, and anarchy reigns supreme. The number of legal anarchists at the top of the social structure breeds plenty of illegal ones beneath it. And the cry of "Catch thief!" that is sounded against the latter§ is but a feint to distract public attention from the real culprits.

But as alarming as conditions are, still a ray of hope permeates the nation. It comes not from the top of society's golden dome, but from the depths of the social abyss. It comes from that stratum of the social order known as the Working Class.

These proletarian masses that were hitherto purposely divided into small, helpless, submissive and, among themselves, wrangling factions, are to-day beginning to see from whence their hardship comes. They are no longer satisfied with the high-sounding, empty phrases of Carnegie, Belmont, Gompers and Company of Civic Federation fame. The "identity of interests of capital and labor" charms them no longer. Even such a conservative organization as the American Federation of Labor sees the futility of it. Moreover, the workers are beginning to realize that fighting for ther rights on the economic field alone is but a fruitless task. The battle begun on the economic field must be extended to the

*Senator Penrose's attempt to perfect this scheme has failed so far, but I prophesy that similar attempts will be made in the near future.

†See Dick *Military Law.*

‡Seven million dollars were appropriated by Congress for that purpose.

§On April 10, 1908, this dispatch from Washington was sent over the country: "Drastic action will be taken by Congress . . . to suppress the anarchists in the United States"—on President Roosevelt's recommendation, of course, to "appease" the people and turn their eyes in a different direction.

political field also, there to be fought to a finish. The political weapon of the capitalist class must be taken possession of by the working class in order to dislodge the former from the entrenchments of their economic position.

The progressive workers of these United States, gathered under the Red Banner of the brotherhood of man, refuse to be deceived or coerced any longer. They are a class-conscious body, knowing the interests of their class and also knowing how to fight for them. They no longer believe in "passive resistance"; "political aggression" is their cry. And like their brother-workers of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and all other capitalist-ridden countries, they are steadily forming into line, and, under the leadership of the Socialist party, will strike for the emancipation of their class from the yoke of capitalism. And to all the cunning manipulations, to all the treacherous and brutal persecutions of them and theirs by the forces of modern plutocracy, they answer thus:

Just as economic evolution brought about industrial concentration, so will it inaugurate industrial coöperation; just as this economic evolution caused the appearance of classes in the human family, so will it cause the elimination of class distinction; and just as the antiquated form of individual ownership of the means of life caused, and is still causing, the struggle between these classes, so will it result in the social ownership of the same, as well as in the elimination of all strife from among men.

To assist this evolution and to achieve the results it implies, the proletariat of this country, will use the modern weapon of political warfare—the *ballot;* and if the "mighty captains" of industry desire otherwise, then they will be forced to take up the gauntlet.

The class struggle is on—it must run its course. It will give us light—light and reason, necessary for the reconstruction and elevation of human society. Children are not born without pain; still less social transformations. A new social order is being born into our national life and nothing can hinder its advance. For the economic forces of the land are behind it, reason is behind it, justice is behind it—and they are forcing it to the front.

In order to maintain their position and safeguard the interests that benefit them only, the capitalist class relies on cunning, force and foul play; whereas the workers in their struggle for justice and equal rights for all depend solely on economic evolution, reason and peaceable means. This mode of warfare employed by the capitalist class will react upon them before another decade rolls by; whereas the tactics pursued by the workers will most assuredly carry the day.

Such are the attitudes of the contending forces in *the class struggle* of *to-day.* What form they will assume in the future, "only the future can tell."

SAUL BEAUMONT.

*Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

# PROGRESS OF THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

By Robert Brown.

RECENT reports indicate that very satisfactory progress is being made in the formation of garden villages. The Garden City Association has an exhibit at the Franco-British Exhibition in London that is attracting a great deal of attention from people in England and also from Continental foreigners.

At Rosyth on the Firth of Forth, not far from Edinburgh, the government is going to form a naval base. The Garden City Association has prepared a plan showing that the land at the disposal of the government is quite suitable for the purpose, and extensive enough to carry out the garden-city ideal of not more than ten workmen's dwellings to the acre. Much or all of the natural beauty of the Fife coast will be saved, and the workmen will live under far healthier conditions than in congested tenement dwellings, a fact which statistics amply substantiate.

At the Scottish National Exhibition now open at Edinburgh a model of Letchworth (first Garden City) is shown. The Scottish branch of the Garden City Association is to erect at Bannockburn a range of model cottages.

Sir Christopher Furness, M. P., has acquired a large estate at Ormesby for development on Garden City lines. Sir Christopher has taken much interest in housing matters and a capital of $2,000-000 will be required in this undertaking.

A scheme for a Garden City suburb is being considered for Edinburgh and another for Glasgow.

One of the most advanced schemes of development on Garden City lines is that at Hampstead, North London. The annual meeting of the Hampstead Suburb Trust showed the development had proceeded at a rapid rate. Sir Robert Hunter, who seconded the adoption of the report, warmly commended the undertaking. Mr. Barnett is one of the most active workers on the board of directors. Several of the best architects in England are engaged in the work of designing and carrying out buildings in this suburb.

One of the very latest Garden City villages is situated at Hull, in Yorkshire. The capital of the company is $1,000,000 and the dividends are limited to three per cent. The scheme has been the work principally of Sir James Reckitt who holds two-thirds of the capital. At the opening Sir James said the only object in view was the betterment of their neighbors and to enable them to derive advantages from having fresh air, a better house and better surroundings. He spoke of the responsibilities of wealth and urged people of wealth and influence to make proper use of their property.

To a monthly magazine in England the Countess of Warwick contributes "A Talk About Garden Cities," in which she says: "I, therefore, believe that there is a great future before the Garden City. It is too early to look forward to the time when the sweltering masses of our over-crowded cities will be scattered in industrial communities on the land, which is now so rapidly going out of cultivation. But I am convinced that the Garden City is the first step forward to this great ideal; that it will be found to be the solvent for the great and increasing misery of the over-crowded cities. Every one who has the good or this country at heart, and who feels that the future of our Empire depends on providing conditions of employment for our people in which the *mens sana in corpore sano* may be preserved, in which healthy children may be brought up instead of stunted weaklings of the slums, then every one, I say,

ought to do what he can to advance the work of the project."

Readers of the article on "Coöperation in England" by Mr. Gray, in the March, 1908, ARENA would doubtless realize the strength and solidity of that movement. At the time Letchworth (First Garden City) was begun, it was looked upon as an experiment. The coöperative movement avoids experiments which are attended with any risk to its members. But the coöperators of Great Britain now realize that the first Garden City was no visionary dream but a sound commercial undertaking justified by results. An organization named The Coöperative Garden City Committee has recently been formed, having for its object the formation of an entirely coöperative Garden City and Coöperative Garden Suburbs.

The advantages of having a large capital in founding a Garden City is apparent to all. A writer on this subject says: "The coöperative movement stands alone for its closely-knit and centralized organization. It is a huge trust with all the marvelous mechanism of a trust, but without the soullessness of a trust. It has full and detailed knowledge of the industrial needs and capacities of its ramifications throughout the country, and this will make the work of organizing the manufacturing side of the Coöperative City a comparatively simple matter."

When the coöperators of Great Britain collectively assimilate the garden-city idea, we may look for very notable developments.

It is well for the future of Britain that in the working out of many social reforms men and women of "light and leading" are nobly and patriotically doing their share toward realizing the good time coming.

ROBERT BROWN.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## AN AWAKENING.

BY JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN.

SEVERAL years ago during a summer spent in Champel, Geneva's most attractive suburb, I got myself, or rather a family of gossipy robins got me, into the habit of waking at five in the morning. This would have been a sad predicament in some places, but in Switzerland the law of compensation came to my rescue, and if I was cheated out of my sleep, I at least was given the opportunity to enjoy some memorable walks and to get the benefit of those famous Swiss sunrises which add their touch of morning glory to the lake and mountains around Geneva.

The house where I lived at Champel was a quaint eighteenth-century villa that had been set down in a beautiful park by the Italian ancestors of my hostess some two hundred years ago. If I am not mistaken, it was the same year that the ancestors of the robins settled in the oak tree under my window. While I was only a bird of passage myself, I had been in Geneva long enough to absorb some of that spirit of profound reverence for all members of all old families, which still clings like a faint aroma of her feudal past about this very democratic city. Probably that is why I got up meekly when the robins woke me, and went out to see the sun rise, instead of evicting them from their ancestral nest as I might have been tempted to do in America.

One morning I walked down to the Jardin des Anglais to watch the sun rise across the lake. The streets seemed very deserted until I came within sight of the steamer landing where a crowd had

gathered waiting for the early boat. As I strolled towards them, thinking to find some energetic compatriots propelled by Cook, I was surprised to discover instead, a company of poorly-dressed men and women standing on the pier, waving handkerchiefs and shouting messages to a lot of little boys and girls on the boat, who were waving and shouting in reply.

There was about the scene something of the bustle and excitement of a Hoboken pier when a great ocean-liner is preparing to start. In answer to my query a little pale-faced woman nearby explained that this was the annual departure of poor children sent for a month's outing to the mountains and country by the Geneva branch of the Swiss Vacation Colonies. The decks were swarming with children, each child with his traveling outfit done up in a sack or a big handkerchief, feeling and looking as important as though he were embarking for a journey around the world. Everybody seemed to enter into the spirit of the thing, and from dear old white-haired Monsieur Mittendorf who collected the tickets as each little traveler arrived, and pinned on the magic blue or pink or yellow ribbon which checked him safely through to his destination—down to the big policeman who kept order, and the stokers who were peeping out of the port-hole windows—everybody was excited and happy. To be sure there were the inevitable tears shed by a few of the children whose hearts failed them when the whistle blew, and the gang-plank was drawn on board, and I noticed more than one mother using her handkerchief, alternately to brush away tears and to wave encouragingly at some small figure which she seemed still able to distinguish after all the little figures were only one blur to me. But the tears that were shed that morning were the kind that flowed from the fountains of joy, as a woman explained to a sailor who was good-naturedly chaffing her for laughing and crying in the same breath.

The crowd on the pier, of fathers and mothers who had snatched just time enough from their work to wave a farewell to their little ones who were going off to play, interested me almost more than the ship's load of fortunate little unfortunates.

As I stood there thinking how strange it was that those who do the world's hardest work should be so often the very ones who never get a vacation, the little pale-faced woman at my side confided to me with a flush of excitement, that she, too, was to have an outing. Indeed it was on her account that her little girl had been accepted this year, so that the mother could be sent for a few month's rest to one of those convalescent homes which are to be found on the outskirts of nearly every Swiss city of any size, where for one franc a day, poor people dismissed from hospitals, but not yet fit for work, or those who have been dragged down by the year's burdens, are given a season of quiet country life and a chance to lay the foundation of new strength for the winter's tasks.

One man I noticed in the crowd waving to a little pinched-looking boy on the boat. The band of crape on his hat corresponding to a black band on the child's sleeve told the pitiful story, and gave one a hint of what it must mean to this little chap to be mothered for a few weeks at least by some warm-hearted peasant in the country. The man's face was drawn and haggard; he leaned heavily against the pier, waving his hand to the last, but the effort seemed to tire him, and after the boat was well off and the crowd was gone, he stood there still leaning against the pier, gazing listlessly across the lake. Suddenly rousing himself he glanced at the tower clock, saw it was five minutes to seven, and, picking up a chest of tools at his feet, dragged himself wearily off in the direction of his work.

I spoke to him as he was going. "He will surely have a happy time in the country, your boy." He looked at me a moment dumbly, then as if more to himself than to me said: "Yes, happier than at the house; there is not much happiness

there now, surely. I do n't know what would have become of him alone all day; yes, the country is better than an alley when school is out and the mother is gone. It has been a good thought of some one to help me with the boy. It makes me feel—that God may be good, after all." He pulled his cap down over his eyes shamefacedly, as if he had said too much, and not giving me a chance to reply, wished me good day. As I watched him, a queer, envious wish came into my heart; I wished I had been the particular person who had given the money that had gone to buy that boy's outing, that had—if one may put it that way—helped to buy back this man's faith in God.

Later on in the day I dropped in at the office of Mr. S———, the man who had first mentioned the Vacation Colonies to me, to ask a few questions about the work of the society. Mr. S——— has two hobbies—vacation colonies and golf, and he abounds in statistics as to both. He insists he can enjoy his own vacation on Scottish links with an easier conscience, if he has helped some one else to a summer's outing, and I believe it was about him that I heard some gossip to the effect that when he and his family take a pleasure trip, the exact amount they spend on themselves is set aside to give some poor people a vacation. While the idea is original, it seems to work well all around, and when he told me that he was starting for Scotland the next week, I thought instinctively of the little pale-faced sewing-woman, and wondered if her outing had any connection with his.

He took my interest in the children as a matter of course, evidently thinking it the result of a talk he had had with me one afternoon two weeks before in the street-car going out to Champel. Naturally, he had no means of knowing that while seemingly listening to him that afternoon I had been thinking all the time of a Paris hat I had just bought at a great bargain and was wearing home in triumph. I myself recalled distinctly how on that occasion, the glass window half-way open, against which he leaned as he talked, had served me as a mirror, where I could catch occasional glimpses of how becoming the hat really was. "And such a bargain," I had kept repeating to myself complacently as he had talked of the children—"a real Alphonsine hat—forty dollars, reduced to twenty-one fifty, almost given away," as the milliner had assured me. I recalled, guiltily, how Monsieur S——— had beamed on me as he got off the car that afternoon. "When people really are interested I can talk for hours about those children," he had said—"you must come into my office some day and let me tell you more."

It had not occurred to me at the time that I would ever care to accept that invitation, but here I was now, more to my own surprise, evidently, than to his, asking for the promised information, He launched out on the subject with fresh enthusiasm, and this time you may be sure, I made a great effort to concentrate on the statistics he was giving me—so many children sent, so many francs expended, so many days passed, so much average increase in weight per child, etc.

But, strange to say, the vision of that same hat, again intruded itself between me and him as he talked, and as he, stimulated by my apparent interest, enlarged on the subject, giving me statistics of other cantons, and other years, I kept thinking about hats bought at different seasons and in other countries—hats that I remembered, with a shudder, had not been "bargains"—for which I had paid the full market price, for the name sewed on the inside and for that indescribable air, on the outside, which gives to the well-dressed woman what Emerson calls "that sense of inward peace which religion is powerless to bestow." But this, time, neither the thought of my clothes, nor my religion, brought me any peace. My religion seemed to be mocking me, and those hats fairly haunted me. They

"AN AWAKENING."—THE HOME OF THE VACATION COLONY.

piled themselves up, in my memory, one high above the other; such quantities there were—several every year—and they seemed to arrange themselves in the form of a monument—one huge monument for a lot of little graves—of children whose lives might have been saved with a part of the money which had gone for those hats!

I got up suddenly, interrupting Monsieur S———, for, from thinking of hats, I was getting started on dressmakers' bills, and I felt that I would go crazy if I began to calculate how many children could have been sent to the country for the price of one Paris gown. He was just concluding: "It is hard to draw the line taut, and refuse little pinched children, for lack of a small sum, for you see how far a little money can be made to go in this work."

"Yes," I answered slowly, as I finished some tentative scribbling on the back of my check-book, "I see—one child for one month at one franc a day: thirty francs, or six dollars cash expenditure. One month of country air, one month of good, nourishing food, and a chance to get a head start on the high road to health again—besides," I thought to myself, remembering that father's words, "returns mental and spiritual that one cannot calculate. As you say, you can make a little money go a long way—I should like to see if a little money that was going as far as Paris, can't be made to go a little farther still in your hands."

As I was leaving, he handed me some leaflets, giving the statistics of all the Vacation Colonies in Switzerland for 1904, and as I read, how, over forty-three hundred poor children had been given an outing that year by this one society, not counting the large numbers of children sent to the country by other societies, and

"AN AWAKENING."—GAMES ON THE LAWN.

many taken for regular daily afternoon excursions through the summer months, I wondered how the statistics of one American city, say New York, for instance, with about the same population as all of Switzerland—would compare with these. Certainly the need of children in America, to be got out of reeking tenement-house districts is infinitely greater than that of Swiss children whose condition cannot begin to be compared in misery and in poverty, with theirs. I recalled an article which had failed to make much of an impression on me at the time, in which Jacob Riis made a plea for the four or five thousand children in New York tenements alone "crippled and maimed by that terrible scourge of ill-nourished childhood—bone tuberculosis, of whom, only one in a hundred" is given a chance to prove how God's fresh air can work its work of healing.

I thought of the sixty thousand such children he mentioned, scattered over the United States, criminally neglected; most of whom are left to die, or to grow up stunted and deformed, as well as to spread broadcast the contagion of their malady. I thought of the thousands upon thousands of other children in New York city, weak and ill-fed—but not yet diseased, stifling in the back-tenement districts, with never a breath of pure, fresh air, nor a glimpse of the sea so close that it laps the very shores of the great island city. I thought of the misery of the factory children in different parts of merica, unprotected by the state, driven by the grim taskmaster, Poverty, to drag out a life that is worse than death. I seemed suddenly to hear a chorus of these children's voices calling from across the ocean, to see myriads of little hands stretched vainly out for help, and my face flushed with righteous indignation, to think that America should fall so far

"AN AWAKENING."—BATHING IN THE MOUNTAIN BROOK.

short of little Switzerland, in caring for its future citizens and rulers.

Was there, indeed, no way out of their misery, I asked myself—was no response being made to their cry? I recalled vaguely that great movements were going forward for the protection of children, and for their rescue from vicious surroundings. But suddenly it occurred to me to stop generalizing on so vast a scale, and to bring the subject nearer home; to lay less emphasis on the failure of Americans in general, and more on the failure of one young American in particular, whom I at least, without injustice, might call to account. What interest or part had I taken in helping on this work, I asked myself; when had I ever lifted so much as my little jeweled finger to save one of the least of these little ones? "Was it possible, for instance, that my own indifference could in any slightest degree be held accountable for the blighting of one small life? And was my indifference the result of carelessness or ignorance, or was it just a flat refusal to admit that I was in any sense a keeper of these children—a refusal to take any part in their affairs, even though it were an affair of life or death to them?

Gradually vague questions began to shape themselves in my mind, questions which, a few months before, I would have dismissed with disdain, as too impractical to be worth considering—questions, for instance, as to whether the unnecessarily expensive clothes on my back, and other personal luxuries I indulged in, could have any possible connection with the state of my soul.

"Was there," I asked myself, "in all the mass of suffering and injustice about me, at least some infinitesimal part that might be wiped out—if I were really awake, soul as well as body? And was it at all possible to be awake spiritually

"AN AWAKENING."—"LOOK PLEASANT, PLEASE!"

and yet have my eyes shut to these things?" I had a feeling that the answers to such questions might upset all my comfortable theories as to my own personal exemption from responsibility for the misery, which, paradoxical as it may seem, I had up to this time regarded as, somehow, a part of the divine order of things. But slowly it began to dawn on me that to questions such as these my whole life could be my only answer.

The thought of my poor, neglected little compatriots, had made me half regret for a moment, that check for the Swiss children. But, after all, I concluded, was it not they who had really waked me more truly than the robins at the dawn of this new day? And could one who had slumbered in selfish ease so long, count any price too great for this Awakening to life of that divine germ we call the Soul, through which God's love pours in to strengthen us, only in proportion as our love pours out to strengthen others?

I had gone out to see a sunrise—and a light that was older than the sunlight had begun to shine for me. I had "gained an abyss where a dewdrop was asked."

I forgot to say that the sun *did* rise that morning, as usual, only I was too busy thinking about the children, and the hats, and the statistics, to pay much attention to it. You see the sun gets up every morning, everywhere, only it is not every day, nor everywhere, that little poor children are bundled out of tenements and alleys into God's country. "Would n't it be good," I thought, "if all the little poor children could be as sure of their outing as that the sun would rise?" And would n't it be better still if, some day—a day whose coming I might hasten, the sun would rise on a world where there were no little poor children at all?

JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN.

*Cotuit, Massachusetts.*

# BOOKS AND WRITERS.

### The Late Professor Otto Pfleiderer.

IN THE death of Professor Pfleiderer the religious world suffers an irreparable loss. He was a master thinker who, possessing all the German scholar's untiring industry and passion for truth, did as much as, and perhaps more for the cause of sound religious criticism, than any religious thinker of our time. Two of his distinctly great works, *Christian Origins* and *Religion and Historic Faiths*, have been reviewed at length in earlier issues of THE ARENA. A third volume, entitled *The Development of Christianity*, is, we understand, now in press and will prove one of the most important religious publications of the autumn on this side of the Atlantic.

### Two Notable Ethical Plays.

WHILE the stage will doubtless long be largely given over to trashy productions and spectacular extravaganzas that can make no pretensions to worth either from a literary, dramatic or ethical view-point, it is highly encouraging to note the number of plays of real merit that have recently scored unmistakable successes.

From the moral point of view, the two most notable recent dramatic productions are *The Servant in the House* and *The Devil*. In one play the dominant spirit in the home is that of the Christ; in the other, it is the devil. Each drama carries a strong moral. THE ARENA will shortly present illustrated critical papers on each of these reigning dramatic successes.

### Ernest C. Moses.

ERNEST C. MOSES, who in this issue of THE ARENA contributes an interesting and suggestive paper on "The Religion of Benjamin Franklin," besides being a well-known Chicago business man, has been a frequent contributor to the magazine and periodical press, writing important articles for such publications as *The World To-Day*, *The Engineering Review*, *House and Garden*, *The Christian Science Journal*, and *The Syracuse Journal*. He at the present time occupies the position of First Reader in the Seventh Church of Christ, Scientist, of Chicago, Illinois.

*Social Psychology.* By Professor Edward A. Ross. Cloth. Pp. 372. Price, $1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

WITH the exception of the immensely important work accomplished by Gabriel Tarde, this volume is, we believe, the only extensive and authoritative work dealing with social psychology that has yet appeared; yet the subject is one of the most important questions before civilization to-day, and nowhere is it more important than in the United States, where during recent years there has been a steady increase in the tendency to national hysteria, manifested not only in the amazing exhibitions of the mob spirit from time to time in different sections of the country, but also in the unreasoning and intemperate sway of public opinion from time to time when the press has fanned to flame the passions of the people.

Professor Ross frankly states that his work doubtless contains many errors, as would necessarily be the case in a pioneer volume dealing with a subject as complex in character and obscure in some of its phases as is social psychology. And while it is probable there may be some false conclusions, the work as a whole displays wide reading, exhaustive research and close reasoning from the facts involved. The author quotes extensively from a number of leading writers, philosophers and specialists, but the quotations are so happy and apt that they fit in as part of the closely-reasoned arguments.

In the history of civilization there never has been a period when it was so necessary for the thought-moulders to appreciate the importance of looking to the well-springs of public opinion and guiding the thought of the masses in such a way that reason based on a recognition of fundamental moral verities, rather than passion based on emotionalism and fed by prejudice, shall rule. In earlier times, as our author aptly observes, news traveled slowly. One center might be profoundly influenced and agitated on a certain day, and twenty-four hours later the news had reached and influenced other centers; but by that time public excitement in the first center had begun to subside and rational ideas had begun to assert

themselves where at first only passion and prejudice swayed the public mind. To-day, however, a whole nation may be stirred by the press within a few hours.

The volume from first to last is rich in facts of which no student of political, social and economic conditions can afford to be ignorant. The author belongs to a coterie of conscience-guided educators whose splendid reasoning powers are being faithfully devoted to the advancement of a higher civilization. This is a work we can heartily recommend to our readers.

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*Counsels by the Way.* By Henry Van Dyke. Cloth. Pp. 160. Price, $1.00 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

This volume is divided into three parts: "Ships and Havens," "The Poetry of the Psalms," and "Joy and Power." The first division is written in Dr. Van Dyke's happiest style and is one of the noblest ethical essays to be found in American literature. It deals with life in a manner that cannot fail to make every reader the better for its perusal. This division is sub-divided into five parts, entitled "Pilgrims of the Sea," "Whither Bound?" "The Haven of Work," "The Haven of Character," and "The Last Port."

Part Second deals with "The Poetry of the Psalms." It is excellent on the whole, yet the author hardly meets our expectations at times. There are so many rare poetic gems in the Psalms that one wishes a master essayist like Dr. Van Dyke might have given more of them setting in his golden words.

The third part is more didactic in character. It embraces three discussions: "Joy and Power," "The Battle of Life," and "The Good Old Way." They read very much as though they might have been discourses delivered before some religious gathering; and for persons who hold to the old religious views in regard to the dogma of the Atonement and similar concepts, this division will doubtless have a special charm; but for more liberal thinkers it is far less interesting than the two preceding sections.

The work as a whole, however, is one of the finest volumes of ethical, literary and religious essays of the year.

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*The Common Sense of the Milk Question.* By John Spargo. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 350. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The author of *The Bitter Cry of the Children* continues the warfare in the interest of the little ones in this new volume dedicated to Mr. Nathan Straus, a pioneer in the great work of saving infants from needless slaughter. The book is in substance a plea for pure milk for the childrens' sake. The conditions under which impure milk is produced and marketed are graphically described. The deadly effect of bacteriaized milk on infants is told with infinite pathos. Then various remedies are given. On the whole the author is an optimist. He says:

"Never in the history of the world probably—certainly not in modern times—was so much intelligent and earnest effort devoted to the welfare of children as to-day. In all civilized countries the physical, mental and moral well-being of the children occupies a large and increasing share of the attention of thinkers and statesmen. There are still many little ones who needlessly suffer because of the ignorance and greed of parents and guardians, or because of distressing social negligence and ignorance; the bitter cry of wronged and despoiled childhood still rises in painful volume to rebuke us and lacerate our hearts. I would not minimize that cry of rebuking anguish, nor seek to hide from the vision of men one single trace of the agony of suffering childhood which torments us and goads us to do justice to the helpless victims. Heaven knows that amid the din and strife of our busy world the cry of the children is none too loud, that it is even now sometimes unheard so that we pass unheeding

"'The black sides of the pit, the quenchless fire.'

Still, with my eyes upon the pit, I am conscious of the bright, kindly sun above, and know that the world is a better place for children than ever before in its history. Never before were the arms of society spread for their protection around the children as now."

John Spargo is doing a very noble work. His name will be remembered as one of the great philanthropists of his age. While he believes that Socialism is the ultimate remedy for social ills, yet he is thoroughly practical. We must begin where we are and do the utmost that can be done now. There is no more important economic question to-day than that of producing and distributing pure milk. It affects health, intellect and morals. The selection of cows, how to stable and feed them, the cleansing of milk-cans, the transportation and

distribution of the milk supply, become great moral questions.

Every farmer should peruse this book. Every mother and nurse should be acquainted with its contents. It is of more vital importance than it is possible to express in this brief review. ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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*Wanted—A Theology.* By Rev. Samuel T. Carter. Cloth. Pp. 144. Price, 75 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

IT HAS afforded us much pleasure during the past year to call the attention of our readers to a number of very vital new religious works in which a nobler and more civilized concept of religion has been presented in lieu of the old dogmatic controversies that darkened the theological world for so many weary generations. The stern and angry Judge of Calvin and Jonathan Edwards is slowly but surely giving place to the concept of God as a loving Father, and in the light of modern research carried forward by such ripe scholars as Otto Pfleiderer and other leading higher critics, we are coming to have a nobler and more rational conception of religion and of Deity than was possible in the old days, after the rise of scholastic theology and the paganization and corruption of the Primitive Church.

The present volume by the Rev. Samuel Carter is the earnest plea of a Presbyterian divine for a broader and truer conception of God than the creed-worshipers of the old church are willing to accord the Supreme Being. It is a vital work that merits the widest possible circulation among orthodox Christians who yearn for something more than the husks of scholastic or creedal theology. The principal chapters concern "God," "Christ," "Man," "Future Punishment," and "The Church." In the opening chapter Mr. Carter shows that the pulpit has lost its old-time hold on the people. "All overmastering power has gone from it and never will come back till the preachers have found the true theology, based on the love of God and the brotherhood of man." Having shown how the old theology has slandered Deity, the author turns to a consideration of Jesus Christ:

"Having darkened for us the beautiful face of God, the old theology went on to confuse and disturb our knowledge of and delight in Jesus Christ, His Son.

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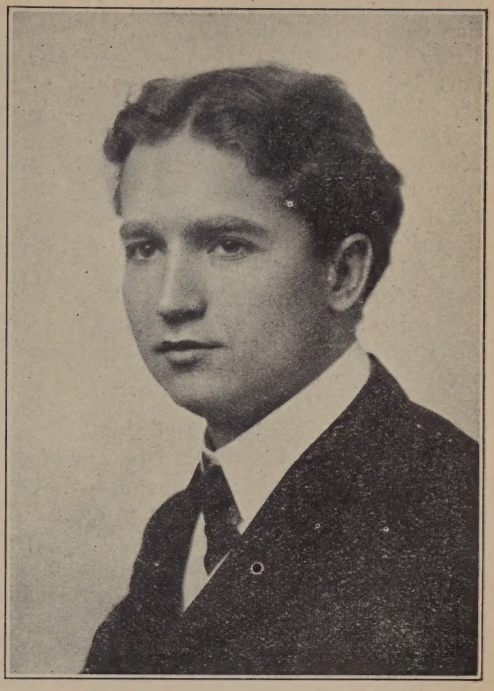

WILLIAM SALISBURY,

Author of "The Career of a Journalist."

"One of the chief marks of the greatness and goodness of the Lord Jesus is that men love him so much in spite of all that the scholastics have said and done about him. And some of the worst of this saying and doing has been in the Councils themselves. Dean Milman in his *Church History* says, 'A general Council was a field of battle. Men met with all the excitement, the estrangement, the jealousy, the antipathy engendered by fierce conflict. Each bishop was committed to his own opinion and was exasperated by opposition. They tried to triumph over their adversaries rather than dispassionately seek the truth.' Gregory Nazianzen, a church father of high name and sanctity, writes: 'I have never known an assembly of bishops to terminate well. They strive only for power, they behave like angry lions to the small and like fawning spaniels to the great. It would seem as though a herald had convoked to the Council all the gluttons, villains, liars and false swearers of the Empire. I will never more sit in these assemblies of cranes and geese.'

. . . . . .

"And I quite fail to see why such a dust

should be raised about this matter of the relation between God the Father and His Son. Every one agrees that the one great idea of Sonship is oneness of nature. A son is of the same nature as his father. And man being a son of God, as is well understood, the supreme Man must be the supreme Son of God. But when the theologians said that the Son was equal in power and glory with the Father, they simply gave the lie to the Son himself who said, and all his life confirmed it, 'My Father is greater than I.'"

In his chapter on "Future Punishment" Mr. Carter gives a vivid glimpse of the hideous and essentially fiendish doctrine that used to be proclaimed to the people by Jonathan Edwards and other leaders of the old Calvinist theology. It is well to call to mind some of the awful nightmares that haunted the minds of the elect leaders and that darkened the brains of tens of thousands of people. The following extracts will give the reader a glimpse of the kind of "glad tidings" Jonathan Edwards doled out:

"Here are some of the expressions of Jonathan Edwards on the subject of hell: 'He will trample them beneath his feet with inexpressible fierceness. He will crush their blood out and make it fly, so that it will sprinkle his garments and stain all his raiment'; 'You cannot stand before an infuriated tiger even—what, then, will you do when God rushes against you in all His wrath?' What a beautiful conception of God this is! He says, 'In some heathen countries the manner of disposing of dead bodies is to dig a pit and put in it a great quantity of fuel, to put the dead bodies on the pile and set it on fire. This is some image of the burning of dead souls in hell.' He says again: 'The whole world will probably be converted into a great lake or liquid globe of fire, a vast ocean of fire in which the wicked shall be overwhelmed, in which the wicked shall be tossed to and fro, having no rest day or night, billows of fire continually rolling over their heads. They shall forever be full of quick sense; their heads, their eyes, their tongues, their hands, their feet, their loins, and their vitals shall forever be full of glowing, melting fire, and also they shall be eternally full of the most lively sense to feel the torment.' This is bad enough, but there is one touch that caps the climax: 'The sight of hell-torments will exalt the happiness of the saints forever, it will really make their happiness the greater, as it will make them sensible of their own happiness, it will give them a *more lively relish of it*—oh, it will make them sensible how happy they are.' The hell is pretty bad, but the heaven seems to me to be worse."

Over against this picture we have the rational and sane view as expressed by one of England's great thinkers, Lecky:

"That an all-righteous and all-merciful Creator in the full exercise of these attributes deliberately calls into existence beings whom He has from eternity destined to endless, unmitigated torment is a proposition at once so extravegantly absurd and so ineffably atrocious that its adoption might lead men to doubt the universality of moral perceptions. Such teaching is, in fact, demonism and in its extreme form. It attributes to the Creator acts of injustice and barbarity which it would be impossible for the imagination to surpass—acts before which the most monstrous excesses of human cruelty dwindle into insignificance—acts which are in fact worse than any theologians have attributed to the devil. As is customary when they enunciate a proposition which is palpably self-contradictory, they call it a mystery and an occasion for faith."

The closing chapter of the work is richly worth the reading. It is a fine, optimistic and wholesome essay entitled "Rejoice and be Exceeding Glad." Here are a few extracts that show how broad, sane and nobly good are the views of the author:

"Happiness wants cultivation; there is a habit of being happy and a habit of being miserable, and we want to cultivate the first. I would bring this indictment against religious people, that there has been far too much cultivation of misery. I knew one very pious woman who would never have her piano opened on Sunday. I would rather throw the lid of the piano back against the wall on Sunday. This woman also did not light her hall gas-jet on Sunday. I should light two for one on that day.

"The whole subject of popular amusement comes in here and merits the most careful consideration. Take the drama, for instance. The drama is one of the most beautiful rests and refreshments of man that have ever been provided. It has always been one of the chief instructors of the world, but it has suffered greatly from the modern opposition of good people. We have been quite indiscriminate in our condemnation of the theater. What would be thought of him who would condemn

all books because so many books are bad? Bad books have done more harm than bad dramas, because there are so many more of them and they are so much more used. But we never think of attacking books. We cultivate in our young people the habit of reading. There are noble plays that stir every high emotion of the soul. Mr. Booth tried in New York a high-class theater, but it failed because the good people who had been crying out against the bad theater never went near his good theater. Let us understand that we can never crush out from the human heart the love of the drama; it is instinctive and ineradicable. It cannot be destroyed, because it ought not to be destroyed. It is one of God's great teachers of the race.

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"Good people must take special pains to give no valid ground for the complaint of the poet William Blake:

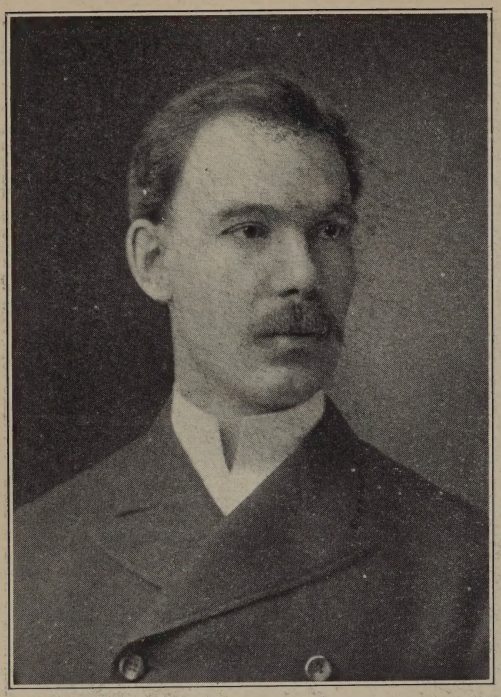
"'I went to the garden of love,
And I saw what I never had seen;
A chapel was built in the midst,
Where I used to play on the green.

"'And the gate of this chapel was shut,
And "Thou shalt not" writ over the door;
So I turned to the garden of love,
That so many sweet flowers bore;

"'And I saw it was filled with graves,
And tombstones where flowers should be;
And priests in black gowns were walking their rounds
And binding with briers my joys and desires.'

"There is a gentleman who has given much time and labor to helping the poorer classes. He gathers them by the thousands in great halls for mutual improvement, and the thousands never fail to come at his call. I heard him close an address upon the subject of his work, with a vision which he had often imagined. It was of a magnificent building fitted up with everything that could be desired for innocent and helpful amusement—music, pictures, lectures, games, athletics, all of the very best quality, and thronged by the laboring millions. He spoke of the great and valuable work that Mr. Carnegie has done for the supply of libraries and reading, but he remarked that he thought a building of this sort was more needed by the laboring people than even libraries. For they were very tired after the work of the day; rest and refreshment were what they called for, and, alas, they often found them only in dissipation or perhaps vice. If such buildings, of a really fine character, could be scattered over the city, they would do incalculable good, and make a vast inroad upon vice and crime. 'Thou shalt not' has had too large a place in our methods; 'Come and welcome' would accomplish wonders. Perhaps Mr. Carnegie himself may be drawn to such a work as this. I went to the People's Palace in London, and found in it an organ recital, a loan picture-gallery with some of the chief works of art in England, pictures known round the world, a public concert, bowling-alleys and billiard-tables, all for one English penny, and the place filled with people.

ERNEST C. MOSES.



EDWARD A. ROSS,
Author of "Social Psychology."

This seems the very spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, and his parable of the good Samaritan. When the world is made good, it will be found that despised amusement has done a full share of the work."

This is a work we take pleasure in recommending to our readers.

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*Four Aspects of Civic Duty.* By Hon. William H. Taft. Cloth. Pp. 112. Price, $1.00 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THIS volume contains four addresses delivered by Mr. Taft at Yale College in 1906 on "The Responsibilities of Citizenship." They deal with the duties of citizenship viewed from the standpoint of a recent graduate of a university, of a judge on the bench, of a colonial administrator, and of a national executive.

They are like many of the pleasant-sounding utterances of the late ex-President Cleveland, rich in glittering generalities and platitudes that no one for a moment questions, but into which, however, is injected from time to time the virus of reaction and the vicious political opportunism of which Mr. Taft is one of the most conspicuous living exponents.

The author of this work belongs to the Hamiltonian school of politics. He is a reactionary whose sympathies are with the great privileged classes which have come in recent years, through their union with political machines, to dominate the government to such a sinister degree while entrenching more and more securely in power a feudalism of privileged wealth whose ethics have been clearly shown in recent official investigations to be nearer akin to those of the brigand and the pirate than to the morality of Christian ethics. Furthermore, Mr. Taft is a man who holds the European imperialistic ideals in regard to colonization, rather than the ideals enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and of a democratic government; and though few men can say more pleasing things, can prophesy more smoothly, can throw dust more cleverly in the popular eyes by the adroit use of words, or become all things to all men with such ease and facility as Mr. Taft, his actions in crucial periods, his associations and his well-known private sentiments, as well as his public sentiments on certain occasions, are such as to have rendered him altogether satisfactory to the great law-defying, people-plundering corporations, high financiers and trust magnates of the nation. His great discovery that he could read into the Interstate Commerce Law a meaning not hitherto suspected to be found in that measure, that would enable him to issue an injunction in the interests of the railways and against organized labor, has naturally enough endeared him to all the enemies of organized labor far and near. These enemies are quite satisfied for Mr. Taft to prophesy smooth things and make generous promises to labor at the present time. They know that by a man's deeds he is to be judged, and they have no fear but what the man who stood so firmly in the interests of the railroad corporations and against toil when a judge, will prove thoroughly amenable to their wishes if he should become President, especially since his election would be dependent upon the gigantic corruption fund contributed by the Wall-street gamblers and the trust and corporation chiefs.

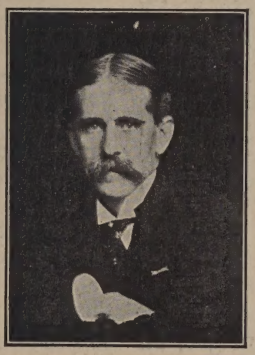
Furthermore, Mr. Taft's pilgrimage to Oklahoma for the express purpose of trying to induce the people of that commonwealth to reject self-government and defeat the constitution that provided for the Initiative and Referendum, showed how perfectly, when it came to a vital battle between free government and corrupt political bosses and predatory

wealth, Mr. Taft would align himself with the bosses and the corporations and against the people and vital practical measures to preserve genuinely popular government.

These and other things explain the reason why the most notorious political boss in America, Cox of Ohio, and the great political boss of Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, with corporation handy-men like Samuel Powers of Massachusetts and numerous other of the bosses and handy-men of predatory wealth were among the most enthusiastic advocates of Secretary Taft at the Republican National Convention.

Mr. Taft is also a strong imperialist and reflects the reactionary and unrepublican sentiments of the party of militarism and imperialism in this respect.

The present volume will not add much that is valuable to the knowledge of any one of fair intelligence, nor will it prove thought-stimulating to persons accustomed to think for themselves and not parrot words and phrases put into their mouths by others.



Dr. HENRY VAN DYKE,
Author of "Counsels by the Way."

*What the White Race May Learn from the Indian.* By George Wharton James. Profusely illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 270. Price, $1.50. Chicago: Forbes & Company.

FEW MODERN essayists possess in so large a degree as does Mr. James the rare power of investing subjects that in ordinary hands would be dry and prosaic, with the charm of romance. Only the poet, the man of imagination, the artist—he who sees and feels the soul of things, can make the ordinary reader see in the desert a wonder-world of charm, interest and beauty. Many writers have treated of the Indian in a more or less interesting manner, yet we know of no modern essayist who approaches Mr. James in appealing at once to the artist, the utilitarian and the humanitarian. His volume on *The Indians of the Painted Desert* was one of the most fascinating works of recent years, while the present work displays the esthetic, intellectual and philosophic vision of the artist, the humanitarian and the statesman. In it the author shows how hard and un-Christian in many instances has been the treatment accorded the Indian by the white race and how much, how very much, of value the philosophical student may learn from this remnant of a once mighty race.

The volume contains twenty-eight chapters, profusely illustrated, in which, after discussing the white race and its treatment of the Indian and our race and its civilization, the Indian is studied at first hand as he appears in his out-of-door life; as walker, rider and climber; in relation to physical labor, education, the sex question, moral traits and characteristics; his diet, his hospitality, mental poise, self-restraint, art work, religious worship, and his ideas in regard to immortality.

Like all of this author's writings which relate to our land and its people, this work is as helpfully suggestive as it is engaging in style.

*Critical Miscellanies.* By John Morley. Cloth. Pp. 340. Price, $1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THIS volume contains seven important essays from the always able pen of John Morley. In it we have critical essays dealing with "Machiavelli," "Guicciardini," "A New Calendar of Great Men," "John Stuart Mill: An Anniversary," "Lecky on Democracy," "A Historical Romance," and "Democracy and Reaction."

Few essayists of to-day possess at once so engaging a style as Mr. Morley and so broad an intellectual grasp of men and measures which have left or are leaving a permanent impress on the economic and political life of the world. One may not agree with this statesman-author at all times, but no one can read his writings without profiting from them. They are rich in vital facts luminously stated, and possess the thought-stimulating power that is characteristic of the work of men of genius and imagination. These essays are, it seems to us, peculiarly valuable for thoughtful students of economic advance. Especially does the essay reviewing Mr. L. T. Hobhouse's "Democracy and Reaction" and the one on W. E. H. Lecky's "Democracy and Liberty," which is extensively noticed under the title of "Lecky and Democracy," call for careful perusal. The two books reviewed in so masterly a manner in these essays were works that appealed to the thinking public because they came from strong and able writers. Mr.

Lecky's reactionary views and Mr. Hobhouse's clear presentation of great and fundamental principles of government were entitled to the notice they here receive. In his discussion of Lecky's criticism of democracy Mr. Morley has made an especially important addition to the literature of liberalism.

The volume is a work of real value to serious persons and merits a place in all well-ordered libraries.

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*Linguistic Development and Education.* By M. V. O'Shea. Cloth. Pp. 346. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THE WRITER of this volume secured his material by carefully observing children from the beginning of expressive activity until they acquired a mastery of their mother tongue in its vocal and auditory forms. In this way he endeavored to determine what psychological principles are illustrated in this development.

With infinite patience the growth of child language is noted. The parts of speech in early linguisitc activity, inflection, agreement and word order, development of meaning for verbal symbols, development of efficiency in oral expression and in written composition and the acquisition of a foreign tongue, all come in for careful attention.

The volume occupies a field of its own and is of value to those interested in child-study. It has also some worth as suggesting the probable origin of language and as farther suggesting proper methods of education.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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*The Philosophy of Common Sense.* By Frederic Harrison. Cloth. Pp. 418. Price, $1.75 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

OF HIMSELF and philosophers in general, the author says:

"I claim to have mastered the cryptic, but perhaps indispensable, language in which these subtle theories have to be cast. I claim to have understood these philosophers; I am not blind to their marvelous ingenuity, their herioic patience, their noble detachment from grosser claims. And knowing as I do the impulse in us to face these primordial problems, having given years of life to get to the bottom of these interminable answers to the eternal riddles, acknowledging, as I must, the invaluable service to mankind both of the problems and of the answers, I affirm that the mass of what is called Metaphysics is the fruitless search after insoluble puzzles: a search which it is wise to understand as an intellectual gymnastic, but whereon nothing practical, real, or true can be built."

And of the so-called science of Metaphysics, Mr. Harrison with as much truth as humor remarks that "It resembles an elaborate geography of an imaginary and invisible planet, described in an artificial language which no one but the geographer himself can apply. The result of these Nibelungen combats, wherein hero slays hero in some legendary world, is too often the dying sigh of Hegel—that he had but one disciple who understood him—and he misunderstood him."

Had the author effectively applied some of his own sarcasm to himself, he would have a volume of 50 instead of more than 400 pages. The book is the echo of long-drawn-out controversies over worthless issues. The religion of Positivism is obscured rather than clarified by it.

The fact is there is no religion worth anything the essence of which cannot be stated, be made plain and duly emphasized in a few thousand words. The great hindrance of Christianity has been the millions of wordy volumes written in its praise and defense. When we get authors learned enough to simplify and condense, Christianity will begin to advance with a rapidity to astonish the world. When properly understood it will be found that Positivism is but a phase of the greater religion of Jesus. That it has no more open adherents is due to three things: the obscurity with which it has been stated; the fact that it is included in Christianity; and the fact that it is practiced unconsciously. In reality it has more adherents than all other religions put together.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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*Emancipation: An Introduction to the System of Progressive Government.* By Norbert Lafayette-Savay. Cloth. Pp. 162. New York: The Knickerbocker Press.

"I FEEL myself entrusted," says the author, "with a special message to the world, inasmuch as I believe I have discovered the long-sought method leading to the solution of the social, political and economic problems of our day, and the sub-stratum upon which a great future can be safely and speedily built."

Such a statement cannot fail to challenge attention, but as others have made similar

statements the first thought is, Can this new prophet make good?

The book is certainly an unusual one, lofty in conception, clear in statement, strong in argument. It ought to be practiced.

"Purpose," says the author, "is absolutely necessary to the stability of the state. It must be all-comprehensive, uniform, supreme and positive, acceptable to all citizens and so simple that the most ignorant can grasp and apprehend its value, yet of such vast possibilities that no man of intellect may frown upon it."

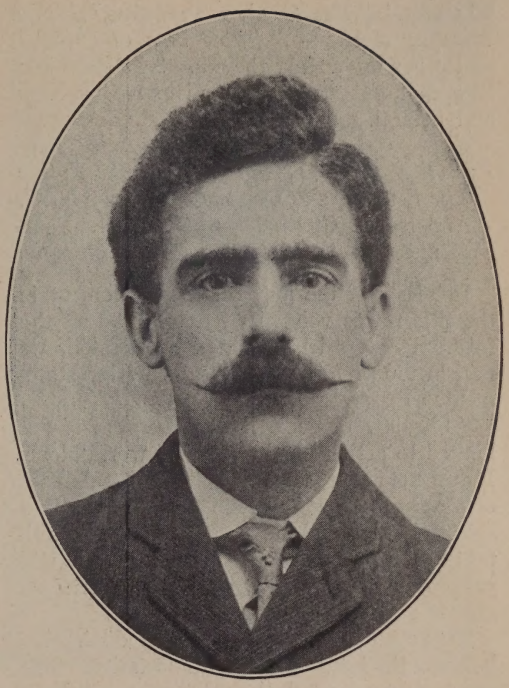
The cardinal fault of democracy is that it has no such purpose. Yet "without such purpose no government can be just, no society stable; without it there can be no social harmony, no proper objective point, no real efficiency."

The result is that men work at cross purposes. The interest of one is the injury of another. Conflict rages on all sides. Progress is retarded and becomes impossible.

The remedy consists in establishing a council of indirect power. "A member of this council should not be under thirty-five years of age, a citizen of the state, a man of honor, intelligence, learning, and virtue, democratic in taste and manners, non-partisan in politics, and willing to spend his whole life in serving the state and no one else." He must have salary sufficient to maintain him so that he need have no thought or care for anything but the duties of his office.

It shall be the duty of this council to consider and investigate all questions, scientific, economic and moral, pertaining to the welfare of the people and to report the same. When the people have placed the stamp of their approval on the measures proposed for their good, the administrative department is to carry them out. The supreme test of all measures shall be, Are they right? The ethical shall always have precedence of the economical. The council shall have no direct legislative power but the indirect power of advice only, but the members of the council shall be so wise, so altruistic that their advice will become authority. They shall be the supermen of the times in which they live. They shall formulate and declare the purpose of the State.

The thought of the author is a beautiful one and does not much differ from that of Bellamy as set forth in his *Equality*. The aristocracy of altruism and nobility must become the guide of democracy if the highest phase of human government is to be attained. The author



JOHN SPARGO,
Author of "The Common Sense of the Milk Question."

of *Emancipation* gives a definite plan whereby this guidance may be brought into effect.

Nor is his scheme impractical. If the people could be made to understand it, they would assent to it at once; more than this, they would demand it. If some millionaire would circulate this book and devote his wealth to force on the people a discussion of the merits of this author's plan, a few years would bring about a peaceful revolution and inaugurate an era of advance such as the world has never seen.

*Emancipation* is to be welcomed and its author commended for having voiced the longing desire of the ages, the desire for a democratic government in which the best govern and that without despotism.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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*Light Arising: Thoughts on the Central Radiance.* By Caroline E. Stephen. Cloth. Pp.194. Price, 3s. 6d. net. Cambridge, England: W. Heffer & Sons.

THIS is a sweet little book on Quaker faith, practices and traditions. It has chapters on "Rational Mysticism," "Quakerism and Free

Thought," "The Quaker Tradition," "The Meaning of Silence," "The Fear of Death," and other interesting themes. The style is a little dull, but the suggestion is pure, inspiring and helpful. ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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*Evolution of the Human Soul and the Future Life Scientifically Demonstrated.* By N. C. Andersen. Cloth. Pp. 202. St. Paul, Minnesota: Andersen Publishing Company.

IN SPITE of the author's announcement in the title to his volume, to the effect that the future life is scientifically demonstrated, we find in the preface a sharply modifying statement. He says:

"The law of evolution of the soul is not limited to action on the physical world alone. It does not cease to operate with the attainment of physical perfection, for man is primarily a spiritual being and only transiently an inhabitant of the physical world. That science will yet prove immortality by its facts is a certainty almost on the eve of fulfilment."

The author evidently makes a distinction between the future life and immortality. The one is demonstrated, the other soon will be.

The author discusses religious frenzy, miracles, suspended animation, telepathy and kindred subjects with force if not always with scientific accuracy. The work is rather too dogmatic to secure general acceptance.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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*Practical Christian Sociology.* By Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph. D. New and revised edition. Cloth. Pp. 524. Illustrated. Price, $1.50 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THE AUTHOR is a preacher who has been drawn from the pastorate into the ranks of the reformers and is one of the ablest, if not the ablest, of his type. His is no narrow vision. The action and reaction of one evil upon another he clearly discerns. Sabbath desecration, the liquor traffic, licentiousness, unjust industrial conditions, are all brought under review by him and are all treated with penetration and discrimination. The volume is a store-house of information and abounds in valuable quotations from the highest authorities. It is an almost indispensable work of reference for the earnest student of sociological conditions. The one word to best characterize the work of this author is "balance." He sees and understands the many sides of the many-sided problems that confront our age.

Mr. Crafts thinks that the most serious social perils of our times are not intemperance or impurity, or gambling or Sabbath-breaking, but the lack of home training in morals and true religion. He counts the fortunes of the multi-millionaires, acquired by the suppression of competition as the worst monstrosity of our civilization and the most dangerous incentive to its overthrow. He discusses government and municipal-ownership and favors most of the reforms for which the Fabian Socialist of the day contends.

The well-prepared index makes every important fact given in the volume readily accessible. ROBERT E. BISBEE.

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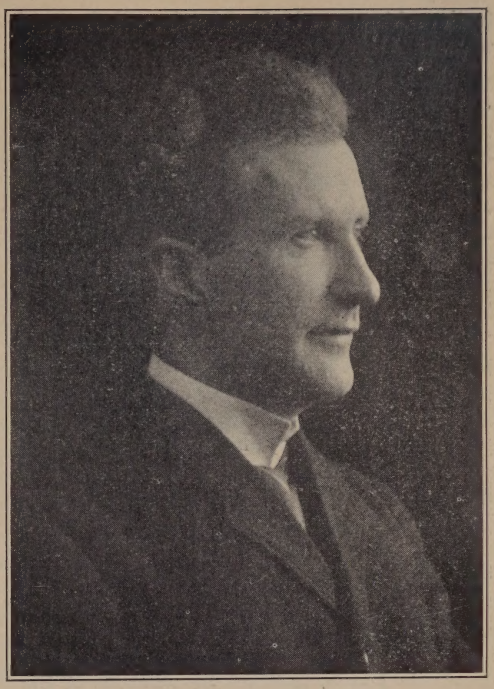
*The Works of Charles William Pearson.* In three volumes. 1. *The Search After Truth.* 2. *Literary and Biographical Essays.* 3. *A Threefold Cord.* Cloth. Price per volume, $1.25 net. Per set, $3.00. Boston: Sherman, French & Company.

THESE three volumes are written in a manner that will appeal to the popular taste and comprehension. The prose works are as a whole most excellent in spirit, thought and literary form. True, when it comes to politico-economic opinions, the author at times reflects views that were popular fifty years ago but which the progressive and democratic thought of the world is rapidly discarding, and at times he seems to entertain a very confused idea in regard to what constitutes great political and economic theories such, for example, as Socialism. Thus, for instance, he characterizes John Ruskin as a Socialist, or at least represents him as seeming "to wish to establish Socialism by power of government." Now while it is true that Ruskin years ago made a masterly and unanswerable argument in favor of governmental ownership and operation of railways, he was very far from being a Socialist, as all students of Socialism who know anything of Ruskin's writings well know. Indeed, one of Mr. Pearson's principal complaints against Ruskin is that the great English philosopher wished to destroy the railways and shut up the factories, and thus go back to hand labor; while all persons conversant with Socialism know that Socialists hail with unfeigned pleasure all things that extend and perfect labor-saving machine devices and means for facilitating the world's commerce as expeditiously as practicable, so as to make

it possible for all God's children to labor and also to enjoy sufficient leisure to develop the best that is in them, and thus bless society and enjoy life. But, they also hold that such development and extension should not be given over to a selfish and avaricious class for the enrichment of a few individuals at the expense of all, but it should be the function of society as a whole or of the nation, for the benefit of all the units that compose the state, just as our post-office is conducted for the benefit of all alike and as the public education places within the reach of poor and rich the opportunities of acquiring knowledge. No, Mr. Ruskin was no Socialist, but he in common with leading statesmen and philosophers throughout the civilized world, did believe in public-ownership and operation of public utilities or natural monopolies, just as the Emperor William believes in it and as the Republic of Switzerland, the most democratic nation in the world, the monarchal government of Italy, and the popular government of New Zealand, alike believe in it. All of these governments own and operate their great railway systems and other public utilities, and they have demonstrated by practice that public ownership and operation is immensely superior to the private ownership and operation that preceded the government's taking over the natural monopolies. Now we imagine that our author would hardly call the Emperor William a Socialist or would hardly claim that the government of Switzerland is an illustration of practical Socialism. So, though Ruskin believed in society owning and operating natural monopolies and in the duty of the commonwealth to better the condition of the unfortunates in various ways, he was far from being a Socialist.

This loose use of terms and confusing of political ideas, and the presence of that vicious political opportunism that has been so industriously fostered by privilege-seeking classes in America and which is so shamefully in evidence in the thought of certain clergymen and educators who evidently have made little study of political, economic and social problems in the light of present-day facts, is the chief defect of the prose work of our author; and his lack of appreciation for the high new political idealism that makes the realization of the ideal of brotherhood the master note in public as well as private life and which is fastening itself upon the imagination of the noblest apostles of human progress and social advance, interferes with his sense of proportion in many instances.



HARVEY J. O'HIGGINS,

Author of "A Grand Army Man."

This is evidenced, for example, in the essays in which he gives Alexander Pope about twenty-four pages of space, while John Ruskin, one of the master conscience forces and noblest thinkers of any age, is dismissed with less than four pages, and much of this is derogatory criticism based on misconception and confused politico-social thought.

While in justice to the reader we are impelled to thus criticize this phase of the work of Mr. Pearson, it affords us pleasure to call attention to its general excellence in other respects. Ethically and religiously considered, apart from politico-social theories, the spirit is most admirable; broad and tolerant, fearless yet reverent, and for the most part fair and judicial. The author accepts the evolutionary philosophy and is in sympathy with the higher critics in their effort to sift truth from error and arrive at the bed-rock facts in regard to the origin of the Christian religion and of the religions of other great peoples.

*The Search After Truth* is a volume of sermons and addresses and is full of fine, high and inspiring idealism that will appeal to the general reader and prove of real help to many

truth-seeking and God-fearing men and women.

The volume of *Literary and Biographical Essays* will be of special interest and value to the general reader. Here such subjects as the following are thoughtfully considered: "Poetry," "Early American Poetry," "The Art of Poetry," "The English Language"; while the biographical sketches are devoted to Alexander, Pope, Macaulay, Tennyson, Browning, Ruskin, Martineau, Longfellow, Washington and Lincoln.

The literary essays are admirable for the most part, though we think the author's definition of poetry is inadequate. He lays far too little stress on the essential genius that blossoms forth in the rich imagination of the genuine poet—the seeing eye, the hearing ear and the feeling heart by which the child of the imagination reaches the heart of things through intuition or spiritual insight rather than through discursive reasoning. With our author, we agree that the poet is the teacher, the seer, and the prophet of truth; but one may be an apostle of truth and possess much of the prophetic power, and yet be wanting in the imagination that marks the true poet.

The biographical essays are as a rule excellent: short sketches of the life and work of the subject. In the case of John Ruskin, as has already been indicated, we think the author has slighted the subject and failed properly to interpret the great philosopher, critic and teacher; while on the other hand, the sketch of Dr. James Martineau is superb.

*A Threefold Cord* is a volume of verse which is to us far less attractive than the other two works, for the reason that Mr. Pearson is a versifier rather than a poet. He is singularly wanting in the rich and luxuriant imagination of the true poet, and most of his rhythmical compositions are religious or didactic in character, in which historical matter, ordinary description and moralizing are clothed in verse that oftentimes impresses us as being decidedly commonplace. Under the division entitled "Humanity" there are some verses far superior to the more didactic and religious poems that occupy the greater part of the volume. Perhaps the best of these is the following entitled "The Builders":

"A strange, symbolic sympathy rules all
The atoms that make up earth's lifeless frame,
And in the living world there is the same
Strict ordering of actions great and small.
No man so foolish as to build a wall
With negligence of plummet-line's strict claim,
Lest to his outward and immediate shame
His faulty structure topple to its fall.
Builders in stone have learned their lesson well,
And seek to make their work without a flaw,
Nor dare oppose the earth's resistless force;
But nations hear how earlier nations fell
Because they dared to trifle with God's law,
And yet are bold in the same fatal course."

Here is a sweet little concept that will appeal to the heart or human interest of the reader. It is entitled "My Baby":

"Who comes on little, pattering feet,
Each night a weary man to meet,
And hath a voice as music sweet?
My baby.

"Who clambers on my knee or chair,
And pats my face, or pulls my hair,
And is without respect or fear?
My baby.

"Whose cheek of mingled pink and white
Is like the morning's rosy light?
Whose bright eyes shine like stars at night?
My baby's.

"Whose tiny teeth are little pearls?
Whose pretty little flaxen curls,
Dear mamma round her finger twirls,
My baby's.

"Who lies all night in slumber deep,
Or sweetly smiles amid her sleep,
As though of heaven she had a peep?
My baby.

"Who wakes as cheerful as the morn,
And hails with joy the day's return,
Each day some pretty way does learn?
My baby.

"Who sheds a sunlight o'er our home,
And helps each virtue there to bloom,
Gives brighter hope for days to come?
My baby.

"For whom ascends my daily prayer,
That God who has us all in care,
A little one may bless and spare?
My baby."

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*The Physical Basis of Civilization.* By T. W. Heineman. Cloth. Pp. 240. Price, $1.25. Chicago: Forbes & Company.

THIS is a book well worthy the attention of the scientist and the thoughtful layman. It professes to be "a demonstration that two small anatomical modifications determine physical, mental, moral, social and political conditions." They are the altered shape of the entocuneiform bone, and the shifting of the position of the occipital foramen magnum. These caused the erect attitude which dis-

tinguishes man from the quadrumana. This physical weakness made man pitiably weak compared with the brutes around him; but it also made possible, and in connection with his weakness, imperative for him to develop his intelligence. Thus we get the "true hereditary" type of man and a little later the "false exceptional." Everything good is due to the former, and seven chapters are given to show how social, moral and economic progress has come from this type; and its complete triumph in the future is assured although the exact date cannot be foretold.

The weakness of the book is found in its assumptions. Natural selection is the author's *deus ex machina.* He seems to know nothing of the severe blows this hypothesis has received in late years. And it is difficult to understand why in the light of "the universality of natural selection among organic forms," that the "false exceptional" type of man has always ruled the earth instead of the "true hereditary." Again, he would find it impossible to get the anthropologists to assent to his assumption that the family, monogamic marriage, economic dependence of woman, and the home are institutions peculiar to the human race. The book, too, is unfortunate in its title. We are told that the human race was born when the two anatomical modifications produced physical uprightness in man; and then we are told that these are the physical bases of civilization. This argument violates the law of the sufficient reason; for civilization is not contemporaneous with the erect posture, as prehistoric man and the modern savage clearly show; for they are as physically erect as the most cultured and enlightened Indo-European. The sociologists tell us that the cereals are the basis of civilization; historically it began when the use of cereals forced man to a settled state and the community life and law involved in that state.

The book is really much broader. It endeavors to account for the life of man from the physical side, from the time he parted company with his hypothetical arboreal ancestors to the present day, and even attempts to forecast the future. Nor must it be inferred that the author is a materialist. He limits himself to the physical basis: nowhere does he assert that man has not a mental nature.

The author has done a good piece of work, especially strong and suggestive in its biological aspect; and he has shown himself to be an able, original and independent thinker. He certainly has won the regard of his fellow scientists for showing so clearly the fundamental significance of the physical erectness of man, and the intelligent layman will thank him for such an interesting volume.

FRANK W. COLLINS.

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TWO LITTLE GREAT BOOKS.

*Odes, Sonnets and Lyrics.* By John Keats. With preface by Edmund Clarence Stedman and notes by Richard Watson Gilder. Frontispiece portrait. Embossed leather. Gilt edges. Pp. 130. Price, $1.00. New York: The Century Company.

*Power, Success, Greatness.* By Emerson. With preface by Richard Watson Gilder. Frontispiece portrait. Embossed leather. Gilt edges. Pp. 194. Price, $1.00. New York: The Century Company.

PERSONS in search of beautiful little gift books for literary friends of discernment cannot afford to overlook the two latest volumes of the Thumbnail Series. The volumes are small but richly gotten up, and the admirable introductory chapters add materially to their interest and value.

Lovers of poetry will take genuine delight in the volume giving odes, sonnets and lyrics by John Keats, with a fine critical appreciative study by Edmund Clarence Stedman and an interesting and somewhat extended note by Richard Watson Gilder. The volume contains almost one hundred poetic gems that will appeal to the imagination of those who appreciate poetry and art.

The volume of Emerson contains three of the distinctly great essays of our master philosophical and ethical essayist: *Power, Success* and *Greatness*—essays that cannot fail to prove a powerful inspiration to all readers and be of special value to young men and women of serious turn of mind.

These two little volumes we can heartily recommend to our readers.

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*The Well in the Desert.* By Adeline Knapp. Cloth. Pp. 329. Price, $1.50. New York: The Century Company.

*The Well in the Desert* is a fine American romance in which the life of the Arizona desert and mountain region is reproduced with more than photographic detail; for here not only have we the objective detail, but we feel something of the atmosphere, the tone and color

that escape the camera. It is a romance as wholesome as it is interesting, and though there is at times much of the rough, coarse language that certain elements on the frontiers affect, the ethical spirit of the work is fine. It is also interesting, in so far as the hero is concerned, as a psychological study. There are passages that would appear highly melodramatic if the story were given merely in outline, nor is the element of improbability always absent; but such is the art of Miss Knapp that in her hands the strangest happenings do not impress one as unlikely, or at least as transcending the possible.

The story deals with a young Iowa lad who runs away from home and finally begins his effort to accumulate a fortune in the mining districts of Arizona. He goes from place to place, ever praising Iowa, his native state, until he is called the "Iowa barker." His real name, Gard, is forgotten, and everybody calls him Barker. Gradually he drifts into the loose life of the desert and becomes more or less dissipated. On one occasion he enters the mining shack of a fellow miner and finds him murdered. He is lifting the body when he is discovered and accused of the murder. He has five hundred dollars saved up. This he gives to a young lawyer named Wescott. A part of the sum is to procure the presence of a friend who can prove an alibi for him, but who has just departed for Wyoming; the rest is to pay the lawyer. The lawyer takes the five hundred dollars and leaves the place. When the case comes up for trial the prisoner is convicted and sentenced to prison for life. He enters the penitentiary with hate filling his whole being. He hates society, which has treated him with such brutal injustice, and he hates the lawyer who has betrayed him. It is not long before he develops consumption and becomes a physical wreck. At length he escapes and finds the lawyer who betrayed him. He pleads with this man to give him enough money to buy a ticket to Iowa, so he can die in the open, as he feels he cannot live long. The lawyer promises to do so, goes out, telephones to the officials at the county seat that he has apprehended the escaped convict, and wants the five hundred dollars reward for capturing him. Thus the young man again finds himself in the clutches of the law, but on his way to the penitentiary a cloud-burst overtakes the constable, and the prisoner escapes. He finds his way to a glade in the mountains where there is a well or pool of water. Here he lives a Robinson Crusoe life, and before he is aware of the fact he has completely regained his health. In the mountain fastnesses he also finds himself, and in finding himself finds God. Hate falls away from his soul. A little mountain burro who is wounded becomes his companion. A terrible mountain storm which threatens to sweep away his little shack also breaks down some cliffs in the mountain, revealing a rich vein of ore. He rescues a man who is dying on the desert, and the man seeks to kill him in order to get possession of the mine. The two return to civilization. Then follows a strong and interesting love romance in which the former prisoner, Wescott the lawyer, and the beautiful daughter of a ranchman are prominent characters, though a number of other well-drawn personages figure conspicuously in this part of the romance, which ends in the sunlight.

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*The Grand Army Man.* By Harvey J. O'Higgins. Illustrated with 60 pictures. Cloth. Pp. 300. Price, $1.50. New York: The Century Company.

One of Mr. Warfield's masterly dramatic impersonations is the character of Wes' Bigelow, in *The Grand Army Man*, the play by David Belasco, Pauline Phillips and Marion Short, which scored such a great success in New York last season.

In the present volume Mr. O'Higgins has written a story which is far more than a novelization of the strikingly interesting drama. The book contains the essentials of the play, with enough fine material replete in imaginative power and human interest to make an absorbingly fascinating novel of human life.

The story concerns Wes' Bigelow, the "Grand Army Man," a strong, finely drawn character instinct with human interest; his adopted son who goes wrong but who is not wicked at heart; the love of a beautiful girl for the boy who makes a great mistake at the commencement of the path of life; the return of the youth, and the reunion of the three lovers.

It is a simple and very sweet little story, richly illustrated and superbly gotten up; a beautiful little volume that would serve as an appropriate gift for a discerning friend who enjoys romances of simple American life that are tender, true and beautiful.

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*The Little Brown Jug at Kildare.* By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp.

422. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Mr. Nicholson has in his earlier works demonstrated the fact that he is almost as clever as Sir Conan Doyle in conceiving mystery romances. He also possesses a smooth, pleasing literary style. In his latest book he has entered a new field. *The Little Brown Jug at Kildare* is to the novel what the farce-comedy is to the drama. It is a story at once, bright, amusing and so absurdly impossible that never for a moment is the reader beguiled into imagining that the tale is other than a very ingenious and clever invention to while away the time. From it a bright libretto could easily be written which in the hands of a Sullivan or a Pixley could doubtless be made an immensely popular comic opera.

The story concerns the daughters of the governors of North Carolina and South Carolina and two young men, intimate friends and college companions: one immensely rich, who owns a large estate in North Carolina; the other a professor in the University of Virginia. The former, young Mr. Ardmore, starts in pursuit of a young woman who has winked at him from the window of a parlor-car. He finally discovers that she is the daughter of the governor of North Carolina. This official and the head of the government of South Carolina are reported to have had a bitter altercation, after which both disappear. The disappearance occurs at a time when there is a popular demand by the citizens of the two states that one William Appleweight, the head of a band of outlaws, shall be apprehended and summarily punished. Appleweight and his band wield a great political influence, and both the governors are beholden to the outlaws. Ardmore becomes the secretary of Miss Dangerfield, the daughter of the governor of North Carolina, while his friend, Professor Griswold, becomes the secretary of Miss Osborn, the daughter of the governor of South Carolina. The young ladies with the aid and advice of their secretaries, undertake to run the governments of their respective states. Miss Dangerfield and Ardmore conceive the idea of arresting the outlaw and placing him in a jail in South Carolina, so as to force the government of that state to prosecute him and thus relieve Governor Dangerfield of the danger that would be incurred if he was prosecuted by the government of North Carolina. Miss Osborn and Professor Griswold conceive a similar idea; and in the attempt to execute these plans the state militia of the two commonwealths are called to the borders. A number of arrests are made, three of the parties being supposed to be Appleweight. At a meeting for the exchange of prisoners at Ardesley, the home of Ardmore, it develops that not only has Appleweight been apprehended, but also the governors of the two states. A grand banquet follows a meeting of the belligerents; the heroes capture the maidens of their choice, and all ends happily.

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*The Broken Snare.* By Ludwig Lewisohn. Cloth. Pp. 289. Price, $1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

This is a strong and well-written study of one phase of the marriage problem.

The heroine, Frances Garnett, is the daughter of a physician who holds a small professorship in a medical college in New York city. Her mother is a prematurely aged woman who has devoted all her energies to the effort to keep up appearances in a semi-fashionable locality on the meagre salary earned by her husband. The home is shabby, the details of the daily life sordid.

Frances is a young woman twenty-four years old at the time the story opens, of abounding vitality and strong home-making instincts. She has no friends of either sex, as their poverty precludes their going into society. At this juncture she meets a young man, Julian Ware by name, who possesses a considerable fortune and has a taste for literature. The two fall desperately in love with each other; but Ware is violently opposed to marriage as an institution. His own father had married a second time. The step-mother had been a hard, domineering woman who had made his father's life a veritable nightmare. This led the boy Julian to the conclusion that there can be no real happiness where the marriage bond exists. He pleads with Frances to come with him. She resists for a time, but at length the sordidness of her home life and the irresistible call of nature become too strong, and she yields. They go away together. For a time they are absolutely happy. Then the man's desire for work reasserts itself. Frances, failing to see anything beyond the physical side of the union, thinks he no longer loves her. She broods over his fancied coldness constantly, and gradually the rift between them widens. She imagines that he has ceased to love her because he has ceased to respect her, on

account of their union not being legalized. Finally they return to New York. The fatal illness of Frances' mother causes her to return to her old home. Here she has ample time for reflection, and the more she ponders the question the more she becomes convinced that the only path to happiness for herself and Julian lies in marriage. He pleads with her to come back to him, but she refuses to do so unless he will marry her and thus legitimatize the child that is to be born to them.

The long struggle in her heart between her love for Ware and what she believes to be the right—the one thing that can keep their lives from shipwreck, is finely told; and the last chapters, in which Julian comes at length to see that there can be no real bondage in a marriage where love exists, are especially strong.

The treatment of the marriage problem being vigorous and unconventional, the book will doubtless prove one of the talked-of novels of the season. AMY C. RICH.

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*The Revolt of Anne Royle.* By Helen R. Martin. Cloth. Pp. 387. Price, $1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is a thoroughly wholesome and delightful story of American life. The characters are real and typical. The heroine, Anne Royle, at the opening of the story is a little girl of eight years, dwelling in the home of her uncle, aunt and cousins, in a Pennsylvania college town. The man who is supposed to be her father also lives in the house and is president of the college. Later Anne becomes a beautiful, highly sensitive and intelligent young woman. She is sought in marriage by the Rev. Dr. Muir, a typical worldly-minded, ambitious and unscrupulous vicar, who aspires to become a bishop. The man Anne has been taught to believe was her father turns out to be no blood relative, and also seeks her hand in marriage, as also does a high-minded and true-hearted young curate, a Mr. Thorndyke. There are many other well-described characters who fill a large place in the story.

The author possesses a pleasing, natural style. Her characters are real and impress us as having been taken from life. The book abounds in interesting incidents and there are many strong passages. Whether considered as a love romance or as a sectional view of American life, the story is one of the best American novels of the season.

*The Mascot of Sweet Briar Gulch.* By Wallace Phillips. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 148. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THE AUTHOR of this interesting idyll of western life is a realist and has reproduced his characters with remarkable fidelity; but in so doing he introduced at times profanity, rough sayings and descriptive phrases that he who would depict the characters described with photographic accuracy must employ. Yet the story is so idealistic in spirit, so altruistic and fine in tone and thought, and the characters are at heart so noble and rich in the pure gold of moral worth, that the frequent rough expressions jar on the ear as a discordant note in a symphony. Otherwise the book is very charming.

The story concerns a lonely man and his sweetheart in the East. The girl refuses to marry her lover until he is in a position to support the two, though she pledges him that she will never marry another. Her letter plunges him into gloom, and a friend, the big-hearted mail man, induces him to go to the nearest railroad town and come in touch with life for a day. This he does and in a strange manner he comes into contact with a little abused city waif who has fled from those who were brutally maltreating him, on an emigrant train. The boy becomes the companion and the mascot of the man.

There are many interesting and some exciting episodes. At last, after an accident that almost causes the death of the hero but which gives fine opportunity to display the essential heroism resident in the human heart, the story ends happily.

It is a sweet tale of human service and love that faileth not.

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*The Palace of Danger.* By Mabel Wagnalls. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 311. Price, $1.50. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS is a romance dealing with the court life at the time of Louis XV., when Madame Pompadour was the reigning favorite, and indeed, she figures as one of the leading characters in the romance, in which a young court noble who becomes enamoured of the popular favorite is banished by the jealous king. He, however, fails to obey the king's command and returns to Madame Pompadour, thus imperiling his life and the position if not the life of the king's mistress. Prior to his banishment the young noble had performed a gallant and

humane act in rendering succor to one of the beautiful young orphans of the school of St. Cyr. The girl has conceived an intense love for the handsome noble. She is later summoned to the palace of the favorite and becomes her *protégée*. Here she meets the brilliant and gallant nobles and court ladies, but remains pure and unstained by contact with the world in which she lives.

There are many exciting episodes. The attempted assassination of the king and several other historical incidents are woven into the woof of the romance in a clever and pleasing manner. The young girl finally wins her heart's desire and in so doing averts the threatened doom that lowers darkly over the favorite and the presumptuous noble.

The story is written in a smooth and pleasing style and though not anything like so strong and compelling as the historical romances of the elder Dumas, is superior to many of the popular historical novels of recent years.

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*The Panther: A Tale of Temptation.* By Anne Warner. Illustrated, with frontispiece in color. Cloth. Pp. 91. Price, $1.25. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

THIS is a weird, strange allegorical narrative of the battle of a human soul with lust. A man falls in love with a beautiful woman. He possesses a masterful and determined spirit and also appears to be a man of high ideals and resolution strong enough to follow duty's path. He woos the woman, but she tells him something of herself. What it is, is not made plain, but the indications are that she has unfolded to him the fear or the conviction that there lurks within her a lust hunger which if once aroused will drive her downward to the depths, even as the child of the drunkard sometimes instinctively feels that to touch liquor will mean his ruin. After this confession, the man determines to leave the woman and seek to forget the passion that is overmastering him. During their walk in the woods where the confession is made, both have seen at times a dark and sinister shadow at their feet—the shadow of some uncanny phantom beast.

With the leaving of the man the woman feels the cravings of the heart nature. Her soul is filled with longing and suddenly she beholds at her feet a golden kitten, with baleful golden eyes, eyes that are ever pleading, ever intent upon her. It follows her wherever she goes. At length the lover returns to tell her that he has failed to find rest from his desire and longing, but that he will journey far and wide in quest of rest. The kitten, he tells her, has no power in itself. Its only power could be derived from her touching it or yielding to any inclination to embrace it.

"'You must never touch it,' he said in a tone at once tense and imperative. 'It can never grow, and later—after some time—it will fade away. . . . Avoid its eyes, evade its near approach, and it will be quite weak and helpless always, as now.'"

Again the lover departs, but a great yearning comes upon the woman. She would have him back to her, and as the yearning grows the kitten approaches nearer and nearer, looks at her with more and more pleading eyes. At length, yielding to the impulse, she takes it up. Instantly it gains strength and power. Its spell is upon her. She journeys forth to seek the magic river that will cure the madness of her passion. It follows, ever growing, ever growing, until it becomes a mighty panther, haunting her every step, glaring into her face at every moment. In her despair she sends a message to her lover in the Himalayas. He comes to her but finds her dead or almost dead. She had struggled to the last to resist the beast in herself, but won only with death.

The book is beautifully gotten up and contains a number of fine illustrations.

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*The Long Arm of Mannister.* By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 278. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

EACH chapter in this volume almost constitutes a story in itself. In fact, the book first appeared serially in one of the popular magazines. Mannister, the hero, has been betrayed by a group of men and one woman, who professed to be his friends. They have robbed him of a large amount of money, and by means of falsehoods and misrepresentations his wife is also induced to elope with one of their number. Mannister, however, is not as helpless as they have expected him to be. He still has a large amount of money in reserve and he devotes himself to paying back those who have wronged him. Each chapter ofthe book contains the story of his revenge upon some member of the group of erstwhile friends. In the end, however, it seems that Mannister is not the heartless monster that at times one is tempted to believe him to be.

The story is better written than some of Mr.

Oppenheim's recent thrilling romances and will hold the reader's interest from start to finish. AMY C. RICH.

*The Silver Butterfly.* By Mrs. Wilson Woodrow. Illustrated in colors. Cloth. Pp. 342. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS seem to us the most attractive feature of this book. They are in color, by Christy, and are altogether charming. The story itself has little to recommend it. It has no special literary merit and though it professes to be a tale of mystery, it is not sufficiently exciting to keep the reader's interest from flagging.

The hero discovers a valuable lost mine, the Veiled Mariposa. On his return to New York, where he endeavors to find the owner of the mine, he meets a beautiful young woman whose chief ornaments are exquisitely enameled and jeweled butterflies, and straightway falls in love with her. He also runs across a fortune-teller who called herself the Veiled Mariposa. A certain mystery seems to surround these women and their friends—a mystery which the hero believes to be in some way connected with the lost mine. In this surmise he is correct. After numerous misunderstandings and days of anxiety on his part, the mystery is cleared up and the story ends happily for all concerned.

AMY C. RICH.

*An Original Gentleman.* By Anne Warner. Cloth. Pp. 339. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is one of the very best, if not indeed the best of Anne Warner's books. It displays greater versatility than anything that has yet come from her pen and is, we think, incomparably superior to the Susan Clegg books.

The title of the work, *An Original Gentleman*, is the name of the first story in the volume, a story which occupies 88 pages and is extremely humorous. It is not as good a story as *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary*, but it is at once ingenious and unique. Following *An Original Gentleman* are a score of shorter stories, some of them most admirable.

*The Right Man.* By Brian Hooker. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 150. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

IN THIS story a young musician, Richard Gordon, sails for Europe. On the ship he meets a beautiful young American girl who is engaged to a youthful captain of industry, John Hudson by name, "a man of no soul, no nerve, no grandfather, and the body of a bull moose," to use the graphic portrayal of one of the characters in the romance. Hudson is much more of a man than the critic allows, however, but he presents the arrogance of the new-rich and is not accustomed to brook opposition. Circumstances in the early part of the voyage favor Gordon, who is thrown much with Miss Dorne, the heroine, while her affianced lover is keeping his berth; and Gordon, the poet and musician, falls in love with the girl, who returns his affection. Later Hudson injures his cause by lack of tact and failure to discern or appreciate his peril. When, however, he is thoroughly aroused, he almost kills his rival in a hand-to-hand conflict by night on the vessel. But this exhibition of brute force does not strengthen him with the lady, and in the end Gordon carries off the prize.

The story is fairly well written, but the glaring poster-like illustrations are execrable.

*The Courage of Captain Plum.* By James Oliver Curwood. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 319. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a stirring melodramatic tale of the adventures of a Michigan captain of a fishing smack on Beaver Island, the home of a Mormon community in the days when Franklin Pierce was President of the United States. The Mormon chief, or king, as he was termed, reigned supreme over his domain and was as merciless, unscrupulous and licentious as he was strong in a certain magnetic or mesmeric influence over most of those with whom he came in contact—a peculiar power that held men and women in his thrall. The sturdy captain early in the story becomes enmeshed in the net of love where the heart of the Mormon chief had already wandered. This and the captain's broad humanity no less than a strong personal grievance made him play a daring part and take desperate chances. The tale is well told and abounds in exciting, melodramatic scenes. The love interest is strong and the ending of the story is satisfactory in so far as the lovers are concerned.

**Popular Edition of "The Liberators."**

ONE OF the chief drawbacks to the wide circulation of really vital political and economic

novels has been the high prices, at least for a considerable time after they have been published. The people who most need these messages can buy a fifty-cent book but cannot afford to pay a dollar and a half. We are very glad, therefore, to find that Mr. I. N. Stevens' splendid romance, *The Liberators*, showing in so masterly a manner the subversive influence of public-service companies in politics and which we reviewed at length in our June issue, has been published in a fifty-cent volume. It is substantially bound in cloth and is a book that would ordinarily sell at $1.25 to $1.50. Mr. Stevens has written a preface to the new edition that not only rings true but contains important facts which thinking Americans should heed. In it he says:

"Every political incident and occurrence related in this story is founded upon indisputable facts.

"The same is true regarding the abuses and aggressions of the utility corporations.

"The overthrow of election results, the perfect coöperation of the two political parties in every matter where 'the master's voice' so commands, the futility and dishonesty of government regulation of the utility companies, the degrading corruption of the courts, the illustrations of how railway charges are controlled by the doctrine of 'all the traffic will bear,' the utter serfdom of public officials, the absolute impossibility of an honorable career in public life for an ambitious young man, the social demoralization of the people through the system of American feudalism—*are none of them figments of the imagination, or a frenzied dream of what may take place in the future; but each and all of them are recitals of actual, every-day incidents in the political life of our country.*

. . . . . .

"The peaceful solution of these problems is wholly within the power of the feudal lords of America—those who impose an arbitrary tax upon every member of society, through the authority of a government that is made, and kept, corrupt by these tributes of the people expended in controlling political parties and public officials, to the end that the fiefs of the lords may be kept perpetual and from time to time increased.

"One fact must be apparent to the most obtuse citizen, *viz.*, that our government is neither a republic nor a democracy, but the most autocratic, tyrannous and depraved oligarchy that the sun ever shone upon. If that is the system of government the American people want, then by all that is sacred let us drop our hypocrisy and quit talking about 'the rule of the people,' 'the principles of our forefathers,' 'the glorious destiny of the republic,' 'the equality of our citizens,' 'the equal standing of all before the law'—and let us boldly proclaim our devotion to the sovereignty of Special Privilege as it actually exists in every section of the Union.

. . . . . .

"Eighty per cent. of all campaign contributions, in important elections, comes from the public-utility companies—from the tribute money wrung from the people through dishonest legislation and corrupt elections.

"Has any one ever known a man thus elected to fail to serve those interests when they were vitally affected; and would the public not consider him an unblushing scoundrel if he did fail to serve them after having accepted a nomination at their hands and taken their money to insure his election?

"And yet timid reformers and halting statesmanship talk about 'regulating these interests by legislation,' through public officials thus nominated and thus elected."

We would urge our readers to get this cheap edition and circulate it freely. It will prove a real factor in hastening the great changes that must come soon if free government is to be the heritage of our people.

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*That Man from Wall Street.* By Ruth Everett. Cloth. Pp. 360. Price, $1.50. New York: George T. Long.

IN PASSING through New York city recently our attention was called to a number of small folders with excerpts from press notices of this book—excerpts that were evidently intended to lead Anthony Comstock to suppress the volume and thus excite the interest of lovers of salacious literature. Presumably the publishers imagine that they can make a great sale for the book if they can only induce Mr. Comstock to blunder as he has so often blundered in the past. We think, however, that those in search of salacious novels will be disappointed in this book. The disappointment, however, will not be on account of the author's desire so much as her lack of imaginative power. The book impresses us as signally lacking in compelling or convincing strength. Its atmosphere is decidedly unwholesome, it is true, and if it had been written by an author possessing a strong and fertile imagination, it

would have been distinctly vicious in its potential influence. We think, however, it will be quite innocuous.

One of the leading characters is a naval officer who seems to exist largely for the purpose of ruining women in every port where his vessel stops. The hero, if the lieutenant is not regarded as such, is a Wall-street broker whose infatuation makes him blind. He is a wooden and impossible character. Indeed, the book as a whole impresses us as being as dull as it is unwholesome.

*Fate's a Fiddler.* By Edwin George Pinkham. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 417. Price, $1.50. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

*Fate's a Fiddler* is a story of the youth and early career of two boys, related by the younger. In this tale a rich uncle makes three wills before he dies: in one he wills his property to his nephew, the narrator of the story; in another it is left to his step-son; and in his last it is to be divided between them when they come of age. The boys know nothing of any will save the one giving all the property to the step-son. They have become fast friends and great admirers of the guardian of the step-son, who is executor of the estate, with entire management of the property during the minority of the heir. Many exciting episodes take place and the fortune is lost but later regained. There is also a double love romance.

The story is not told in a way to appeal to mature minds, and however much it may please young people accustomed to the stories of Oliver Optic and writers of that class, it is not a book that will, we think, be prized by most novel readers.

*The Spring Cleaning.* By Frances Hodgson Burnett. With 20 full-page illustrations in color by Harrison Cady. Cloth. Pp. 102. Price, 60 cents. New York: The Century Company.

Mrs. Burnett's latest fairy story is a most fascinating little volume, beautifully illustrated, and cannot fail to prove a source of great delight to young children of from six to eight years of age.

In it the fairy queen, Cross-Patch, narrates the story of little Bunch, the vicar's daughter, the child of sunshine and laughter, whose heart ever goes out in love to all God's creatures. Near the home of Bunch is a great field of primroses which the children call the Primrose World, and during a visit to the city little Bunch, who has laden herself with a profusion of primroses, discovers a poor little girl selling some faded flowers. Bunch generously gives her all of her beautiful fresh flowers which are quickly bought by a wealthy gentleman at a handsome price. The next year Bunch brings the little street waif out to her Primrose World, so that she may reap a harvest of the flowers that mean money on Primrose Day in London. All the children of the village join in the picking and a royal day results.

The story is instinct with the fine moral tone that characterizes all Mrs. Burnett's children's tales, and the same pleasing quality that marks her stories for older children is present in this fairy tale for the little folks.

*Poems and Sketches of Nebraska.* By Addison Erwin Sheldon. With 64 illustrations. Cloth. Pp. 200.

This very beautiful book suggests what Ruskin says of historical painting. His words are to the effect that true historical painting is contemporary painting. Paint the life of to-day and the generations to come will have in your work examples of real historic art.

From this standpoint, Mr. Sheldon's book will increase in value with the passing of the years. He has done what will grow increasingly difficult and become impossible half a century hence. His poems and sketches may not show great genius, but they give true pictures and have touches of poetic feeling.

Among the best poems, showing unusual power of imagination, are "A Woman's Grave" and "A Cloudy Day." "My Mother-in-Law" is a tender plea for justice to a much-ridiculed class of women, and there is genuine pathos in "The Empty Sleeve." "Before So Many People Built Their Houses in Between" reminds one of Sam Walter Foss, and "Easter Eggs" has a touch of genuine humor. Truth compels the assertion, however, that a larger part of the book is doggerel, but doggerel not of the offensive or too tedious kind. The chief redeeming features of the book are the beautiful illustrations and the fact that it gives true pictures of conditions rapidly passing.

Robert E. Bisbee.

# AMERICAN DAILY JOURNALISM IN THE MAKING.*

## A Book-Study.

By B. O. Flower.

### I. A VOLUME AMUSING OR DEPRESSING, ACCORDING TO ONE'S VIEW-POINT.

*THE CAREER OF A JOURNALIST* to the superficial reader in search of a bright, direct, lucid volume abounding in incidents and anecdotes dealing with prominent persons and important events, will be one of the most entertaining books of the season. To the thoughtful patriotic citizen who appreciates the influence of the daily press on the minds of the millions and who is not acquainted with the facts as they relate to modern daily journalism, it will prove as distressing as it is disquieting. True, at first sight, if the reader be ignorant of the master springs that guide, direct and deflect the daily press in our great metropolitan cities, he may be disposed to question the trustworthiness of the record, because of the author's extreme frankness in regard to himself. He confesses time and again to faking and to embroidering dull facts with the lustrous silk of his vivid imagination, until the truth was hidden beneath the romance. He confesses to being addicted to drink and to having a passion for poker playing. Indeed, Mr. Salisbury is nothing if not candid, and while many a writer would have passed over his weaknesses, especially if he desired to make a favorable impression in the *rôle* of realistic depicter of the powers at work behind the scenes of the daily press and influences that mark present-day American journalism, he has taken the reader into his confidence almost as fully as did Jean Jacques Rousseau. Yet this transparent frankness in matters relating to himself, which marks this work that is largely an intellectual biography, is to us one of the evidences of the verity of the whole picture presented. The book, indeed, may have its journalistic embellishments in places, but as a whole, even were we not cognizant of the truth of very much of what is here given, it would impress us as a thoroughly faithful story of the author's career and experiences, set down without fear or favor; and as such it has its special value and melancholy interest.

*"The Career of a Journalist." By William Salisbury. Cloth. Pp. 529. Price, $1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

### II. BEHIND THE SCENES.

The Arena has from time to time pointed out the fact that the daily press of America has become the puppet of the counting-house, the slave of one of three great influences: wealthy stockholders who are interested in public-service corporations, monopolies or other privileged interests; great advertisers who are largely interested in the various corporations that are fattening off of the people; or, the money-controlled political machine which is the abject slave of privileged wealth. Besides this, there are papers like certain legislators, which levy tribute on the great plundering trusts by forcing them to advertise in order to make them hold their peace. These facts will not be new to many of our readers; but the incidents advanced by Mr. Salisbury in the course of his extremely interesting volume will furnish definite illustrations of one of the most ominous and sinister facts of the day.

The press that is treasonable to the interests of society, by being directly or indirectly the slave of special interests which are preying on the public, is a deadly menace to free and just government and the prosperity and rights of all the people. Space forbids our citing more than a few typical illustrations of how selfish interests and mercenary considerations lead daily papers to betray the interests of the public.

### III. THE BEEF TRUST, THE PRESS AND THE PEOPLE.

Here is an illustration given by our author of how the bribe of a large advertisement presumably closed the columns of the press to an agitation that might have compelled the multi-millionaire monopoly to abate some of the extortionate prices charged for meats:

"There were some large packing-houses in Kansas City. It was often said that meat

should be cheaper to its citizens than to people in other towns. But Kansas Cityans sometimes complained of very high prices for meats. The retail butchers were not to blame. They proved by the wholesale and retail price-lists that they made scarcely any profit. And they showed that from whatever packing-house they got supplies, the price to them was always the same, to a fraction of a cent.

"Newspapers began printing complaints. I was assigned to investigate the charge that there was a meat trust. I was secretly aided by retail butchers They told me they feared to do anything openly to offend the trust, because the trust might start shops near theirs, and undersell them out of business.

"I did some detective work. At the end of several days I found that all the packing-houses were represented at a meeting each week in the Armour building, at Fifth and Delaware streets. I gave a negro porter five dollars to show me the room. It was his business to bring the packers wine and cigars during the sessions at which they fixed the prices of food for millions of people. He pointed out the chairs in which each of them sat. He told me their names. He was willing to arrange for me to listen in the next room when the meeting was held again.

"I returned to the *Times* office in a fever of excitement. I told what I knew. The managing editor consulted with the business manager. Then he came to me and said: 'We won't print any more meat-trust stories for a while.'

"Several days later I saw packing-house advertisements in all the newspapers. But none of the papers published any more news about the price of meat for a very long time.'

### IV. PUBLIC-SERVICE COMPANY'S CONTROL OF PRESS AND PUBLIC SERVANTS.

No fact in the politico-economic history of the United States during the past thirty years, or since the famous Erie Railroad investigation and the revelations brought out at the hearing of the suit of General Colton's widow against C. P. Huntington, has been more clearly established than that the public-service corporations are the greatest corrupters of government and of the public opinion-forming agencies. Various railway, street-car, gas, electric-light, insurance and other investigations have so clearly established this fact that it is no longer open to question. Here is an interesting special case cited by Mr. Salisbury in one of his experiences while reporting for one of the Kansas City papers:

"By the consolidation of rival gas companies the rate of one dollar a thousand cubic feet was established all over the city. One of the companies had been selling gas at fifty cents to crush the other. A solitary alderman named Smith spoke against the ordinance. He had opposed many other corporation bills, but the papers printed little of his speeches.

"When I returned to the *Times* office that night the city editor came up to my desk, sat down, and said, confidentially: 'We 'll have to print a favorable story on this consolidation. I would n't give much space to that man Smith's remarks. I do n't know what the gas people have done here, in this office, but you can guess. They 've bought the Council.'

"Then I made a witty remark: 'No, they have n't bought the Council,' I said. 'They 've only rented them. The street railway company owns the Council.' And it was very true."

### V. HIGH-FINANCE OR CORPORATION CONTROL OF NEWSPAPERS FOR PERSONAL OR MONOPOLISTIC AGGRANDIZEMENT.

How many great newspapers in our leading cities have among their chief stockholders powerful and controlling spirits in public-service corporations, banks and trusts? If the list of all such stockholders were made public, it would doubtless amaze the unthinking millions who thoughtlessly parrot the editorial utterances of the daily papers beholden to or controlled by monopolies or individual high financiers. The following, given in Mr. Salisbury's story of his trip to Cuba, is illuminating and typical in character. The journalist was in Jacksonville, Florida, and visited the office of the *Times-Union*, the great daily of the north-eastern part of the state. As a fire was in progress in the city at the time, most of the responsible representatives were out, but the agricultural editor who was present entertained our author:

"The managing editor was out of town. 'He 's up at Tallahassee, lobbying,' I was told.

"'Lobbying?'

"'Yes. For the owners of the paper. There 's probably more money back of this paper than behind any other in the world,' the agricultural editor said, with a tinge of

pride in his tones. 'Except,' he added, 'such others as are owned by the same people.'

"'Who are the owners?'

"'Why, the Standard Oil Company.'

"Then I remembered that Henry M. Flagler, one of the Standard Oil officials, was so powerful in Florida that the legislature, at his bidding, had passed a special law so that he could divorce his insane wife and marry again."

### VI. WALSH'S "CHRONICLE" AS A TYPICAL EXAMPLE OF HIGH-FINANCE AND COMMERCIAL CO-OPERATIVE SPIRIT IN CONTROL OF THE DAILY PRESS.

In the case of the Chicago *Chronicle*, one man who admirably embodied the modern high-finance and corporation spirit that dominates our business and political life, was the owner, and in the newspaper sanctum the fact was frankly admitted that the ownership was merely for personal interests. Here are some illuminating truths:

"On my second day with the *Chronicle* I heard a rumor that the Union Pacific and Chicago & Northwestern railroads were about to consolidate. I told the city editor.

"'Do n't write anything about it unless I tell you to, later,' he said. 'I 'll have to see whether such a story would hurt the business interests of the owners of the paper.'

"This was direct and unmistakable.

. . . . . .

"I got used to it before I had been on the *Chronicle* many days. I learned that the newspaper was only one of a great number of things in which its chief owner, John R. Walsh, was interested. He had begun his business career as a peanut vender. Now he conducted, or helped to conduct, two banks, a railroad, a dredging company, stone quarries, street railway and gas corporations, a baseball club, and many other unjournalistic things. I saw a list of sixteen corporations on the desk of the city editor. These were all Mr. Walsh's corporations. Every editor and sub-editor had been provided with the list. It was to remind them of the interests about which nothing unfavorable was ever to appear in the *Chronicle*.

. . . . . .

"A few days later I was assigned to 'roast' the contractors who were building the new post-office. 'Go over and take a look at the walls,' said the city editor. 'I understand the stone is in bad condition. They say it 's scaling off, and has little holes and other defects in it. Anyhow, Mr. Walsh thinks it has, and his opinion is pretty good—in this office.'

"I went to the post-office building. It occupied an entire square. I walked all around it. The stone, so far as I could judge, was as good as any I had ever seen. I went back to the office, and said so.

"'Your eyesight is evidently not good,' the city editor told me. 'Imagine how the stone would look if you used a microscope. You 'd see lots of little holes and crevices—hills and valleys, in fact, like a telescope shows on the surface of the moon. The stone must really be in bad condition, or Mr. Walsh would n't want this story written. He 's an expert, you know. He owns quarries himself, and could have furnished much better stone than is being used. But the contractors passed him by.'

"Then the city editor smiled, and closed one eye for a second.

"And I wrote the kind of story that was wanted—a column of it. Pictures of poor-looking stone were used with it. I did n't recognize the stone in the pictures, and I did n't like to write the story; but I wanted to continue to be a Chicago journalist, and I hoped for better things.

. . . . . .

"I learned that an investigation of the ice trust was going on. Impure ice, cut from stagnant ponds, was being sold to thousands of families in the poorer quarters at high prices. Chemists had found disease germs in many samples.

"I got all the details and hurried back to the *Chronicle* office. I wrote a story two columns long. The city editor read it and laid it aside. An hour later, when he called me in for another assignment, the manuscript was in the waste-basket. 'I could n't use your story,' he said. 'The ice-trust people are too close to Walsh. I 'm sorry, for it would have been a hot scoop.'

. . . . . .

"I memorized the names of the Walsh corporations and of the Walsh and anti-Walsh citizens, and learned what the Walsh public policy and the Walsh private policy were, and I never talked, except with bated breath, in chosen company, about these things. So I became a very trustworthy officer on Mr. Walsh's city editor's staff. I handled many

of the important stories, and I wrote some of the biggest headlines."

### VII. HEARST'S CHICAGO "AMERICAN" AND THE GAS TRUST.

Mr. Salisbury's dream of being able to achieve some great thing for the people on the *American* was of short duration. The following incident is illuminating:

"The *American* had started a war against the gas trust. It was a most popular war, for the city was at the mercy of a lawless monopoly.

. . . . . .

"I now felt that at last I was battling for the people, and making tyrants quail, in a truly heroic-journalistic style. I was forging shafts of ripping, tearing words that would demolish the fort of the robber chiefs who were taking unlawful tribute from the public. I called the gas company 'the Gorgon-headed monopoly,' 'the banded infamy,' and 'a greedy gorger from the public purse.'

. . . . . .

"It was many months later, and long after I had left the paper's service, that the *American's* fight on the gas trust suddenly ceased. I still felt a satisfaction in having, at least once, fought the good fight in a righteous cause.

"But soon after the *American's* attack ended, a full-page advertisement of the gas company appeared in the paper. I thought it strange that the company, being a monopoly, would need to advertise. I thought it stranger still that the *American* should be the medium. I talked about the matter with a friend. He was an old-time newspaper man who had worked on Hearst's New York paper.

"I told him how I believed in Mr. Hearst.

"'It 's time for you to wake up,' he said.

"'How?'

"'Oh, that ad. must have cost the gas trust a good many thousands of dollars. Mr. Hearst will probably use the money to promote the people's interests, you know. He 's getting into politics now.'"

### VIII. FAKING; OR HOW THE MILLIONS ARE GULLED AND MISLED BY MODERN NEWSPAPER STORIES.

Mr. Salisbury gives a number of instances illustrative of the faking which has become so general at the present time and which, while the yellow journals are the most notorious offenders, is by no means confined to them. Here are some characteristic examples. The first deals with some personal reminiscences of Mr. Salisbury when he was reporting for the Omaha *Bee*, owned by the great Republican politician, Mr. Rosewater:

"After a time I became city-hall reporter, as I had been in Kansas City. But I found it much harder to write news out of the Omaha city hall, since I could n't 'roast' any one. And I had always to be careful not to offend Mr. Rosewater or Mr. Rosewater's mayor, or the street-car, gas, telephone and other corporations which Mr. Rosewater did n't dislike. I resorted to making news. I had an anti-cigarette ordinance introduced, as I had done in Kansas City. And before it became a law I wrote a story about an imaginary mass meeting of newsboys to protest against it as an invasion of their rights.

"At another time I described the visit to the mayor's office of a woman and her little girl, who sought the mayor's aid for something. The child, I said, sang pathetic songs until Mayor Moores shed a tear and granted their request. The mayor must have been surprised when he read this, as the whole thing was news to him. But the next day his mulatto secretary told me the story had been pasted in the official scrap-book. 'It 's good stuff for the voters,' said the secretary. 'It 'll make 'em think the mayor 's a kind-hearted man.'"

The following is a typical example of the prevailing method of faking and romancing as given by Mr. Salisbury on many occasions in this work. He was at this special time one of the reporters for the Chicago *Tribune*, and after giving some exhibitions of the way the reporters found it necessary to make news or to create interest by taking a few dull facts and embroidering them, he continues:

"A few days later I was sent to report a street-car accident on the West Side. Six persons were injured, according to a bulletin.

"At the scene I found reporters from the five other morning papers. Like myself, most of them were space writers—that is, instead of receiving a regular salary, they were paid according to the space filled by what they wrote. Such a thing as space-writing is seldom known in smaller cities. I heard that in New York the best reporters, contrary to the Chicago method, are paid space rates, and only the writers of routine news get salaries.

"The street-car accident was not so bad as at first reported. Only three persons were

hurt, and they not seriously. I was disappointed. I started to return to the office when one of the others stopped me.

"'Wait a while—we have n't got together on this story yet,' he said. 'Let 's fix it up.'

"We adjourned to a nearby resort. We matched coins to see who should pay for what the waiter brought. Then the council began. Before we got through, the list of injured had been lengthened to fifteen, and we had some sensational details. The addresses of the new names were assigned to the foreign settlements.

"'These names never 'll be investigated,' said one of the reporters. 'No one could trace them all down, even if they were real, unless he spoke about ten languages.'

"I realized that I still had much to learn about journalism."

One of the most infamous phases of newspaper faking, which has become so notorious in recent years and which shows the conscienceless character of modern journalism and the moral deterioration of the reportorial staff incident to the debauching influence of the management, is the deliberate inflaming of the public mind against innocent men and women or classes of persons who hold unpopular ideas, by the manufacture out of whole cloth or the shameful distortion of facts so as to entirely misrepresent the victims of the conscienceless press which is bent only on making money.

In discussing the anarchists and how public opinion was deliberately made against them, a brother reporter gave the following characteristic story. He was sent to report a meeting at which Herr Most was advertised to speak.

"I was to get," he said, "about three-quarters of a column. I was sore over the assignment, because it was on the West Side, and I wanted to get into a little poker game down-town. I was the regular city-hall man, and the game was held on the nights the City Council met, when the men from the different papers would get together and match to see who 'd attend the Council. The others would then meet in a room back of a saloon across the street, and have a quiet little time.

"Before starting for the Anarchist gabfest, I dropped in there, and happened to find the city-hall men from the other papers. They were having a special game. I wanted to get into it. 'I know what Herr Most will say,' I argued to myself, 'so what 's the use?' I and my friends then framed up a speech for him. It was a beaut, too. We had him denouncing about everything in the universe. One feature was that the mayor of Chicago ought to be chained to a rock, like Prometheus, and have his liver gnawed out about every ten seconds. We put that in to give local color. Then we dallied with the chips till about eleven-thirty. I then went to the office and turned in my story.

"Everything was serene till one of the afternoon papers came out with a denial. There had n't been any such meeting. Herr Most had been delayed and did n't arrive in town that night at all, and his Anarchist friends had postponed the affair for two nights. I was called on the carpet before the managing editor. There was nothing to it but confession, and in five minutes I was out in the cold, cold world, jobless and hopeless. It was weeks before I got another job. And I swore off for good on that line of faking."

Another reporter in a reminiscent account of the days following the Haymarket tragedy said:

"This Anarchist business reminds me of the hot times in the old days here. I saw the bodies piled up after the Haymarket affair, and it was a fierce sight, all right. There was plenty to write about for weeks then. But after the arrests and trials, excitement died down for a while. And in the spell before the hanging we had to do some thinking to keep the dear public interested. All kinds of rumors were cooked up, and every little gathering of harmless cranks was told about as a breeding place for terrible plots. We had the people believing that Anarchists were on the way from this town to blow up every ruler in Christendom, and out of it, from the Czar of Russia to the Ah-Koond of Swat. And I 'll bet many a European monarch was threatened with heart disease when he read the reports from Chicago."

Mr. Salisbury has considerable to say of his experience on the Chicago *American*. He had joined the *American* staff with high hopes that he would be able to do some real work in battling for the people against entrenched corruption and privilege. He soon found, however, that sensational stories which would sell the paper were a master concern of the editors. The reporters who gave the facts of the news without faking or the addition of purely imaginative details, had small chance of success in the *American* office. The follow-

ing is a typical example of how news is frequently manufactured for the gullible public.

"One afternoon I was given a clipping from another evening paper and told to get a big story on the subject. The item was brief. It told of the conviction of a man in a police court on a vagrancy charge. The man, it stated, had proudly told the court that he was the king of tramps, and had never worked.

"'Take an artist along, and have him make sketches of the man in various attitudes while he 's talking,' said the city editor. 'Let us have a good feature on this.'

. . . . . .

"He was a woe-begone specimen. His eyes were dim and watery, his beard straggly, and he was pale, emaciated, hungry-looking, weak-kneed, and ragged. I asked him if he was the king of tramps. He said he was not a tramp at all. He had been a tailor in Indianapolis. Through poor health he had lost his job. He had walked to Chicago, seeking work. Then he had been arrested for vagrancy. That was all there was to his story. His hands showed evidence of toil.

"On the way back to the *American* office the artist said he had made sketches of another of the inmates who had looked more like a tramp king. 'Of course we 've got to have a story about the king of tramps,' I remarked. 'Sure,' said the artist. 'When you 're sent out to get a story for a Hearst newspaper you must get it. That 's all there is to it. I was on the New York *Journal* long enough to know that.'

"And the next morning the *American* had a two-column story of the king that I had been told to get. It was illustrated by half a dozen sketches. It told how the man in the Bridewell was the boss of vagrants from Maine's rocky coast to California's sunlit strand, and from Michigan's pine forests to Florida's everglades. He had dominated the tramp convention at Britt, Iowa, a few months previously, when Admiral Dewey was named for President. (This was as true as anything else ever written about that convention.) He had been born tired, so the story read, and he defied any man in the world to show a record of less work performed in a lifetime. The story was a good one, full of 'features.'"

### IX. SOME PERSONAL ANECDOTES AND PEN-PICTURES OF WELL-KNOWN PEOPLE.

One of the most interesting parts of the volume deals with reminiscences and personal anecdotes relating to distinguished or well-known people who visited Chicago and other cities when Mr. Salisbury was doing reportorial work. Here is a graphic pen-picture of J. Pierpont Morgan:

"It was not long after this that I saw Pierpont Morgan.

. . . . . .

"Seated somewhat to the rear in a prominent box, he remained for more than an hour, looking at the display of fine horses and traps in the arena, and the exhibition of beautiful shoulders and gowns in the boxes. I watched him from a parquet seat opposite. I saw a large, bulbous nose, with slightly bluish tints on the end—an old-Dutch-burgomaster kind of nose, set between small, keen eyes, that twinkled in the lights. I saw a pallid, unhealthy face, with a strong jaw and firm lips, a grayish mustache, a not lofty brow, and a head the top of which gleamed in the electric illumination like a smooth yellow boulder above frosty foliage on a river's bank on a sunny autumn morning."

The critics and professors of oratory and dramatic art not unfrequently essay to make mince-meat of actors. The latter seldom feel it to their interest to reply. Here, however, is an interesting little note on E. H. Sothern's view of Professor Clark of Chicago University, who had criticized his "Hamlet."

"One of the things he said was:

"'A man may have a lot of learned lumber in his head, but it does n't necessarily follow that he knows what acting is. Acquaintance with dramatic writings does n't argue ability to know whether a character is well portrayed, any more than knowledge of the habits and characteristics of monkeys fits a man to tell when he is making a monkey of himself. These ponderous pedants amuse me. In the language of the poet:

"'"'Such neither can for wits nor poets pass,
Since heavy mule is neither horse nor ass.'"'"

Here is an interesting pen-picture of the great Russian artist, Verestchagin, who met his tragic death on one of the Czar's vessels during the Russo-Japanese war, and the late Jeremiah Curtin:

"One of these was Verestchagin, the famous Russian painter of battle scenes. The other was his friend, Jeremiah Curtin, the translator of *Quo Vadis*. Two of us sent cards to the artist's apartments, and were invited up. We found him and Mr. Curtin together.

"Verestchagin's silky, flowing brown and gray beard was the first thing I noticed. His kindly, dreamy eyes drew my attention next. He was tall and straight, and strongly built and his every gesture was refined. He talked in broken English, with a French accent. He introduced us to Mr. Curtin, who looked more like a farmer than a literary man. His red beard, spotted with gray, appeared not to have been barbered for many weeks. He was careless of his dress. Almost the first thing he told us was that he had been born on a farm near Milwaukee, and that his father and grandfather were farmers.

"'Vassili—that 's Monsieur Verestchagin's first name—and I have been friends for thirty years,' he added. 'It was that long ago that I was secretary of the American Legation in St. Petersburg. I first met him there, and we liked each other from the start.'

"Here the two men got up and threw their arms about each other and hugged, to show their friendship, as I had heard that men do in Russia. They laughed boyishly as they sat down again.

"Verestchagin had come to Chicago to exhibit his pictures of Napoleon's retreat from Russia, and his later paintings of Philippine war scenes. He had just returned from the Philippines. He was a great traveler, having been in nearly every important country in the world. He had climbed the Himalyas and other high mountains. He had seen battles in many countries. In the war between Russia and Turkey he was present at every important engagement, including both naval and land fights.

"'He hates war, too, and only sees battles to paint them,' said Mr. Curtin. 'His parents intended him for the navy, but he ran away to study art in Paris. I tell him he 'll lose his life if he does n't stay off the firing-line.'

"It was less than three years after this that Verestchagin met death on board the Russian battleship Petropavlovsk, which sank, with nine hundred men, in the Japanese war."

Space prevents our giving any further extracts from this highly interesting and suggestive volume, which, because of its frankness and candor, its portrayal of American journalism in the nude, is more than an interesting record. To thoughtful men and women of conscience, it contains much which while depressing will be valuable as showing them secret well-springs of death that must be neutralized by systematic appeals to the conscience of the people and the arousing of moral idealism to such a degree as to check the death-dealing effect of the materialism of the market which at present is exerting a deadly influence in our social, business, political and individual life.

B. O. Flower.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

# POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS, AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.

Gordon Nye, after idea by W. C. Kenyon.

THE REPUBLICAN WAY. THE DEMOCRATIC WAY.

"THE BANKS ARE FOR THE PEOPLE—NOT THE PEOPLE FOR THE BANKS."—W. J. BRYAN.

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Humoristische Blaetter, Vienna, Austria.

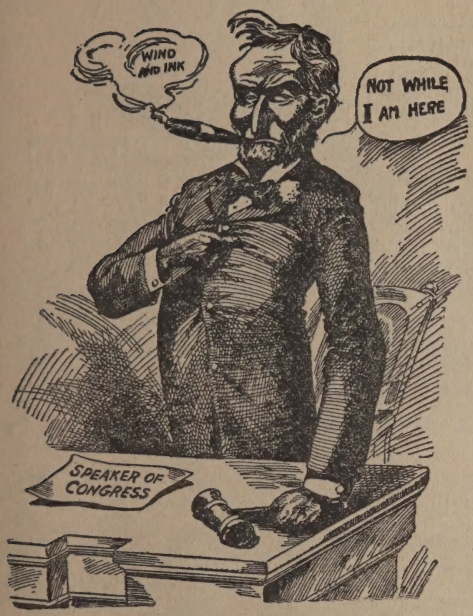
UNHAPPY RUSSIA.

The cholera saves them from the famine, at any rate.

Porter, in the New Orleans Times-Democrat.

FALL ATHLETICS.

Some new developments in team work are expected.




From the Rocky Mountain News, Denver.

SHALL THE PEOPLE RULE?

Carter, in the Detroit Times.

"THE DEVIL" OF POLITICS.

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Savage, in the Chicago Daily Socialist.

THE "PREPARATORY COURSE."

News Item—Fifteen thousand Chicago school children are suffering from lack of food.

Johnson, in Wilshire's, New York.

ST. GEORGE AND THE DEFENSELESS TRUST DRAGON.

Mr. Bryan declares the trusts are "indefensible."

Gilbert, in the Rocky Mountain News, Denver.

DEEDS, NOT WORDS!

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Kibb, in the Rochester Herald.

"OH! THEODORE!"

Spencer, in the Commoner, Lincoln, Nebraska.

MR. TAFT ON THE STUMP.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, PH. D.: AN APPRECIATION.

By the Editor of The Arena.

ON THE morning of September the twenty-sixth there passed from the active scenes of life a man who, it is our profound conviction, was the most needed to the causes of fundamental democracy, civic righteousness and justice for all the people, of any man in the New World. For almost a score of years we have known Professor Parsons most intimately and can speak of him and his work with the certitude of personal knowledge.

As a man he was simple and unassuming as a normal, unspoiled child, at all times frank, sincere and genuine. He was the most unselfish man we have ever known. To him the cause of justice and popular rights, the essentials of progressive democracy and the interests of pure government on the one hand, and the rights of any individual under the wheel or the success of some poor struggling child of adversity who strove to break the fetters of ignorance and rise from an unfortunate environment, on the other, weighed a thousand-fold more heavily in the scales than all considerations of personal interest or egoistic benefit.

No patriot ever consecrated life's best gifts more unreservedly on the altar of the public weal than did this great, serene and simple-hearted child of democracy. No philanthropist or educator ever strove with greater enthusiasm or singleness of purpose to help the struggling young to success and to promote measures by which the young might escape failure through the blindness, folly and indifference of our blundering civilization than did he.

On the threshold of manhood's prime he looked forth and beheld with clearer vision than most educators and lawyers of the age, the deadly peril that confronted democracy. He beheld the gray wolves at the throat of justice in the National Capitol, in the state legislatures and in municipal government. He saw the black-horse cavalry riding down the people's interests, corrupting the public servants and debauching the government. And he knew that the corrupt bosses would have little power to enthrone in government the conscienceless handy-men of plutocracy were it not for the masters of the money-controlled machine who systematically pay a little of the wealth they extort from the people to buy immunity and protection for future robbery. He saw that the miners and sappers were busily at work in city, state and nation, undermining the foundations of democracy or popular government; that a feudalism of privileged wealth, as sinister as it was conscienceless, was becoming bulwarked in power through becoming the master of government while the people slept. He saw that the union of the public-service corporations and great trusts with the political bosses, by which the money-controlled machine became responsive at all points to privileged wealth, was resulting in placing the long-tried servants of private interests in all departments of government; while as a corollary, a reign of graft and civic corruption obtained throughout the nation.

And seeing this, he turned his back upon positions of honor and power that would have proved enormously lucrative, to serve the nation by popular education and awakening a sleeping people.

A short time after we became acquainted with him, he said, in the course of an evening's conversation:

"A dangerous effort is being made in certain quarters to create distrust of the people in the popular mind. Now, as a matter of fact, the people are not corrupt. Some of them are corrupt, of course, but the heart of the people is sound. Many are ignorant and many are under the spell of indifference. A moral lethargy seems to have overtaken them; while others see the evils but do not see the way out. Now, the thing to be done—the thing which must be done—is to educate and awaken the people. I am strongly tempted to give up my position in the university and my writing of legal text-books, and devote my life to showing the people the way out.

"We want to show them that they have the

remedy in their own hands. De Tocqueville was right: 'The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy.' And if we can show them what they can do through Direct-Legislation, we will avert all danger of bloody revolution. We must show who the corruptors are; we must show that the evils rife in public life are not due to too much democracy, but to the feudalism of privileged interests working through the money-controlled machine to defeat genuine democracy; and we must show the people how they can get back the government that has been handed over to special interests and classes. We must not only make them see the importance of insisting on the great basic principles of free government—the sovereignty of the people and the fact that the representatives are merely their servants, but we must show them just how they can again enjoy the blessings of popular government that have been wrested from them. Now, Direct-Legislation can and does furnish the key for the emancipation of the people from the thralldom of the public-service corporations and trusts. It is a plain, practical, peaceable way to restore the government to the people, and where it has been employed, in small centers as in the New England towns, or in large communities, as in the Swiss cantons, or in still larger and more complex governments, as in the Republic of Switzerland, in every case it has demonstrated its practicability; and this we must show the people.

"And again, we must make clear to them the difference between a government operated by the people, for the people—a government dominated by the ideal of the welfare of all its citizens, and one that pretends to be operated by the people, for the people, but which is controlled by corporations, classes and monopolies, for the enrichment of the few at the expense of pure government and public morality on the one hand, and of the wealth of the people on the other.

"Now, while Switzerland affords a splendid example of how the people can again gain control of their government, New Zealand shows the magnificent results where a government makes the interests of the people paramount."

At that time Professor Parsons occupied a chair in the law department of the Boston University. Lucrative professional work offered its lure, and he had more orders for legal text-books from one of the largest New England publishing houses, than he could possibly get the time to prepare. Honor from conventional society and popular institutions, and affluence from interests ever seeking to secure able, keen, logical thinkers capable, as was Professor Parsons, of grasping in a broad and masterly manner all questions calling for consideration, were within his reach. But no thought of personal fame or aggrandizement, or of personal reward, was sufficient to tempt this noble patriot, philanthropist and friend of humanity from the path of duty.

Work in attempting to better evil municipal conditions and failure to find any broad, comprehensive treatise on this important subject led him to prepare his distinctly great work, *The City for the People*, and happily for the cause of human progress, at this time he came into personal touch with another unselfish, patriotic citizen who realized the peril confronting city, state and nation. This was Dr. C. F. Taylor of Philadelphia. He united with Professor Parsons and arranged to publish the works which the Professor wrote. *The City for the People* was followed by an able treatise on scientific money, and an even more important work on Direct-Legislation.

Then the great work of acquainting the American people with the wonderful history of New Zealand and her matchless record in making the welfare, development and prosperity of all her people the master concern of the government engrossed his attention. It was a great task to write a history so exhaustive and fascinating and which should clearly present in an authoritative manner all the important innovations in the most vital economic experiment station of the world. Professor Parsons was nothing if not critical in his methods. Exhaustive research preceded the preparation of all his important works. He journeyed across the sea, and in London the Hon. Pember Reeves, the English special representative of the New Zealand government and a statesman of superior insight, gave him assistance of inestimable value. This work, entitled *The Story of New Zealand*, called forth the enthusiastic praise of the late Prime Minister Seddon, Secretary Tregear and other foremost statesmen of Australasia, and is without question the most important history of the Dominion of New Zealand and her great work in solving politico-economic problems that has appeared in any land.

For years the subject of natural monopolies or public utilities had engrossed Professor Parsons' attention. He contributed a great number of papers to THE ARENA—the ablest

ever written on the subject of the government and the telegraph and telephones, the railways and other public utilities.

At length the hour arrived when he found he must either give up his college work or forego the preparation of volumes that he believed the public weal most imperatively demanded. Thus, for example, he felt that the railroad question was an overshadowing issue, but to treat it as authoritatively as he felt was necessary, it would be essential for him to devote to it several months of investigation both in the New World and the Old. He also desired to become a perfect master of the subject of municipal-ownership or trading as it obtained in Great Britain. He therefore resigned his position in the Boston University and gave his time to preparing his two masterly works, *The Railways, the Trusts and the People* and *The Heart of the Railroad Problem.* Before commencing the writing of these works, he traveled all over the United States, studied the railroad situation in all sections, and interviewed more than half a hundred railroad officials and experts. Next he went to Europe where he spent several months in exhaustive investigation of all phases of the question as they existed on the other side of the water. The result was two of the most important and authoritative volumes on the railway question that have appeared in the interests of the people and of clean and efficient government.

From the day he left Cornell University, his *alma mater*, to the day of his death, he was tireless in his efforts to help young men and women to obtain practical education or the necessary preparation for efficient and worthy work in life. Scores and, we doubt not, hundreds of young people have been thus tutored and aided. The circumstance that the young had no means to secure the education only seemed to increase the professor's interest in the pupil.

Later, he conceived the idea of doing even greater work than was possible in the teaching of single individuals. In the North End of Boston was a university settlement presided over by a most efficient and practical humanitarian, Mr. Meyer Bloomfield. Professor Parsons came in touch with this work and found here a place where the harvest was white but the laborers were few. Hundreds of young men and women from foreign lands were eager to learn, but were compelled to labor long and toilsomely to make their living. Professor Parsons established the Bread-Winners' College, where during evenings, Sundays and other times when the aspiring young could attend, systematic and thorough education was carried on. In this work he was ably assisted by Mr. Ralph Albertson, his most intimate friend and co-worker; Mr. Meyer Bloomfield and others. The splendid results already obtained in this one of Professor Parsons' many spheres of activity would make any life richly worth the while.

Following this work, Professor Parsons, aided by Mrs. Quincy Shaw, the high-minded and philanthropic daughter of the great scientist, Louis Agassiz, founded one of the most important, if not, indeed, the most important educational innovation of the past hundred years—the Vocation Bureau, the detailed description of which was prepared expressly for THE ARENA by Professor Parsons after the shadow of death had fallen upon his brow. It appeared as an important feature of our July and September issues and is among the last and noblest of his voluminous magazine contributions.

In the battle of the public-utility corporations to control government and exploit the people, Professor Parsons was beyond all comparison the most formidable of the people's champions. He was on the commission of distinguished citizens sent by the Civic Federation to Great Britain to study the question of municipal-ownership, and it was owing largely to his insistence on a thorough and exhaustive examination of all phases of the question that the commission's report was so favorable to public-ownership, though at the outset a majority of the commission was strongly in favor of private ownership.

On special occasions he was invited to Washington to render expert opinions when great questions of public policy were before the Senate and House committees, and he was everywhere recognized as one of the most careful, conscientious, authoritative and competent economists of the day and a man whose logical methods were only equaled by his sense of fairness and breadth of intellectual vision.

These things are only a few of the many great services wrought for nation and individuals by this man who was great in the truest sense of the word. During the past eighteen years he has contributed more voluminously to the pages of THE ARENA than any other outside contributor. His work was marked

by characteristics rarely combined in a single author. He was logical and strictly critical or scientific in his methods of investigation; and to these things, which belong to the intellectual realm, were added a passion for justice, a love of truth and a desire to be always fair. He was also a man of tireless industry. When, over a year ago, he found it necessary to go into the hospital for a serious operation, his chief regret at the danger that confronted him was the fear that the great number of works he had planned, many of them already outlined and some well under way, would not be written if the issue of the operation was unfavorable. And when it seemed that he had triumphed over death, he instantly engaged in arduous work, going first to New York to attend important meetings of the Civic Federation, and later lecturing on Public-Ownership throughout many of our leading cities. Soon, however, the trouble reappeared and it became evident that there was small hope of more than a few months' respite. He suffered intense pain, but, thoughtless of self and with the one master idea of service which had so completely dominated his life, he set to work with feverish activity to complete some of the most important writings he had in hand; and day by day, often in agony, he dictated for hours, while he saw the dark angel approaching nearer and nearer. Up to four days before the end, he worked with the energy and determination of a well man to accomplish all he could for the nation and the people he so loved.

This is but the barest skeleton outline of the life-work for human advancement wrought by this man whose intellectual ability was only surpassed by his moral idealism—this man who better embodied the spirit of altruism or unselfish service than any one we have ever known. He fell in the very prime of life; fell with his armor on, battling against greed, corruption and egoism, and for truth, justice, freedom and fraternity. In his death the friends of fundamental democracy, just conditions and human brotherhood have lost their ablest champion.

His was the patriotism of the earlier day, pure and Grail-like in its brilliance. His was the faith that makes faithful; the love that ennobles; the philanthropic humanitarianism that dignifies life; the educational wisdom that is as practical as it is philosophically sound, as utilitarian as it is idealistic. His was

"The starry soul, that shines when all is dark!—
Endurance, that can suffer and grow strong—
. . . . . .
"A conquering heart! which Circumstance, that frights
The many down from Love's transfiguring height,
Aye mettled into martial attitude."

Farewell! dear friend and comrade of many years. We who know you best alone can gauge the loss sustained by the great cause in which we each have enlisted for the war. We shall miss you more than words can tell, but you have left the light of a life of high service, consecrated to democracy and human progress; a life richly freighted with guiding truth,

"That by its trail of radiance through the dark,
We almost see the unfeatured Future's face."

## WHAT THE ELECTION OF MR. BRYAN WOULD MEAN TO THE PEOPLE.

### The Sophistical Plea for The Election of Mr. Taft.

PERHAPS the most baldly fallacious of all the many pleas advanced by the masters of Wall street and of the Republican machine, for the election of Mr. Taft, is the claim that Mr. Bryan could do nothing if he were elected, while Mr. Taft would be in a position to give the people needed reforms.

In the first place, let it be noticed that the aggressive and vociferous Mr. Roosevelt signally failed in inducing his party to give the people the relief which they clamored for and which their interests clearly demanded, when that relief ran counter to the interests of the real masters of the Republican party—the high financiers of Wall street, the trust magnates and the corporation chiefs. Even the pitiful reforms which were granted were mutilated, amended and doctored by the high-priests of the Republican party so that the value which the original bills possessed was greatly minified. Examples of this were found in the emasculation of the beef-trust rider and the shameful surrender to the railroads on the part of the President in regard to the Rate Bill, no less

than in the passage of the infamous Wall-street finance bill at the dictation of the Wall-street coterie that is working to gain a monopoly of the banking interests of America. When Mr. Roosevelt demanded certain reforms which the people had long clamored for and for which Mr. Bryan had bravely contended, the claim was made on every hand by the henchmen of Wall-street high finance, the trusts and the corporations, that the party did not agree with the President, and inasmuch as the President was elected by the Republicans and the House was overwhelmingly Republican, it was not the democratic demands of the President, but the conservative demands of Mr. Cannon and his able lieutenants, Congressmen Sherman and Payne, and the Senate leaders, that represented the will of the American people.

**The Election of Mr. Taft Means The Triumph of Privilege.**

Precisely so, if Mr. Taft is elected, J. Pierpont Morgan, the Standard Oil leaders and other financiers who already have their hands on the throat of the banking interests; the Harriman, Morgan, Ryan and Hill railroad and street-car interests; the beef, the steel, the coal and other trusts; and the Post and Parry anti-labor union combinations, will with one accord declare that the voice of the people has been declared in favor of the "safe and sane" views of Senator Hopkins, who shaped the Republican platform, and of such eminently "safe and sane" leaders of the Republican party as Aldrich, Knox, Lodge, Crane, Penrose, Cannon, Sherman and Depew. In a word, the election of Taft will be taken as an excuse to sound the bugle for retreat instead of advance by all the enemies of the Republic who are so industriously serving the "interests."

**The Election of Mr. Bryan Would Mean That The People's Interests Would Become Paramount.**

On the other hand, if Mr. Bryan is elected it will serve a notice on the recreant politicians who have been so eagerly serving the "interests" that they have got to heed the people's demands or be relegated to private life. It will show Morgan, Harriman, the steel trust, the beef trust and the law-defying railways, no less than the enemies of organized labor, that the people still count for something; that the farmers think and are the creatures of reason rather than the slaves of prejudice; that the laboring men are not the venal hordes the captains of industry and Wall-street gamblers seem to imagine.

**Organized Labor and Mr. Bryan's Election.**

More than this, the victory of Mr. Bryan will effectively check the determined and persistent effort of the corporations and their henchmen to destroy the labor-union movement. The contempt for labor evinced by Mr. Cannon and the overwhelmingly Republican House of Representatives, when its chosen chiefs appeared before the House and pleaded for small concessions in the interests of the workers, and the equally insolent treatment of labor's representatives by the Republican National Committee in Chicago, will be at an end on the day when the returns show that labor has evinced intelligence enough to stand by its loyal friends and not lick the hand that struck it. Moreover, when it is shown that labor has consulted its own interest and displayed solidarity in its vote, there will be a rapid diminution in instances of the abuse of the injunction power by judges who have been raised to the judiciary after long service in the corporations' interests.

**Trust Robbery and Arrogance Will Receive a Check if The Democratic Ticket Triumphs.**

Again, the steady increase in prices made by the conscienceless trusts, that have gone on so persistently in spite of Mr. Roosevelt's wordy campaign, because the trusts know that they have a mortgage on the Republican party, will go on so long as the secret arrangements can be continued by which unlimited funds can be put into the treasury without the people knowing who is contributing until after the election, and the people will be powerless and the trusts and corporations will be all-powerful in their wholesale picking of the pockets of the workers. The election of Mr. Taft will mean the continuance of high prices of trust-controlled commodities and extortionate freight rates. The Morgans, the Armours and the Harrimans will continue to reap untold millions of unearned dollars at the expense of every wealth-producer and consumer in the land.

But with the election of Mr. Bryan all this will be changed for the reason that the trusts will see that the people have at last become awakened from their lethargy; that they have placed at the head of the government a man who will not betray his trust, who will not

palter, compromise or play the opportunist politician; a man dominated by moral idealism, who has ever made the interests of the people and the cause of what he believed to be fundamental democracy the master consideration in guiding his actions. His election will come as the handwriting on the wall to the predatory bands and "malefactors of great wealth" who since the Hanna *régime* have debauched our government and have come to imagine that enormous campaign contributions are all that is needed to insure a permanent rule of corrupt privileged wealth operating through political bosses and the money-controlled machines.

**A Renaissance of The People's Rule.**

Furthermore, the election of Mr. Bryan will achieve a great, great good in advancing the most vital immediate issue before the nation—that of the people's rule, and through the people's rule make possible civic efficiency in the place of corrupt bossism and plunder of the people. Mr. Bryan stands for the rule of the people; Mr. Taft is the avowed enemy of the only practical measures for securing popular rule in the place of continued rule of corporations and bosses operating through the money-controlled machine. Therefore, every friend of union labor, every man who is opposed to having his pockets picked of his hard earnings by the various trusts and corporations, and every man who wishes to see the government wrested from the control of high finance, the corporations, the trusts and their tools and given back into the hands of the people, should vote for Mr. Bryan, since he or Mr. Taft is sure to be our next President.

## THE PRESIDENT'S OPPOSITION TO EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGN PUBLICITY.

**Mr. Roosevelt's and His Protegee's Defense of The Corruptionists' Demand for Secrecy of Campaign Contributions Until after The People Have Been Betrayed into The Hands of The Trust Magnates and High Financiers.**

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S defense of withholding the publication of the list of campaign contributors and the amount paid, until after the election, is the most baldly sophistical of all the reckless attempts made by the President from time to time in behalf of indefensible acts and policies that are in opposition to public morality and the people's interests. But this palpable and pitiable sophistry is less offensive than Mr. Roosevelt's insult to the American people when he declared that it would not be safe to give out the names of the campaign contributors, because it might create a false impression among the voters as to the motives of the contributors.

The Boston *Post* in an admirable editorial thus comments on this almost incredible assumption of President Roosevelt:

"Mr. Roosevelt's reply to the Bryan challenge is bald and contemptible sophistry, utterly unworthy of one so frank as the President in other elections, and sure to be condemned and repudiated by a thinking public.

"President Roosevelt replied to Mr. Bryan's demand that contributions to the Republican fund should be made public before election, as the Democratic contributions will be, that such publication 'would give to every man who cared merely for partisan success the chance . . . to create . . . a false impression.' That is to say, the sources from which the Republican campaign fund is drawn must be concealed, lest the people revolt against the party which may be made to seem to draw its pecuniary support from questionable contributors.

"When the election is over and the result cannot be reversed, the American people—poor fools!—may be told facts that would create 'a false impression' it they had been openly declared in advance of the voting.

"This is the latest Rooseveltian notion, to which Mr. Taft has subserviently subscribed in his speech at Lincoln, Nebraska. It amounts to a declaration that the American people cannot be trusted; that the Roosevelt candidacy, which Taft represents with a marvelous obliteration of himself as the technical candidate, would suffer through 'false representation' if the people were informed of the source of the money expended in paying the

cost of the canvass and the large prospective cost of the election."

The *Post* continues to note Mr. Roosevelt's amazing effrontery and contempt alike for political morality and the public intelligence.

"He thinks," it continues, "it was wise and patriotic and altogether laudable to conceal from the people the money contributions of Harriman and the New York life insurance companies and the favored trusts in 1904, and he prescribes the same policy in the present campaign.

"This is given out from the White House. The representative of Roosevelt and the Harriman-Perkins financial syndicate of 1904 gets the tip away off in Nebraska and promptly says, 'Me, too!'"

### The Hope of Mr. Taft Lies in The Contributions of Predatory Wealth and High Finance.

We can thoroughly appreciate the embarrassing position of the President and Mr. Taft, realizing as they do that without princely campaign funds contributed by the great banking, railway, telegraph, food and other trusts and monopolies whose insatiable greed is only equaled by their foresight in securing satisfactory understandings with politicians before contributing in a liberal manner, in regard to protection and future favors, they cannot hope to stem the popular tide in favor of Mr. Bryan. None know better than does Mr. Roosevelt that if the American public had known that the great insurance chiefs were taking the money of the insured policy-holders to aid in defeating Mr. Bryan; if they had been cognizant of the fact that the Standard Oil trust, the high financiers of Wall street, the lawless railway magnates, the beef trust, coal trust and other predatory bands of public plunderers, were pouring their money like water into Mr. Hanna's campaign chest to secure the election of Mr. McKinley, even the vast sums of money thus contributed would have proved powerless against the suddenly awakened nation. None know better than President Roosevelt that if the facts charged by Mr. Parker: that great corporation chiefs were liberally contributing to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign four years ago, had been proved to be true at the time when Mr. Roosevelt gave the lie direct to Mr. Parker and positively declared his statement false, it would have cost the President hundreds of thousands of votes. We all know that the subsequent insurance and other exposures proved that Mr. Parker's charges were absolutely true, and that the statements made by Mr. Roosevelt for his own benefit were false. None know better than Mr. Roosevelt that had the public known of the President's secret letter to "My dear Sherman" in regard to the importance of getting Harriman to raise an enormous fund from among his Wall-street associates, before the election, and the further fact that the "undesirable citizen" and "malefactor of great wealth," to use Mr. Roosevelt's apt appellations, acting under the wishes of the President at that time, had succeeded in raising $260,000, the result would in all probability have turned the scales in the pending election.

The President and Mr. Taft know full well that at last the people have learned by bitter experience that when the trusts, the railway chiefs and the high financiers contribute liberally to a campaign fund, it is for the double purpose of securing privileges that will enable them to mulct the public out of many times the amount contributed to the political machine, and for immunity from criminal prosecution for law defiance. Hence their panic lest the people should find out how much Morgan, Harriman, Hill, Armour and the rest of the high-financier and corporation coterie are contributing to elect the man whom the most authoritative Wall-street journal of the "interests," the *Financial Chronicle*, finds "altogether satisfactory"—the man who, when nominated in Chicago, elicited the gratified exclamation from J. Pierpont Morgan of "Good! Good!"

But while we can understand that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft may and doubtless do feel that the only hope of the latter's success lies in the efficient fat-frying of Mr. Crane, whose heavy telephone interests and corporation sympathies have made him perhaps the best-beloved public man by all of the high financiers and trust and monopoly magnates, we cannot help feeling that it was injudicious for the President and Mr. Taft to gratuitously insult the American voters by a plea as baldly sophistical as it is utterly unworthy of any person asking the confidence of the people.

### Mr. Bryan's Statesmanlike Reply to The President.

Mr. Bryan's reply is strong, statesmanlike and so manifestly reasonable that it leaves no peg for the two gentlemen who are upholding the position occupied by every corrupt boss,

venal politician and corrupt and plundering corporation wanting protection since Mr. Bryan so aroused public opinion as to force the President and Mr. Taft to pretend to wish publicity.

Mr. Bryan has perfect faith in the people and is not afraid to let them see just who is contributing to his campaign. Mr. Roosevelt not only admits that he distrusts the people, but is in a panic lest the facts should come to light as to the men who are furnishing the money for Taft's campaign. We venture the prediction that the publication of the names and amounts contributed by them to the National and Congressional Campaign Committees of the Republican party, before election, would instantly destroy Mr. Taft's chances for election.

So admirable is Mr. Bryan's reply that we quote from it somewhat at length:

"Every disinterested voter knows that large contributions have been used to secure mortgages upon officials. The publication of contributions throws a great deal more light upon the influence at work in politics than the publication of expenditures, for the publication of of contributions shows to whom the party is indebted and to whom repayment is likely to be made, while the publication of expenditures shows what has been paid out, and disbursements do not create obligations that affect the course of the administration.

"Mr. Taft says that 'the proper object of a publicity law is to prevent the use of money for bribery and other improper purposes in elections and to enable the law officers of the government and the public to determine whether the contributions made were properly expended for legitimate purposes,' and he adds, 'the requirement that the names and amounts of the persons contributing should also be shown is for the purpose of enabling the public and the prosecuting officers of the government to judge whether subsequent official action has been improperly affected in favor of the contributors by the successful candidate.'

"This, he says, can all be accomplished by publication after the election. He then proceeds to indorse the position taken by the President, declaring that 'the chief objection to the publication of contributions before election is that it makes certain that in the heat of the controversy the motive of those who contributed to pay the legitimate expenses of the campaign will be misconstrued, perverted and misrepresented.'

"'The candidate,' he also insists, 'in whose behalf the contributions are made will be charged in the most unfair way as being completely under the control of those who make the contributions.'

"Here he makes the same charge that the President does, the astounding charge that the voters are so liable to be misled that the knowledge must be kept from them. I insist that it is an insult to the intelligence of the voters, and it does little credit to Mr. Taft's judgment of the men to whom he is making his appeal. Mr. Roosevelt may have made his statement thoughtlessly and on the impulse of the moment, but Mr. Taft brings the same indictment against the voters with deliberation and after he has read a criticism of the President's views.

"It is fair to charge, therefore, that Mr. Taft is either expecting to receive contributions which would arouse just suspicion among an intelligent people, or contributions which, if known, would arouse an unjust suspicion among a people too ignorant to form a correct judgment upon the facts.

"This is an evasion which he can neither retract nor excuse. It can only be explained by a consciousness that Republican campaign methods will not bear the light, and that it would be dangerous to his party if the public knew before the election what he promises to make public after the election.

"His subsequent argument that the publication before election of the names and amounts contributed 'would discourage those who desire to contribute to the legitimate purposes of the campaign,' by 'exposing them to the bitter diatribes of unfair attacks or slanderous condemnation of partisans in an electoral fight,' ought to have little weight, when it is considered that publication will be efficacious in discouraging those who now desire to contribute to illegitimate expenses and for the purpose of putting officials under obligations to them.

"The people have a right to know in advance of election whether those with special interests to look after are contributing sums larger than public spirit, patriotic motives and general interest would explain.

"Mr. Taft misrepresents what I have said in regard to Mr. Hughes. I called attention to some of the contributions that were made to Mr. Hughes' fund, and in view of the fact that Mr. Hughes attacks the remedies presented in the Democratic platform as a cure for the

trusts, without advancing any remedies of his own, and in view of the further fact that this testimony was quoted by the President against me, I asked the President whether he thought that these contributions by trust magnates would lessen or increase the weight of Mr. Hughes' testimony on the subject of trusts.

"It will not do for Mr. Taft to put Mr. Hughes upon a pedestal and claim for him immunity from criticism. It is not necessary for me to pass judgment upon Mr. Hughes or upon what he has done in order to pass judgment upon the question under discussion. He is only human, and was one of 'the allies' before the Chicago convention.

"We assume that public officials will be honest, and yet we require bonds of those who handle money, no matter how much character they may have. The law will not permit a judge, a juror or an official to accept a gift, if the gift is from one who has an interest in the official actions of the official, and in forbidding this the law does not ask as to the character of the official.

"The law is based upon human nature and human experience, and it is not necessary to furnish specific proof of special weakness in the man who receives the money, or to prove that his decision was in any manner affected by the gift.

"It is only fair, however, to assume that in using Mr. Hughes' case as an argument Mr. Taft means to say that he will not object to contributions from trust magnates, railroad magnates and tariff beneficiaries, no matter how much these contributions may be, even though he may, if elected, be compelled to pass upon questions where their demands may be on the one side and the interests of the general public on the other."

## MR. ROOSEVELT'S ATTACK ON MR. BRYAN.

**The New York "World" Unmasks Mr. Roosevelt's Hypocrisy.**

THERE has probably never been a time in the history of our Republic when cant and hypocrisy have been more in evidence in political, business and social life than to-day.

The spectacle long presented by Chauncey Depew, during the years when he went up and down the land discoursing on virtue and good citizenship; by Elihu Root, posing as an apostle of civic idealism; by the presidents of the great insurance companies that were reeking with corruption, who were recklessly squandering the money paid by struggling thousands of American toilers to provide for their wives and children after their death while posing as safe and sane upholders of business and political morality; and by Senator Bailey, posing as a faithful servant of the people while growing rich off of services to the Standard Oil interests while they were defying the laws and antagonizing his state government—these things, unhappily, are typical examples of the hypocrisy that has grown up and flourished under the immoral business reign of the feudalism of privileged interests and Wall-street high finance.

But it remained for Mr. Roosevelt, the President of the Republic, to give our people the most amazing exhibition of cant and hypocrisy of which we have any knowledge, when he seized upon the charges against Governor Haskell that had been advanced by the man whom Mr. Root, acting under the direction of Mr. Roosevelt, a year before had denounced as being morally responsible for President McKinley's assassination, and worked himself up into a fine frenzy of indignation over the supposed fact that Governor Haskell was as odious and disreputable a man as President Roosevelt's sponsors when he ran for governor and for Vice-President.

The New York *World* for September 25th, in the following satirical editorial entitled "Outraged Virtue," admirably tears away the mask of hypocrisy from the President.

"As leader of the Grand Old Party, Mr. Roosevelt," says the *World*, "is morally outraged by the thought that a person like Charlie Haskell can hold public office and be identified with the management of a great political organization.

"Mr. Roosevelt himself was nominated for governor of New York by that eminent purist Thomas Collier Platt. His nomination for Vice-President was forced by those equally single-minded reformers, Thomas Collier Platt and Matthew Stanley Quay. Mr.

Roosevelt used to call Marcus Alonzo Hanna 'Uncle Mark,' and when that unselfish political philanthropist was not sufficiently enthusiastic over the Roosevelt candidacy the President used Joseph Benson Foraker to club Uncle Mark into submission.

"Standard Oil is a stench in the Presidential nostrils; but the Standard Oil bank still maintains its intimate relations with the Treasury Department. Harriman is hateful; but Harriman has not yet been compelled to answer the questions put to him nineteen months ago by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

"No Presidential lightning strikes Uncle Joe Cannon for protecting the paper trust. John Dalzell still represents the steel trust in Congress, and Mr. Roosevelt lumps him among the Republican candidates whose election is necessary to preserve the government from corporation influence. The virtue that cannot abide Haskell counsels freely with Aldrich, Penrose, Elkins and Scott.

"Elihu Root, who was Thomas F. Ryan's personal attorney, remains in the Cabinet as Secretary of State. One of J. Pierpont Morgan's partners is Mr. Root's assistant secretary; another is collecting Republican campaign tribute in Pennsylvania, and a third came back from Europe recently to express his great satisfaction with the election returns from Vermont. George R. Sheldon is still in Wall street divorcing the ruthless malefactors from their campaign contributions.

"Surely it cannot be the Haskell corporation affiliation alone which so incenses Mr. Roosevelt. Neither can it be the sordid fact that Haskell has been caught with the goods. The author of the letter to 'My dear Sherman' in the matter of the Harriman $260,000 campaign contribution would never repudiate a fellow-statesman simply for being the victim of a little unexpected and undesired publicity.

"Mr. Roosevelt has weighed the Democratic Haskell and finds him more offensive than all the Republican Haskells combined, except such as happen to be in opposition to 'My Policies.'"

### How The President, Who Denounces Mr. Haskell, Screened Paul Morton.

In this connection we may also take one of many cases illustrating how Mr. Roosevelt screens moral criminals and law-defiers who are his friends, while putting the worst possible construction on everything done by any one who opposes him. The President, who is so appalled at the unsupported charges of Mr. Hearst, deliberately gave the law-breaking Paul Morton a place in his Cabinet, and after his confession of law-defiance, before the Interstate Commerce Commission, had been printed in the public press from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Mr. Roosevelt gave him a clean bill of health in a fulsome letter of praise.

In the light of this and other similar acts, is not the present pretended righteous indignation at the alleged shortcomings of Mr. Haskell the most striking exhibition of rank hypocrisy known to the political annals of the Republic?

### Mr. Roosevelt's Unjustifiable Attempt to Discredit Mr. Bryan.

Nor is this all. The President seems determined to judge Mr. Bryan by himself. He knows how he importuned Mr. Harriman, the "undesirable citizen" and "malefactor of great wealth," to raise a great campaign fund from his confederates in Wall street. He knows that in order to make this "malefactor of great wealth" work zealously among the great predatory chiefs whose corrupt wealth was so lavishly paid to elect Mr. McKinley, and later Mr. Roosevelt, he invited him to confer with him about his Presidential message, assuring him that, like himself, he was a "practical man." He remembers that at the very moment that he was denouncing Judge Parker as a deliberate falsifier, for his truthful statement that heads of corporations were contributing to the Roosevelt campaign fund, Mr. Cortelyou, the President's own Cabinet minister and fat-frying chairman, was busy securing princely collections from the trust and corporation magnates. And knowing all these and similar things that might be cited, Mr. Roosevelt seems to imagine that Mr. Bryan is no more scrupulous than he.

Yet in this conclusion he is wholly unwarranted, as every thoughtful American citizen knows full well. For the past twelve years no man in the New World has been more steadily in the fierce light that falls on a public character than has Mr. Bryan. The feudalism of privileged wealth, with its command of inexhaustible funds and its far-reaching grasp on public opinion-forming agencies, has in every way possible striven to find some flaw that might prove the undoing of the great Commoner. Had there been any serious shortcoming in his personal or public career that could have been used to smirch his moral integrity, his sincerity, honesty, purity of life

or purpose, it would have been seized upon and utilized. Millions of dollars would have been gladly contributed by the Wall-street high financiers and trust magnates to have crushed the man they have not been able to seduce or swerve from single-hearted loyalty to what he conceives to be the most urgent demands of fundamental democracy and civic righteousness. No man in America has been more slandered and maligned than Mr. Bryan; yet because his life and actions have been so frank and sincere, the shafts of malice and calumny have fallen powerless against the armor of a just, high-minded Christian statesman. And it remained for Mr. Roosevelt to seek to discredit Mr. Bryan by imputations based on unproven charges regarding one of the managing officials of the Democratic campaign. Yet when Mr. Roosevelt penned his shameful letter, he had ignored the insistent appeals of Mr. Crozier and other leading Republicans, to remove from the position of director of the Republican spellbinders the head of the malodorous powder trust. The circumstance that the scandal of having the head of the powder trust directing the public speakers for Mr. Taft's campaign became so great that Mr. Dupont was compelled to resign, serves merely to emphasize the essential hypocrisy of Mr. Roosevelt's position.

### Mr. Bryan's Mistakes.

Mr. Bryan has made many mistakes in his public career, but they have been mistakes of the head and not of the heart. More than this, they have been mistakes of judgment and not of morality, and the gravest of these mistakes has been his eagerness to believe Mr. Roosevelt the same high-minded statesman that he is himself—a statesman who places obedience to law, civic morality and the interests of the people above all personal or partisan considerations. This mistake did credit to Mr. Bryan's heart, but in the light of Mr. Roosevelt's political record, it did not do credit to his head.

Personally, we differ from several of the political ideas held by Mr. Bryan, but we do believe him to be absolutely honest and sincere. We believe that he is not only incorruptible, but absolutely fearless, and that it is the appreciation of this fact that accounts for the universal fear and dread of him evinced by the great Wall-street high financiers and public plunderers.

Moreover, no one knows better than the enemies of the Republic that Mr. Bryan stands for Direct-Legislation; for the fundamental principles of popular government, and opposed to the destruction of popular rule through the dominance of corrupt bosses acting in the interests of privileged classes.

### Mr. Taft is Supported by The High Financiers and Corporation Magnates, Who Know Whom They Can Trust.

Mr. Taft is not feared by the "malefactors of great wealth." When his nomination was announced, J. Pierpont Morgan cried, "Good! Good!" His leading supporters and the men upon whom the Republican party depends to elect him are either the great Wall-street financiers, trust magnates and public-service corporation chiefs, or the men in whom they have perfect confidence—such men as Sheldon, Dupont, Crane, Sherman, Penrose, Cortelyou, and others who stand high in the favor of those who are seeking to overthrow popular government and establish a commercial feudalism more absolute and oppressive than the feudalism of the Middle Ages.

Mr. Foraker declares that Mr. Taft a short time since urged Mr. Roosevelt to appoint a Standard Oil lawyer to a judgeship, and since the campaign opened the fact that birds of a feather flock together was well illustrated in Mr. Taft becoming the guest of a Standard Oil lawyer in Toledo, accepting the palace-car of a railway magnate and the use of a palatial launch owned by a glass-trust magnate. Does any one suppose for one moment that any of these representatives of the feudalism of privileged wealth would for an instant think of tendering such hospitality to Mr. Bryan, or that Mr. Bryan would for a moment think of obligating himself to parties against whom as President he might be compelled to proceed?

True, the apologists for Mr. Taft and the corporation chiefs, presuming upon the common sense of the ordinary voter, are trying to make it appear that a man can be the guest and accept the lavish hospitality of leading officials or trusted representatives of great trusts and monopolies, and yet be in no way beholden by accepting such favors.

Mr. Roosevelt by his latest exhibition of cant and hypocrisy, has humiliated the millions of America, because he is the head of the government; and more than this, every exhibition of hypocrisy or cant indulged in by the first citizen of the Republic not only reflects on the people who placed him in office, but it necessarily exerts a demoralizing influence on the moral idealism of the people.

## MISSIONARY ROOT'S PILGRIMAGE TO WALL STREET AND BANKER MORGAN'S TWENTY-THOUSAND-DOLLAR CONTRIBUTION FOR TAFT.

BANKER SHELDON'S failure to collect the enormous campaign funds that alone would render possible the success of the Republican party and the further rule of the powerful privileged few, appears to have thoroughly alarmed Mr. Roosevelt and his *protégé;* so Secretary Root, so long famed as the most adroit, smooth and trusted trust and corporation attorney, was sent by Mr. Roosevelt to New York, ostensibly to investigate matters. He interviewed Mr. Hitchcock and looked into the work being done by Treasurer Sheldon. He is reported to have complained to Mr. Roosevelt that the treasurer had not been active enough as a fat-fryer. But the public is no more expected to know what Mr. Root actually did during his New York visit, what "gentlemen's agreement" may have been made, etc., than it is expected to find out how much money the various predatory chiefs and high financiers of Wall street are contributing to the Republican campaign, until it is too late for the knowledge to be of service to them in protecting themselves against what, judging from past experience in Republican campaigns, since the corporations have furnished the sinews of war, may be expected in the eveat of Taft's election. But one thing followed on the heels of Mr. Root's missionary tour into the citadel of high finance. The telegraphic dispatches to the daily press following this visit carried the following cheering news to the machine masters and money-hungry Republicans:

"Any lingering doubt where J. P. Morgan stood in the national campaign was dispelled to-day when the financier passed in a twenty-thousand-dollar check to the Taft-Sherman fund. It has been thankfully received and the hope is expressed by the Roosevelt manager that other captains of industry will soon be heard from."

In the light of the government of the trust and high financiers, through their agents and tools in government, and for their further enrichment and enthronement in power, which has marked the history of our government since Mark Hanna made the combination between the trusts and monopolies and the Republican party, can any one doubt that a "gentlemen's agreement" has been arranged between the chiefs of the Republican campaign management and the high financiers, railroad magnates and corporation chiefs?

He who votes for Mr. Taft, votes for J. Pierpont Morgan's man.

## MR. CANNON IN THE *ROLE* OF THE WORM THAT TURNS.

OF LATE Speaker Cannon has been a general target for criticism on account of his resolute attitude against revision of the tariff. Republican speakers everywhere have tried to make it appear that Mr. Roosevelt was the sincere friend of tariff revision and that he and Mr. Taft were of one accord in desiring genuine reform and relief for the people; but it was the wicked Mr. Cannon, Mr. Taft's running-mate Sherman, and Payne in the House, and the Aldriches, Penroses, Lodges, and Cranes in the Senate who stood in the way of tariff revision in the past.

The opposition to Mr. Cannon has become so general over the country as to alarm this redoubtable friend of the trusts. He does not propose to be the sacrificial lamb, and so at last we have the spectacle of the worm turning. In the Boston *Herald* of October 5th Mr. Ernest G. Walker, special correspondent for the *Herald,* which is one of Mr. Taft's strongest organs in New England, publishes the following interesting revelation made by Speaker Cannon, of how Roosevelt and not Cannon was responsible for the people being wronged out of tariff revision, which had been held out as a tempting bait to them before the election of the President four years ago.

"The other day the Speaker," says Mr. Walker, referring to Mr. Cannon, "divulged

some history of a round-table conference in Washington to a company of his fellow-townsmen. It was the conference that President Roosevelt called soon after his election in 1904 to determine whether there should be revision at an extra session in the spring. The Speaker's account to his Danville brethren ran something as follows:

"'We had talked about the matter for quite a while, when the President began to ask us individually what our recommendations to him would be. He asked Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, who replied that he thought the tariff could be patched all that it needed patching the following winter at the regular session of Congress. Then Senator Platt, of Connecticut, now dead, on being asked his opinion, declared against revision because it would cause a disturbance in business. He wanted nothing of that kind.

"'My turn came. "If you are going to revise the tariff at all during your administration," I said, "by all means let us do it as soon as we can. Congress can be called together in extra session and complete the revision more than a year before the next election. There ought to be no wavering about this. We should meet the situation squarely and promptly and give business as small a shock as possible."

"'There were others at the conference and they gave their opinions. Finally, after a little, the President announced: "Well, gentlemen, I shall not call an extra session. I think we can postpone revision till after my new term of office expires."'"

## THE SOCIALISTS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

THE SOCIALISTS more than any other political party will derive permanent growth and strength from this year's Presidential campaign.

While Mr. Roosevelt has been enacting the part of Don Quixote, and Mr. Taft that of the man who desires the love of two maidens—the plutocracy and the public; while Mr. Bryan has been compelled to bear the brunt of battle from foes without and within the camp and ward off calumny, innuendoes and base implications from every opposing force; while Foraker and Haskell have been carried from the field of the wounded and the Standard Oil Company has appeared as the heavy all-round villain; while Mr. Hearst, in a *rôle* that at times suggested Peck's Bad Boy bent on mischief and at other times that of the disappointed lover dominated by a passion for revenge, has striven in every way possible to injure the party that had long honored him and to defeat his more popular rival—while this national vaudeville has been in progress, the Socialists for the first time in their history have escaped the storm of slander, calumny and misrepresentation to which they are accustomed. And they have improved to the fullest extent the opportunity given them, by one of the most vigorous and ably conducted educational campaigns that has marked the history of American political life, especially when it is remembered that the party is made up almost wholly of persons of moderate or small means whose contributions to the campaign more frequently than otherwise represent actual sacrifice. Yet with this handicap, they raised sufficient funds to enable them to send their Presidential candidate, Mr. Debs, from ocean to ocean in a special train, where he was accorded a continuous ovation, speaking to crowds of thousands, and not unfrequently tens of thousands, of voters.

While personally we believe that the cause of peaceful, permanent progress and safeguarded free government makes the people's rule the paramount issue at the present stage of political advance, we admire the splendid exhibition of patriotism and loyalty to what they conceive to be the highest and most urgent political good evinced by the Socialists. The Socialist party is unlike any other political organization. It is international; and in spite of the crass materialism that some of its leaders have enunciated, it is beyond and above all else an idealistic political philosophy. Indeed, it is the moral idealism at the heart of Socialism that makes it a religion to its millions of adherents. It is the one great political party that is uncompromising and unyielding in its aggressive warfare against militarism, child-slavery, economic dependence of woman, and the exploitation of the wealth-creators by privileged and often parasite classes that are actuated by the creed of "give as little and grab as much as possible."

We shall not be surprised if the Socialists in the United States poll a million votes at the coming election.

## A REMARKABLE CLERICAL MANIFESTO.

THERE are many striking evidences of the awakening of the clergy to a realization of the vital economic demands of the hour, that presage a coming spiritual renaissance which shall do much toward restoring moral idealism and a living faith in the hearts of the people. Perhaps the most significant recent event illustrative of this momentous fact was the publication a few weeks since of the following manifesto, signed by 160 well-known American clergymen representing thirty-five states, territories and provinces of Canada, and twenty-four different religious denominations:

"We, who are ministers to congregations of various denominations, hereby declare our adherence to the following purpose:

"1. To permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions with the Social Message of the Bible; to show that Socialism is the Economic Expression of the Religious Life; to end the Class Struggle by establishing Industrial Democracy, and to hasten the reign of Justice and Brotherhood upon earth.

"2. We believe that the Economic Teaching of the Scriptures would find its fulfilment in the Coöperative Commonwealth of Modern Socialism.

"3. We believe that the present social system, based as it is upon the sin of covetousness, makes the ethical life as inculcated by religion impracticable; and should give place to a social system founded on the 'Golden Rule' and the 'Royal Law' of the Kingdom of God. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' which, realized under the Coöperative Commonwealth of Socialism, will create an environment favorable to the practice of Religious Life.

"4. We accordingly urge with utmost earnestness that all our brethren in the ministry and the people in all the churches search the Scriptures and study the philosophy of Socialism, that they may see if our belief be not indeed God's very truth."

Some of the signers of this manifesto are men quite distinguished and influential, such for example, as Rev. R. Heber Newton of New York city, the Very Reverend Gardiner C. Tucker of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church of Mobile, Alabama; Rev. Benjamin Fay Mills of Los Angeles, California, and Rev. W. D. P. Bliss of New York city. Most of the clergymen are active pastors of representative churches in their home cities and towns.

The eight churches most largely represented are as follows: Baptist, 28; Protestant Episcopal, 22; Congregationalist, 20; Methodist Episcopal, 16; Presbyterian, 16; Christian, or Disciples of Christ, 15; Universalist, 11; Unitarian, 8.

We recently called attention in THE ARENA to the remarkable sweep toward Socialism evinced by the leading clergy of England in the recent Pan-Anglican Congress in London. The Rev. John Haynes Holmes in this issue of of THE ARENA cites several other facts that indicate the awakening of the church from her state of moral lethargy. We believe that the church and society are on the verge of a great spiritual awakening that shall prove revolutionizing in character.

## THE GREAT POPULAR VICTORY IN MAINE.

THE PEOPLE are awakening. The spirit of 1776 is being rekindled in spite of an opposition as powerful as it is corrupt and as crafty as it is conscienceless.

After it became no longer possible to discredit the success of Direct-Legislation in its operation in the Republic of Switzerland, the political bosses, the reactionaries and the privileged interests whose swollen fortunes secured from the industry of the millions had only been possible because of the corrupt conspiracy of the masters of the money-controlled machine, all joined in declaring that Direct-Legislation could not succeed in America.

Oregon, whose people are among the most intelligent and progressive of any commonwealth in this country, took up the challenge and several years ago embedded Direct-Legislation in her constitution. Year by year she has demonstrated that the benefits claimed

for the people under Direct-Legislation were greater and more satisfactory than had been anticipated. Every argument advanced against Direct-Legislation has been met and answered by Oregon in favor of this practical method for securing the blessings of popular government and destroying the despotism that was being so carefully erected by the political bosses and privileged interests, by which a popular government was rapidly giving place to one of the most vicious forms of class-rule.

Oklahoma last year followed Oregon's example by adopting by an overwhelming vote Direct-Legislation in her constitution; and on the fifteenth of last September, Maine, by a vote of more than 2 to 1, adopted a constitutional amendment giving her people the Referendum and Initiative in a practical form. The victory in Maine is most gratifying because of the united efforts of the political bosses, Lodge of Massachusetts and Hale of Maine, to defeat the popular effort to secure genuine representative government. Elsewhere in this issue Mr. Albertson has given the facts relating to this important historical conflict and also the full text of the amendment adopted by such a sweeping majority.

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

By Ralph Albertson,
Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

### Victory in Maine.

ANOTHER state has been added to the columns of genuine democracy, and this time it is the old rock-ribbed Republican state of Maine. There were some very peculiar elements in the campaign. The movement may be said to have started almost simultaneously in the State Grange and the State Federation of Labor. A State Referendum League was organized almost wholly of people in these two bodies and when the matter was brought to an issue in the party conventions of 1906, both the Democratic and Republican parties gave Direct-Legislation their hearty endorsement. The corporation lobbies in the state of Maine are not strong. There was no secret corporation fund to vitiate and nullify the demand of the people that the people shall rule. When the bill for a constitutional amendment came before the legislature of 1907, backed by the unanimous voice of the people, every vote that was cast, was cast in its favor, only one so-called representative of the people refraining from voting, he not having the temerity to vote against the majority.

There yet remained only the necessity for the people to vote on the measure. Then a remarkable thing happened. Senator Lodge woke up. He began to stir around and wake up some of his like-minded, autocracy-loving colleagues. He got invited to address the Central Labor Union in Faneuil Hall on the pending Public-Opinion bill, and in this address he declared Direct-Legislation to be contrary to a republican form of government, to be unconstitutional, and to be subversive of the best interests of the country. He called it mob-rule and indulged in a lot of similar talk, revealing to every intelligent person there that he was utterly ignorant of the facts about the subject, or that his misrepresentation of the Initiative and Referendum was wilful.

Then the next step: Senator Hale of Maine rises in his seat and takes to himself the privilege of having Senator Lodge's Faneuil Hall tirade printed, at the expense of the government, and mailed at the public expense to nobody knows how many of the voters of the state of Maine. This was an eye-opener to the Republican machine of the state. The politicians got busy, the little Maine corporations got busy, special-privileged classes got busy, and with the aid of a certain few of the papers of the state, which was easily secured, a vigorous campaign was at once instituted to head off the reform.

But the Grange and the State Federation and the Referendum League also got busy. A memorial was presented the United States Senate by Kingsbury B. Piper, which thoroughly answered the arguments and implications of Lodge, completely discrediting him.

The fight waxed hot, the election took place September 15th and by a vote of over two to

one the amendment carried, 51,991 voting for it and 23,712 against. The exact copy of the amendment is as follows:

"An Amendment to article four of the Constitution of the state of Maine, establishing a people's veto through the optional referendum, and a direct initiative by petition and at general or special elections.

"*Resolved*, That the following amendment to the constitution of this state be proposed for the action of the legal voters of this state in the manner provided by the Constitution, to wit:

"Part first of article four is hereby amended as follows, namely:

"By striking out all of section one after the word 'Maine' in the third line thereof, and inserting in lieu thereof the following words, 'But the people reserve to themselves power to propose and to enact or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislature, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act, bill, resolve or resolution passed by the joint action of both branches of the legislature, and the style of their laws and acts shall be "Be it enacted by the people of the state of Maine,"' so that said section as amended shall read as follows, namely:

"'The legislative power shall be vested in two distinct branches, a house of representatives and a senate, each to have a negative on the other, and both to be styled the legislature of Maine, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and to enact or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislature, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act, bill, resolve or resolution passed by the joint action of both branches of the legislature, and the style of their laws and acts shall be, "Be it enacted by the people of the state of Maine."'

"Part third of article four is hereby amended as follows, namely:

"By inserting in section one, after the words 'biennially and' in the second line thereof, the words 'with the exceptions hereinafter stated,' so that said section shall read as amended:

"'The legislature shall convene on the first Wednesday of January, biennially, and, with the exceptions hereinafter stated, shall have full power to make and establish all reasonable laws and regulations for the defense and benefit of the people of this state, not repugnant to this constitution nor to that of the United States.'

"Part third of article four is further amended by adding to said article the following sections to be numbered from sixteen to twenty-two inclusive, namely:

"'Section 16. No act or joint resolution of the legislature, except such orders or resolutions as pertain solely to facilitating the performance of the business of the legislature, of either branch, or of any committee or officer thereof, or appropriate money therefor or for the payment of salaries fixed by law, shall take effect until ninety days after the recess of the legislature passing it, unless in case of emergency (which with the facts constituting the emergency shall be expressed in the preamble of the act), the legislature shall, by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, otherwise direct. An emergency bill shall include only such measures as are immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health or safety; and shall not include (1) an infringement of the right of home rule for municipalities, (2) a franchise or a license to a corporation or an individual to extend longer than one year, or (3) provision for the sale or purchase or renting for more than five years of real estate.'

"'Section 17. Upon written petition of not less than ten thousand electors, addressed to the governor and filed in the office of the secretary of state within ninety days after the recess of the legislature, requesting that one or more acts, bills, resolves or resolutions, or part or parts thereof, passed by the legislature, but not then in effect by reason of the provisions of the preceding section, be refererd to the people, such acts, bills, resolves, or resolutions or part or parts thereof as are specified in such petition shall not take effect until thirty days after the governor shall have announced by public proclamation that the same have been ratified by a majority of the electors voting thereon at a general or special election. As soon as it appears that the effect of any act, bill, resolve, or resolution or part or parts thereof has been suspended by petition in manner aforesaid, the governor by public proclamation shall give notice thereof and of the time when such measure is to be voted on by the people, which shall be at the next general election not less than sixty days after such proclamation, or in case of no general election within six months thereafter the governor may, and if so requested in said written petition therefor, shall order such measure submitted to the people at a special election not less than four nor more than six months after his proclamation thereof.'

"'Section 18. The electors may propose to the legislature for its consideration any bill, resolve or resolution, including bills to amend or repeal emergency legislation but not an amendment of the state constitution, by written petition addressed to the legislature or to either branch thereof and filed in the office of the secretary of state or presented to either branch of the legislature at least thirty days before the close of its session. Any measure thus proposed by not less than twelve thousand electors, unless enacted without change by the legislature at the session at which it is presented, shall be submitted to the electors together with any amended form, substitute, or recommendation of the legislature, and in such manner that the people can choose between the competing measures or reject both. When there are competing bills and neither receives a majority of the votes given for or against both, the one receiving the most votes shall at the next general election to be held not less than sixty days after the first vote thereon be submitted by itself if it receives more than one-third of the votes given for and against both. If the measure initiated is enacted by the legislature without change, it shall not go to a referendum vote unless in pursuance of a demand made in accordance with the preceding section. The legislature may order a special election on any measure that is subject to a vote of the people. The governor may, and if so requested in the written petitions addressed to the legislature, shall, by proclamation, order any measure proposed to the legislature by at least twelve thousand electors as herein provided, and not enacted by the legislature without change, referred to the people at a special election to be held not less than four or more than six months after such proclamation, otherwise said measure shall be voted upon at the next general election held not less than sixty days after the recess of the legislature, to which such measure was proposed.

"'Section 19. Any measure referred to the people and approved by a majority of the votes given thereon shall, unless a later date is specified in said measure, take effect and become a law in thirty days after the governor has made public proclamation of the result of the vote on said measure, which he shall do within ten days after the vote thereon has been canvassed and determined. The veto power of the governor shall not extend to any measure approved by vote of the people, and any measure initiated by the people and passed by the legislature without change, if vetoed by the governor and if his veto is sustained by the legislature shall be referred to the people to be voted on at the next general election. The legislature may enact measures expressly conditioned upon the people's ratification by a referendum vote.'

"'Section 20. As used in either of the three preceding sections the words "electors" and "people" mean the electors of the state qualified to vote for governor; "recess of the legislature" means the adjournment without day of a session of the legislature; "general election" means the November election for choice of Presidential electors or the September election for choice of governor and other state and county officers; "measure" means an act, bill, resolve or resolution proposed by the people, or two or more such, or part or parts of such, as the case may be; "written petition" means one or more petitions written or printed, or partly written and partly printed, with the original signatures of the petitioners attached, verified as to the authenticity of the signatures by the oath of one of the petitioners certified thereon, and accompanied by the certificate of the clerk of the city, town or plantation in which the petitioners reside that their names appear on the voting list of his city, town or plantation as qualified to vote for governor. The petitions shall set forth the full text of the measure requested or proposed. The full text of a measure submitted to a vote of the people under the provisions of the constitution need not be printed on the official ballots, but, until otherwise provided by the legislature, the secretary of state shall prepare the ballots in such form as to present the question or questions concisely and intelligibly.'

"'Section 21. The city council of any city may establish the initiative and referendum for the electors of such city in regard to its municipal affairs, provided that the ordinance establishing and providing the method of exercising such initiative and referendum shall not take effect until ratified by vote of a majority of the electors of said city, voting thereon at a municipal election. Provided, however, that the legislature may at any time provide a uniform method for the exercise of the initiative and referendum in municipal affairs.'

"'Section 22. Until the legislature shall enact further regulations not inconsistent with the constitution for applying the people's veto

and direct initiative, the election officers and other officials shall be governed by the provisions of this constitution and of the general law, supplemented by such reasonable action as may be necessary to render the preceding sections self-executing.'

"*Resolved*, That all the foregoing is proposed to be voted upon as one amendment, and not as two or more several amendments.

"*Resolved*, That the aldermen of cities, the selectmen of towns and the assessors of the several plantations in this state are hereby empowered and directed to notify the inhabitants of their respective cities, towns and plantations in the manner prescribed by law to vote at the meeting in September in the year one thousand nine hundred and eight upon the amendment proposed in the foregoing resolutions, and the question shall be

"'Shall the constitution be amended as proposed by a resolution of the legislature providing for the establishment of a people's veto through the optional referendum and a direct initiative by petition and at general or special elections?' and the inhabitants of said cities, towns and plantations shall vote by ballot on said question, those favoring the amendment voting 'yes' and those opposing voting 'no' upon their ballots, and the ballots shall be received, sorted, counted and declared in open ward, town and plantation meetings and lists of the votes so received shall be made and returned to the office of the secretary of state in the same manner as votes for governor and members of the legislature, and the governor and council shall count the same and make return to the next legislature, and if it shall appear that a majority of the votes are in favor of the amendment, the constitution shall be amended accordingly.

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of state shall prepare and furnish to the several cities, towns and plantations, ballots and blank returns in conformity to the foregoing resolves accompanied by a copy thereof."

RALPH ALBERTSON.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### Our Great Serial Story.

EVERY city of size is surrounded by suburbs to which there is a single fare and a commutation fare, the former being in some cases at least twice as great as the latter. There is nothing startling in this statement. Sometimes when we go to visit a friend who has boasted of his nine-cent ride, we are surprised to find the price for a single ride fifteen, but if eventually we come to live in the same locality we, too, say "nine cents." A very common phenomenon. Sometimes also we find that we can buy two cigars for less than twice the price of one, or three pieces of soap for less than three times the price of one, or a dozen pears for less than twelve times the unit. There is nothing startling in this statement—in fact, if we have bought only one unit we generally quote the price for the greater number at which the unit appears cheaper. Nothing startling, mind you.

And yet for weeks we have been having all kinds of big type because Tom Johnson did the same thing. A "fiasco," a "failure," a "fizzle"—*ad lib.*—all about good old consumers' rent that goes back to Adam Smith. Not three-cent fare because it 's a ticket! And have you noticed the way it 's put? "The failure of the experiment is now officially confirmed by the return to a five-cent *cash* fare." I have a dozen articles before me with that expression in them—and not one of them mentions the five-for-fifteen-cents tickets! There 's an honest press for you! Some of them deign to give the reason, the delay in getting the prepayment cars and the difficulty of collecting a three-copper fare, in any other way. True the difficulty might have been met—but it was n't. It is n't a vital defect. It is n't even a "fiasco" or "fizzle" or a "failure." As soon as the new cars come the public will have their choice of buying five tickets for fifteen cents, of paying three coppers, or, if they fail to provide themselves

with either, of paying a five-cent fare. Are *you* going to pay a nickel? Well, neither is anybody else.

We hear a good deal also about "those one-cent transfers" which one would imagine from the reading make travel in Cleveland very expensive. The payment of one cent is required by the conductor who issues the transfer, but is refunded by the one to whom it is tendered. If this simple device will eliminate the large loss due to the misuse of transfers, and if that elimination means a gain for the public—as it surely does—wherever is the kick?

The thing we do not hear much about is that the road earned in the month of July a surplus of $19,695.22. Did n't notice that, in small type in the corner, did you?

### The Next Campaign.

DESPITE its comparative quiet, the Presidential campaign is sufficient to detract interest from local elections and therefore to hide two movements which are constantly coming to the fore and which will stand out with great clearness next year. One is the tendency, largely in the West, to center elections about the issue of installing some new municipal enterprise. Until now these questions have appeared separately on the ballot, but they are becoming more and more a part of the platform. The burden of proof has shifted.

The other movement is the "fake" municipal-ownership boom, significantly the modern "appeal to the Pee-pul." Thus in many cities "Public-Ownership" is used as the rallying cry of demagogues who have no idea of adopting public-ownership, who use the words to raise the hopes—or regain the confidence—of their followers, and then play politics to make them forget. There is nothing new in the game, Lord love you, no, but it always makes a strong impression and as invariably gives real progress a strong setback.

Both these movements will stand out clearly next year. But the former will be tucked away in small print—lots of it, but small. The Eastern movement will come out in large type, because the powers that run the political incubator can afford a lot of ink, because every political promise unfulfilled means "failures"—sort of eat the cake and have it, too—and chiefly, because the fight is on, and there are not only "millions for defense" but millions to defend. 'T will be strange to see: The enemies of public-ownership working for a public this and a municipal that; the friends of progress combating their own desire. But there is no other course open. Curious world, is n't it?

### Enlightenment.

A NEW YORK paper that may always be relied on for enlightened editorials on Municipal Ownership—privately en-lightened—recently brought forth a Con-trast. On the one side, it says is the great city of New York clamoring for improved traction facilities, and proceeding "at a pace that is snail-like at its best"—all in one syllable, please notice—on the other is the Lackawanna Railroad System which is spending $11,000,000 to cut the running time to Buffalo half an hour. "New York would do well to take a leaf from the Lackawanna's book and learn how to 'do things.'"

Noble Lackawanna, Slothful New York. Naughty, naughty, what 's the use? And, more particularly what 's the point?

### The London "Failure."

"LONDON, August 29.—Despite the campaign lies circulated during the last election for the London council that the municipality-owned and operated street-car systems did n't pay, the systems do pay. They pay handsomely.

"The municipal capital already invested totals about $35,000,000. For the year ending March 31, 1908, the net profits of the systems were $2,460,000, or a profit of 6½ per cent. The electric lines alone showed a profit of $2,500,000 for the year, but there was a loss on the few horse-car lines still waiting to be electrified. Last year the council's street cars carried 372,000,000 passengers."—Pittsburg *Press*.

I think we remarked something of this sort at the time. What the dickens is a "failure" anyway?

### The Movement Abroad.

THE LACK of good statistics of Public-Ownership in this country, owing to the failure to realize the tremendous growth of the movement in the last few years, makes the two following extracts from recent consular reports all the more interesting and valuable.

"Consul Thomas H. Norton, of Chemnitz, states that a recent statistical summary of the extent to which public utilities are now under the direct management of German municipal-

ities, shows that the movement is constantly gaining in momentum and that the field of activity is steadily being broadened. The consul's review continues:

"There are now fifty-eight cities in the empire containing over 50,000 inhabitants. In these cities the leading utilities are owned and conducted by the municipalities to the following extent:

| Public Utilities. | Number of cities. |
|---|---|
| Gas works | 44 |
| Electric power plant | 38 |
| Water-works | 43 |
| Abattoirs | 47 |
| Bath-houses | 42 |
| Street railroads | 10 |
| Removal of garbage and sewage | 56 |
| Market halls | 16 |
| Tenement houses (chiefly for municipal employés and laborers) | 22 |

"In regard to financial results the gas works make the best showing. Their total profits amount annually to $10,100,000. Of this sum about $2,500,000 is required for interest on the investment. Electrical works show a profit of $4,200,000, of which $1,300,000 is expended for interest. Water-works return on an average of 8.5 per cent. of the capital invested. Market halls and tenements yield but little profit.

"The entire capital invested by German municipalities in plants for public utilities is now estimated at nearly $1,000,000,000. The value of forests and meadows, as well as the capital of municipal banks and loaning organizations, is not included in this total.

"While so much activity in this field is developed by the German cities, there is but little evidence of a tendency to invade indiscriminately the economic territory of general industrial competition. Municipal control is established when there is simply the choice between a public and a private monopoly, as in the case of gas, water, electricity, etc., or else when the desirability of a utility is unquestioned, but the uncertainty as to profitable returns fails to attract private capital. There is but little probability that German municipal enterprise will step outside these limitations.

"The telegraph and telephone in Germany are owned and managed by the imperial government, and most of the railway lines are the property of the different states."

Consul Mansfield, of Lucerne, reports on the Swiss public telephone and telegraph lines as follows:

"The telegraph and telephone service extends to nearly every town and village in the country, and every railway station is supplied with both systems. The service is good and the rates low. They are operated in connection with the postal service, every post-office being provided with telegraphic facilities, and practically all of them with public telephones.

"Distances in Switzerland being short, the service prompt, and the rates low, the telegraph and telephones are liberally patronized. Long-distance connections are made with all the local or urban telephone lines, enabling patrons to communicate with all cities and towns in the country. There are also international connections with all the countries bordering on Swiss territory.

"A feature of the Swiss telephone service is that in addition to owning and operating all the lines, the government manufactures all the instruments used, makes the insulations, and controls the business absolutely.

"The total length of telephone lines in Switzerland is 10,548 miles. The annual rental charge for offices, business houses and residences is $12.45 per year. An additional charge of one cent is made for each call in the town. For interurban or long-distance calls the rate is 2 to 14 cents for three minutes, according to distance, 14 cents being the maximum rate for any distance in the country.

"The number of telephone subscribers in 1906 was 53,711. During the year there were 32,071,177 local, 7,251,198 interurban, and 299,209 international calls over the government telephones. The revenue from all classes of calls for 1906 was $829,732; income from rent on 53,711 telephones, $668,702. Total, $1,498,434.

"The total length of telegraph lines in Switzerland is 66,683 miles. The total number of telegrams transmitted in 1906 was 4,918,679, of which 2,339,956 were international and 1,698,838 local. The total revenue from telegrams for the year was $1,596,664.

"There is a government tax of 30 centimes, equal to a fraction under 6 cents American money, on each telegram sent. In addition to this charge there is a universal rate of one-half cent a word throughout the country, distance not being taken into consideration. A telegram of ten words costs only 11 cents. The international rate is 30 cents per word to New York, 2 cents to France, Germany, Italy and Austria, 5 cents to Spain, 6 cents to England, and 9 cents to Russia. In addition to the foregoing there is a government tax of

10 cents on each international telegram or cable.

"The total income from telephone and telegraph service for 1906 was $3,095,098; expense, $2,231,217; profit to the government, $863,881. The telegraph and telephone service, like the government railways and parcels post, are economically administered, the object being to render the best service possible at the lowest possible cost to the people."

### Liverpool, England.

WITH some doubt and hesitation the Springfield *Republican* prints the following report of Liverpool's tramways. The nude statues in the Berlin museums, it is said, have to be draped when a visit from the Empress is expected. So we must not complain of equal delicacy on the part of the *Republican*.

"There has come to this office from the traffic manager of the Liverpool (England) corporation tramways, C. W. Mallins, a copy of his report for the calendar year 1907. Whatever may be the results of municpal ownership and operation of street railways in other parts of the United Kingdom, it does not appear that anything save great success attends this policy in Liverpool, as may be seen in comparing the financial results of last year with those of the previous year:

| | 1907. | 1906. |
|---|---|---|
| Total revenue | £598,365 | £583,619 |
| Operating costs | 404,625 | 391,282 |
| Gross profits | 193,740 | 192,337 |
| Interest and sinking fund | 110,361 | 109,580 |
| Balance | 83,379 | 82,756 |

This balance or net profit last year of £83,379, or $416,895, was distributed £55,586 to reserve, renewal and depreciation, and £27,793, or $138,965, was handed over to the city treasury for general municipal purposes. The latter gain to the treasury was additional to taxes which are assessed against the tramways as if they were the property of a private corporation, and are included in the general expenses of the enterprise.

"Thus the municipality made enough from its tramways during the year to pay the interest on the tramway debt, to sink a proportion of the same, to set aside $277,930 for reserve and renewals, to pay the taxes as if a private corporation, and then to turn the large sum noted above into the public treasury for the abatement of the general tax rate upon citizens. At the same time rates of fare were charged not exceeding two cents for stages of and within about 2½ miles, and only about 2.2 cents as the average for all of the 124,000,000 passengers carried during the year. The city, moreover, as an employer of tramway labor, provided uniforms, contributed from tramways' revenue for the support of the employés' musical band, and aided in support of an employés sick benefit society and a social, athletic and thrift society, besides giving each employé a six-days' holiday on full pay.

"We are, of course, not to infer that an American municipality under public-ownership of the street railways, however well managed they might be, could show such profitable results on the basis of fares so low or on the basis of fares very much lower than those now charged by private corporations. Labor and general expense and traffic conditions are different. But we are evidently to infer that municipal ownership has proved a very profitable and generally advantageous policy in the case of this English city, both from the standpoint of the public and the tramway employés; and that this is generally true of the policy in such other British cities as follow it appears to be undisputed except by the expert investigators sent over by private American public-service corporations."

### Woodbury, New Jersey.

IT IS curious how a town council will fail to recognize that it is responsible for the town's good name. The council of Woodbury is responsible for one of the worst cases of this form of prostitution. For two years the citizens of Woodbury have expressed themselves in favor of a lighting plant of their own, and time and time again the "representatives of the people" have listened to the Public Service Corporation and have put the matter off. It must be a great town to live in.

### Notes.

THE CITY of Vienna is trying to get control of mines in Moravia, in order to secure a cheap and reliable supply of coal for the municipal gas and electric plants.

MAYOR DIMMICK of Scranton has won his fight for a municipal garbage plant, and the contract for its erection has been signed. The city will also collect ashes and use them for road repairs.

THE Pennsylvania Water Company recently demanded six months' advance payment from the borough of North Braddock. The citizens held a mass meeting and determined to build a municipal plant.

FRANKLIN, Pennsylvania, recently bought out the local water plant. For the first six weeks of public operation receipts are officially reported as $3,044.87, expenses, not including coal, as $996.15, leaving a balance of $2,048.72.

WESTMORELAND county, Pennsylvania, is now operating its own electric-lighting plant.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

### Brighton Co-operative Society.

THE Brighton Mutual Coöperative and Industrial Society of Brighton, Massachusetts, has been making a courageous and successful attempt to carry on a grocery business for its members. Thomas Hooper, one of the members of the Brighton society, says, speaking in connection with the work the society hopes to accomplish, "We are only doing a retail business at present, but we expect before many years to be in manufacturing enterprises. In this way we can offer employment to the members of the society. This present society in Brighton grew out of the old Wage-Earners' Club. So far it has been more than successful. We have been doing a most successful grocery and provision business for the past five months and have had the satisfaction of seeing the business steadily increasing. With commodities in general use in the hands of the trusts and combinations as they are now it is useless for a single individual to confront them. We have decided on this plan of action and believe that we have at least safeguarded our members from unreasonable prices." The society is giving a series of lectures this winter on the general subject of coöperation, in the hope of creating a greater interest in the growth of kindred societies. The first of the course was given on the sixth of September by Captain T. Connor, formerly of the English army. Captain Connor is a man of wide experience and travel. He has for many years been exceedingly interested in the development of coöperative effort, and has watched with keen interest its phases in his course of travel.

### Co-operation Among Negroes.

THE *Congregationalist*, published in Boston, contains an interesting account of the work of a negro pastor, by which he has endeavored to rouse a social consciousness in his race. In order to do this he has been organizing coöperative leagues in Northern communities where there are a sufficient number of colored people to make them effective. His plan is to have a committee on business opportunities and employment which investigates the character and record of applicants before recommending them for positions, thus sifting out the shiftless and creating a demand for the services of the worthy. A committee on land investments is on the lookout for colonizing opportunities. Mr. Pettigrew himself brought a good-sized colony into the Yakima Valley, which is now in flourishing condition. There is a committee on education which endeavors to see that all children of school age have school privileges and are kept at their studies. Other committees are to be added and other activities are to be engaged in as each league becomes more experienced.

Mr. Pettigrew made a lecturing and organizing tour extending from Spokane to Omaha last summer and succeeded in organizing twenty local leagues. Having already made a success on his 160-acre homestead and having demonstrated the working possibilities of his plan through leagues already organized, Mr. Pettigrew plans to make his headquarters in some town in the state of Kansas and from that place as a center to extend the league idea by lectures and personal work and by the publication of a paper to be known as *The American Lever*.

### The Yonkers Movement.

THE Colored Coöperative Company of Yonkers, which has been in existence four years and has paid dividends ranging from 5 to 7 per cent., has recently been incorporated

under the laws of the state of New Jersey with $200,000 capital stock, as they had accomplished as much as was possible under a capitalization of $50,000. The chief object of the corporation is to provide sanitary homes for negroes not only in Yonkers but in many other places. The company operates a factory in Yonkers where building materials are manufactured, and also a general department store where all the necessary things of everyday life may be purchased.

The directors and officers are: The Rev. J. J. Snyder, president; Charles E. Scott, secretary; Frank J. Moultrie, treasurer, and Thomas S. Lane, Jeremiah Webb, and John R. Grene of Yonkers. The company owns $63,000 worth of property in Yonkers; in Tarrytown, $21,000; Poughkeepsie $10,000; Mount Vernon, $33,000; Larchmont, $5,000.

### Coal Mining.

A NEW coöperative coal company composed of twelve miners who wield the pick themselves, has sunk a shaft on sixty acres of land near Hess street and Jefferson avenue, Saginaw, Michigan, and discovered a fine three-and-a-half-foot vein of coal of excellent quality. It taps a new and what is believed to be an extensive field. The tipple has been erected and the machinery is being installed and operations will be commenced shortly. The company which is one of a number which are operating successfully in Michigan, is known as the Buena Vista Coal Company. The president is F. Heacox, a well-known miner of that district.

### A Speed Record.

BISCUITS made from wheat which twenty-two minutes before was standing in the beld is the record-breaking performance which took place in Waitsburg, Washington, in August. The wheat grew on the farm of N. B. Atkinson, president of the Washington State Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union, a point of interest in that it demonstrates the modern methods under which our Western farmers are working, in industrial organization as well as in such matters as machinery, etc. The various stages of the operation and time announced by R. H. Ormsbee, prosecuting attorney of Walla Walla county; E. L. Wheeler, editor of the Waitsburg *Times*, and Platt B. Morrow, general merchant and official time-keeper, are as follows:

"9.03—Ripe wheat standing in the field.

"9.04—First head clipped from the straw by the heading-machine.

"9.08—Grain started into the cylinder of the threshing-machine.

"9.11—Flour threshed, sacked, sewed and loaded into automobile.

"9.14—Grain received at mill, two miles from field, weighed and dropped into the receiving hopper; four sacks weighed 535 pounds.

"9.16—First flour appeared at packer, having traveled 640 feet in the machinery. A. Beck, baker, began mixing flour, baking-powder and water into dough.

"9.21—Molded dough in pans placed into oven.

"9.23—Two sacks of flour ground, sacked and ready for market.

"9.26—Biscuits taken from the oven, buttered and distributed among the witnesses."

With the exception of the automobiles employed to carry the grain and the time-keepers, and the pressing into service of a gasoline oven, the process of harvesting and manufacturing was regular, the cutting and threshing being done under pressure by an ordinary crew which had operated the machine in the field two weeks.

### Co-operative Sewing Shop.

DURING the summer months a number of New York business men were startled by the receipt of a neatly printed little card bearing in large red letters the inscription "Attention! For bachelors and summer husbands!" Beneath this appeared an advertisement saying that clothes would be mended, buttons sewed on, and stockings darned for men during the summer months, and added to the list of prices is the terse bit of advice, "The shop is competent to execute orders without directions. You pack the bundle, we do the rest."

The shop which sends out this generally opportune and irresistible advertisement is the "Coöperative Sewing Shop at 413 West Thirty-sixth street, New York," of which Mrs. Lucy W. Collier is the manager at present. Up to this summer, the shop has done mending for women only, but men have occasionally applied and it occurred to the workers that many husbands whose wives were at the seashore might be glad to keep mended during the vacation. "Even the most helpless husband ought to be able to tie up a bundle," says Mrs. Collier, and the shop has been doing a large business.

### A New Enterprise.

THE PRESS reports the organization of the National Coöperative Society at Trenton, New Jersey, on the nineteenth of September, with an authorized capital of $5,000,000. The incorporators are James R. Mapletoft, Raymond E. Taylor and Joseph Gerrardt, all of Trenton. It is the intention of the society to "establish, conduct and manage" general department stores.

### Wage-Earners' Stores.

A NEW coöperative store has been incorporated in New Orleans and is known as the Wage-Earners' Coöperative Furnishing Company. The store is to carry several departments, dry goods, groceries, wood and coal, hardware, furniture, etc., and do a general mercantile business.

The capital under which the store is organized is $150,000 representing 150,000 shares par value $1 per share, payable 10 per cent. cash and 10 per cent. weekly. In neighborhoods where there is a large population it is the intention to erect a chain of Wage-Earners' Coöperative Stores.

### Missionaries Co-operate.

A NOTE from the *Apache*, of Jacksonville, Florida, says that the missionaries themselves are beginning to realize the advantage of coöperation and are organizing in the United States a coöperative purchasing agency, through which their personal supplies may be shipped to them.

### Bedford City, Virginia.

THERE is a Coöperative School at Bedford City, Virginia, in which the students, working in coöperation, are able to keep their expenses within $150 a year. The institution is co-educational and does college preparatory work. Its students come chiefly from Virginia and neighboring states, though there are a few who come from greater distances.

### Kensington Gardens.

NEAR the Garden City Estates in the suburbs of New York, Walter Russell, the architect who has designed the well-known coöperative apartment houses in New York, is laying the plans for a suburban city, with a coöperative club-house and artistic homes. Kensington Gardens is the name chosen for this creation, says an account given in the New York *Herald*, and the location is a tract of land adjoining Garden City Estates on the west. The land has already been procured and the Kensington Gardens Company is being incorporated with Walter Russell as president, E. R. Jackson as vice-president, and O. M. Jackson as secretary and treasurer. Before any land is sold a general plan of the entire city will be made embodying landscape features and architectural effects. The plan will be a comprehensive one, in perfect harmony as a whole, and every buyer must be willing to conform to this general plan or he cannot buy.

The central feature will be the Kensington Club which will be operated on coöperative lines similar to the coöperative apartment house. The building which will occupy a plot of about five acres is to be like a great rambling English house, cement and half-timber, with a roof of red tiles and a skyline broken by many chimney-pots and finials. Coöperative ownership of the Kensington Club means that its members may own one or seven or ten rooms so that they can live in the suburbs without keeping up a permanent establishment there, can get all the advantages of country life for a day, a week or a year, can keep their horses or motor-cars where the expense is at a minimum and where they can have all the advantage of club life that a club should supply.

There are to be more than thirty studios in the club for artists who live there part of each year. The first floor will be given to club-rooms, an immense library, a picture-gallery for exhibitions and a large hall for entertainments in which a magnificent pipe organ will be built. Mural paintings by famous artists will adorn its walls, and a separate club fund will be set aside for the establishment of a permanent picture collection.

The lower floor of the club will be given over to a pool and billiard room, a swimming pool and shower-baths. There are to be an outdoor gymnasium and a great outdoor dining place where members may exercise or dine under the blue sky. In a word the Kensington Club stands for comfort and esthetic, healthful living amid surroundings which are as beautiful and in as good taste as it is possible to create.

The architects and landscape gardeners associated with Mr. Russell in this movement are already at work on the general plan. Charles A. Pratt whose wonderful Italian

gardens and country houses are well known, is planning a group of twelve houses along Kensington Boulevard, and Rossiter & Wright are planning the club-house. All roads will lead to this club. E. R. and O. M. Jackson are to take charge of the real-estate business end, leaving Mr. Russell absolute freedom to carry out his ideals. Both of these men have had a great deal of experience in the handling of real estate.

"The trouble with the great majority of our New York suburbs," said Mr. Russell, "is that they are laid out in squares and divided into lots equalling sixteen or twenty to the acre, and sold to anybody, with the usual restrictions about price of house, building-line ten feet from street, etc. What is the result? The restrictions do not stand for beauty, because one can build an eyesore for $50,000 or a work of art for $8,000. Every one builds as he pleases and the result is a mixture of all kinds of houses—English, French, Dutch, Colonial and Queen Anne, '*Home Journal* prize plans,' mongrel houses, and houses which nobody could accuse of relationship to any style whatever. In Kensington Gardens this is not possible. It is designed as a whole by a master gardener, then it requires of all who plant in the garden to place their seeds where the master gardener has designed them to go. Kensington Garden keeps its seed-house of architectural seed-styles under lock and key, and the master gardener is represented by an art commission to which every set of plans is presented for approval before being admitted to the general scheme. Many of the details from the most beautiful gardens in the world will be reproduced in Kensington Gardens or adapted to meet its requirements."

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,
Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

### The National Quota and Local Representation.

MR. H. DENLINGER, Portland, Oregon, writes as follows:

"According to the report of the British Parliamentary Blue Book, page 12, the Belgian system of Proportional Representation has had the effect of crushing out small parties and independents; because, as the report shows, the districts are not large enough. The reporter says that if it were not for the fear of destroying local representation a national quota would be established and all districts eliminated.

"But why should the present electoral districts be eliminated or interfered with in order to establish a national quota?

"The Belgian system is the Free List with Single Vote and d'Hondt quota. Instead of the d'Hondt quota, let a national quota be used—obtained by dividing the total number of votes, cast in all the districts, by the entire number of members to be elected in all the districts. In each district allow, first, as many members to be elected as there are full quotas obtained by the respective parties. This would not make up the full number of members to be elected, and many fractions would remain. Allow these various fractions from the different districts to be aggregated together in the country at large. These added fractions would then make several new quotas among the parties, and each party would get as many members to its credit as it had full quotas from these added fractions. Then any remaining fractions would be allowed to stand in lieu of full quotas, to make up the full membership.

"Next proceed to assign to individual candidates the seats each party is thus entitled to, giving them to the candidates of the parties respectively, in whatever district they may be, who have the highest number of unused votes.

"By adopting this course the desired national quota could be used. It would save the using of fractions now resorted to in closing up each district by itself; thereby permitting the closing up of the vote only once and that in the nation at large. If there are two or three hundred seats in the national assembly, the use of one or two fractions will amount to nothing compared to the use of fractions in a

dozen different districts, or more, as is now the case. It will conduce to simplicity. It will give every minority that can muster a quota even in the nation at large a chance of a hearing. Another thing it will do: It will permit of the using of much smaller districts. There will be no wasted votes even if single-member districts are used. For the votes not used will be transferred to the country at large, to be there used as suggested.

"In state or provincial elections a state or provincial quota would, of course, be used, and in town or city elections a town or city quota."

### The Belgian Elections.

To STUDENTS of electoral methods, Belgium offers the unusual advantage of observing several different systems in force at the same moment. The provincial elections in Belgium are still conducted on the old-fashioned method of the second ballot. They were held in the beginning of June and their results have furnished the usual crop of discussions as to the various electoral maneuvers and the more or less perfect obedience of voters to the orders of their party managers, which always follows the application of the second ballot.

Two extracts from the Belgian press are worth the notice of politicians who believe that the second ballot is a desirable reform: *Le Peuple* (Catholic) expresses the hope that the recent provincial elections may be the last instance of the use of the majority system in Belgium. "Once for all we must have done with this jumble of confusion, dishonesty and corruption." Similarly the *Etoile Belge* (Liberal): "One thing is certain, the provincial electoral system can no longer be maintained without exposing us to the laughter of Europe. . . . For once we agree with *Le Peuple* and join our hopes and wishes to theirs."

The national elections in Belgium last June were conducted on the proportional principle, and Mr. Humphrey's article on the Belgian elections will duly appear in this department.

### Proportional Representation in Galicia.

MR. FISKE WARREN, a member of the American Proportional Representation League writes to the secretary, calling attention to the fact that in 1906, "in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, there was passed a law under which Galicia has its membership in the lower house of legislature so arranged that each constituency returns two deputies, each voter having one vote, Proportional Representation being therefore a fact there existing, directly intended to provide for racial minorities and take due account of the relative strength of Poles and Ruthenians."

### West Australia.

THE RECENT biennial elections for the Upper House of the Legislature of Western Australia have furnished an example of the use of the transferable vote in single-member constituencies. In the metropolitan province there were four candidates and over sixty per cent. of the voters marked their preferences. The figures on the first count of first choice were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jenkins | 1,586 |
| Allen | 766 |
| Molloy | 733 |
| Haynes | 691 |

On the second count Haynes dropped out and those of his votes on which a second preference was indicated were distributed with the following result:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jenkins | 1,744 |
| Molloy | 916 |
| Allen | 842 |

Allen's votes were then distributed, in so far as second preferences were indicated, and the final result was:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jenkins | 2,132 |
| Molloy | 1,077 |

The Melbourne correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* says:

"The Western Australian election has excited great interest in Federal political quarters, because, with practically four parties still in the field, the prospects of a fair representation of the electorate in the next (Commonwealth) Parliament are not reassuring. The triangular contests in the Federal elections of 1906 enabled many members to obtain seats with only a minority of votes. . . . Unless some change is made in the direction of proportional or alternative voting in the life of the present Parliament, there is every probability that the Liberals will suffer virtual annihilation at the Federal elections of 1909–10."

As our readers know, the introduction of the transferable vote in single-member constituencies is not Proportional Representation. The single-member constituency, however much the voting machinery is altered, annihilates minorities, falsifies majorities and gives no true reproduction of the views of constituents. But the experience of Western Australia has for us the interest that it proves

once more that the elector has no difficulty in the use of the transferable vote as a piece of machinery. Where the transferable vote is used, what may be called the mechancial task of the elector is exactly the same whether the constituency returns one or several members, the only point of difference being that in the latter case he will as a rule have more candidates from whom to make his choice.

### Ministerial Domination.

IN RECENT years there has been much complaint concerning the supremacy of the British Cabinet, and the consequent subordination of the House of Commons, which ought to be the supreme power because it represents the people. The way to change this is by giving fair and full representation to every considerable political group. A Cabinet which has to depend for existence upon the support of a combination of groups instead of upon that of a single great party will most certainly not be able to dictate to the House. In other words, a system of Proportional Representation can hardly fail to put the relations between the English Parliament and the English Cabinet upon the same footing as the relations between the French Parliament and the French Cabinet; that is to say, it should automatically solve that problem of the despotism of the ministry which distresses so many who reflect upon the English constitution.

The House of Representatives at Washington is in even worse case, and the remedy is the same.

### Municipal Representation Bill.

*Representation*, the English monthly, refers as follows to an important piece of legislation, which owes its existence to the fact that some members of the British Proportional Representation Society are also members of the House of Lords:

"The Municipal Representation Bill—a bill which provides for the fair representation of political forces on municipal bodies—was read a second time in the House of Lords last year, and was referred to a Select Committee of the House for examination and report. A considerable amount of evidence in support of the bill was then prepared and tendered both by the treasurer and the secretary of the society, and in addition, the Rev. J. H. Anderson, who is chairman of the Association of the Metropolitan Borough Councils, and witnesses from Bethnal Green, Hampstead, Lewisham and Woolwich, gave evidence in favor of the measure. The report of the Select Committee, together with the evidence, was published as a Blue Book, the salient points in the report being as follows:

"'1. The committee are of opinion that the machinery as set out in the bill would work properly and that the instructions and examples contained in the Schedule and Appendix accurately explain the process of carrying on an election under the proposed system.

"'2. The committee, whilst expressing their opinion that experienced and capable returning officers would have no difficulty in understanding the rules, and would succeed in instructing their officials to carry out an election without any serious mistakes, add that they consider it extremely doubtful whether a large majority of the electors would at first, at any rate, be able to understand the new system sufficiently to grasp the full significance of indicating on the ballot papers the various candidates in the order of their preferences.

"'3. The committee are led to believe that considerable dissatisfaction is felt with regard to the system of election at present in force in Metropolitan boroughs, and they observe that, in several large boroughs the minority failed to secure a single seat on the Municipal Council, that in one borough a minority was able to secure a majority of seats, and that in many boroughs the present system leads to violent fluctuations in representation.'

"This report, even with its reservation, marks a distinct advance in the parliamentary history of the movement in favor of proportional representation in Great Britain. Nor is the reservation in accord with the evidence. The experience obtained not only from illustrative elections but from the parliamentary elections in Tasmania shows that electors find no difficulty in indicating on the ballot paper the various candidates in the order of their preference. The committee recommended certain changes in the provisions dealing with the conditions under which the bill may be adopted and maintained by municipalities, and the measure amended in accordance with these suggestions has, during the current session (1908), passed through all its stages in the House of Lords and awaits consideration by the House of Commons."

### The Pedersen Plan.

MANY minds of many nations have been and are at work to solve the question, What is the best plan of proportionalism? Among these

is Mr. John Pedersen, a Danish lawyer. Mr. Erik Oberg of New York, a member of the American Proportional Representation League in a recent article explains the Pedersen plan, which is much the same in principle as that proxy method which Mr. John Berry, of Salem, Massachusetts, so strongly advocates.

"The fundamental idea of Mr. Pedersen is that of real, genuine government *by the people;* in one word, the establishment of a true democracy. In a way, the proposal contains nothing less than the reëstablishment of the old Scandinavian '*Thing,*' known to us in the form of the town meeting. Each voter shall be placed on a plane of perfect independence, and have a right to cast his vote for whomsoever he wishes. Mr. Pedersen even excludes the plan of having candidates, considering candidates as a creator of partisanship, a thing that he intends to avoid as much as possible.

"The salient feature of the scheme, and the feature which should remain unchanged, however the details may be modified, is that each representative is entitled to cast as many votes for or against a measure, when balloting, as he has received votes by his constituents. He represents the constituents that elected him, and no one else. He casts a vote for each one of them, but has no right to legislate for those who opposed him. This gives true individual representation. The representative votes by proxy only; and, as the election machinery would be greatly simplified, the readjustment of these proxies could without inconvenience be made at yearly elections.

"If the number of the members of the legislative body be limited, or if the candidate voted for cannot attend the legislative body as a representative, the voter should place on his ballot a second and third choice, so that if his first candidate failed to be elected on account of not receiving enough votes, or failed to attend as a representative, the vote of the elector would go to the next candidate, and so on. This assures representation of each voter and no vote cast is lost.

"An important and ingenious point in this proposed system, is that of the manner of compensation. Each member of the legislative body is compensated in proportion to the number of votes he represents. This proposition is evidently fully equitable, for as the representative actually becomes the personal agent of those who vote for him, nothing could be more in place than that each of the persons whom he represents pay him for the service he renders each. Of course, the compensation would be paid out of the public treasury, but that does not in any way change the principle involved. This question of compensation is considered a very important one by the advocates of Mr. Pedersen's proposition. It would greatly reduce all incentive to corruption. Members representing but a small vote would not be worth bribing, while members representing a large number of votes and great public confidence would be so well compensated, and at the same time have so much at stake that corruptive influences could have but little chance of success. The representative also could ask for support from the voters on no other ground than that he actually commanded their confidence, because an actual begging for votes would be to beg for money, each vote representing so much additional income. The greatest opportunity would therefore be afforded the voters to independently form their own opinions, and to follow their own judgment without even mental coercion."

The Pedersen system of representation has been adopted by the Henry George Association of Denmark and by other societies of national scope. Thus applied on a small scale, the system has worked to entire satisfaction. It eliminates partisan strife, factions, and domination of self-made bosses. It places the control of the organization where it belongs—with the individual members: the same as in a state it would be placed in the people, wholly and unrestrictedly.

ROBERT TYSON.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

### Important Notice. Mr. Carl S. Vrooman and His Special Work for "The Arena."

IT HAS been the constant aim of the Editor of THE ARENA to make this review at once an able and authoritative vehicle for the liberal, progressive and conscience thought of the age, and also a reliable reflector of all the great constructive and fundamentally democratic movements that are at once practical and ethically sound—movements that make for equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people; that reflect the spiritual ideal of the Golden Rule and thus necessarily foster individual development and general progress and prosperity. With this object in view, we supplemented the "Mirror of the Present" and our special Book-Studies devoted to vital current literature, with carefully edited departments ably conducted by RALPH ALBERTSON, BRUNO BECKHARD and HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON, of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research, and by ROBERT TYSON, Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League. In these departments from month to month the American people have been supplied with the most important news of the world, and especially of America, relating to Direct-Legislation, Public-Ownership, Voluntary Coöperation, and Proportional Representation. It now affords us great pleasure to announce that we have perfected arrangements with Mr. CARL S. VROOMAN, whose exceptionally strong and brilliant papers have been one of the most notable features of THE ARENA during the present year, to act as Foreign Editor for THE ARENA. Mr. VROOMAN was formerly regent of the Kansas State Agricultural College. He is a Harvard man, and has spent much of his time during recent years in Europe, making exhaustive studies of public-ownership of natural monopolies and other great progressive and reform movements of the Old World. His research has brought Mr. VROOMAN into intimate touch with many of the master spirits of Europe who are battling for fundamental democracy and a wider measure of justice than has yet been meted out to the people. He is therefore in a peculiarly favorable position to deal with the vital advance movements of the Old World. Moreover, it is his purpose to return to Europe in a few months for further research. Hence, the addition of this writer whose style is as popular and interesting as that of Charles Russell or Lincoln Steffens and whose careful and painstaking methods are those of the modern critical or scientific investigator, to the staff of THE ARENA as Foreign Editor is an important acquisition that will be appreciated by all our readers who wish to keep in touch with the vital democratic and conscience movements of the Old World. In this issue Mr. VROOMAN contributes an extremely important paper dealing with the message of Switzerland to America.

### "The Responsibility of The Churches."

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES contributes one of the most important papers of recent years to this issue of THE ARENA, dealing with the responsibility of the church in the present crisis. It is a paper that every minister, every Sunday-school worker and earnest Christian who earnestly aspires to be a doer of the Word should carefully peruse. We earnestly urge our readers to call the attention of the thoughtful friends to this paper. It is the bugle-call of a true prophet of God to the conscience of men and women who think, and it cannot fail to kindle the spiritual energies wherever it reaches conscience-guided men and women with its noble appeal to the higher nature.

### The Editor of "The Arena" and Christian Science: A Personal Word.

IN THIS issue we present an extended paper in regard to the treatment of organic disease by Christian Science which seemed to us to be demanded in reply to Dr. CABOT'S recent paper and numerous other utterances by ministers and editors, all taking the same position in regard to the impossibility of Christian Science curing organic disease. In this connection the Editor of THE ARENA wishes to observe that, since some editors and other critics, in noticing his paper on "Christ, the Sick and Modern Christianity" in the May ARENA, have referred to him as a leading Christian Scientist, in justice to Christian Science and to himself, he desires to state that he is not, nor has he ever claimed to be, a Christian Scientist, although he most profoundly believes in the truth of very much of the Christian Science teachings. He believes that it is, moreover, a message which bears healing on its wings, health to body and soul; a message instinct with moral idealism, that has happily come to civilization at a critical period when the materialism of the market was deadening the finer sensibilities of society and destroying vital faith in the great spiritual verities that are the life of civilization. On the other hand, he believes in the evolutionary theory of the advance of life. To him the phenomenal universe visible to the physical senses speaks of the handiwork of the Creator. The heavens and the earth declare the glory of God. And he furthermore believes that among the most vitally important work that has been wrought for pure and undefiled religion in recent decades, has been the critical labor of those great religious scholars known as Modernists or apostles of Higher Criticism, who by patient, persistent scientific research have striven to sift the chaff from the wheat of tradition and superstition in relation to the Bible and the religious truths that feed the spiritual side of life. Thus, on several points he does not see the truth as do the official representatives of the Christian Science church. But, on the other hand, these honest differences in conviction do not blind him to the great and very vital work being achieved for the physical health and spiritual regeneration of the people by Christian Science. Quite apart from the cures which it is making and which more than any other one thing attract people in the first instance to the faith, is the spiritual awakening which follows. Nothing will impress the honest investigator more profoundly than the moral enthusiasm that fills those who come under its influence in a compelling way. The case of the eminent playwright, CHARLES KLEIN, the author of "The Lion and the Mouse," "The Music Master," etc., is a striking and thoroughly typical example. Mr. KLEIN was living the life of a typical man of the world in New York city. He was under the domination of the materialism of the metropolis, with all its allurements. After his cure, he became

as strong a moral idealist as he had been a materialistic egoist. We have known a number of instances where persons were perfunctory church members but in no way vitally influenced by the Christ message, and others who had long since ceased to take interest in church work, who, after being cured by Christian Science were transformed in life, their whole being becoming aflame with spiritual enthusiasm and a passion for loving service, where before were indifference, doubt and distrust. Many of them were habitually gloomy and out of harmony with life and all their environment. After they became Christian Scientists, serenity, cheerfulness, courage and a desire to help others became master characteristics. Now, anything at the present period of advancing materialism that can reawaken a broad, luminous and reason-fed faith and make men fall in love with love, using the word in its noblest significance, is performing an extremely important work, and this, we are convinced, is being achieved by Christian Science. Therefore we hold that when the belief is being unjustly assailed, it is the duty of lovers of truth, progress and fair play to set the facts before the reading public.

**Professor Maxey on "The Election of United States Senators."**

THINKING men and women will be interested in the fine discussion by Professor EDWIN MAXEY, LL.D., M.Dip., in this issue of THE ARENA on the election of United States Senators. Professor MAXEY possesses a popular and pleasing style rarely found among academic writers; while his position as a member of the faculty of one of our large state universities and the further fact that he has made a special study of statescraft and diplomacy for years, enable him to handle the subject in an exceptionally able manner.

**Judge Works on "The Significance of The Lincoln-Roosevelt Movement in California."**

IN THIS issue Hon. JOHN D. WORKS, formerly Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of California and one of the leading lawyers of the West, describes in an interesting manner the political awakening within the Republican party in California. It is a most hopeful sign of the times that there is a general awakening on the part of earnest men and women in all parties. In New Hampshire, WINSTON CHURCHILL has led the battle for clean government against the corrupt domination of the public-service corporations during the past few years. He has not as yet won the victory, but he has succeeded in compelling thousands and tens of thousands of Americans seriously to consider the great menace. No man has accomplished so much within the Republican party along these lines as has Senator LAFOLLETTE. He is the great and genuine reform statesman in the party of LINCOLN. While the radical stand taken by the Democratic party, no less than the rapid growth of the Socialist party, shows how profoundly the people are awakening to the dangers that have silently but rapidly crept into our political life since the rise and domination of politics of the corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines working under the direction of privileged interests.

**Mr. Debs on "Socialist Ideals."**

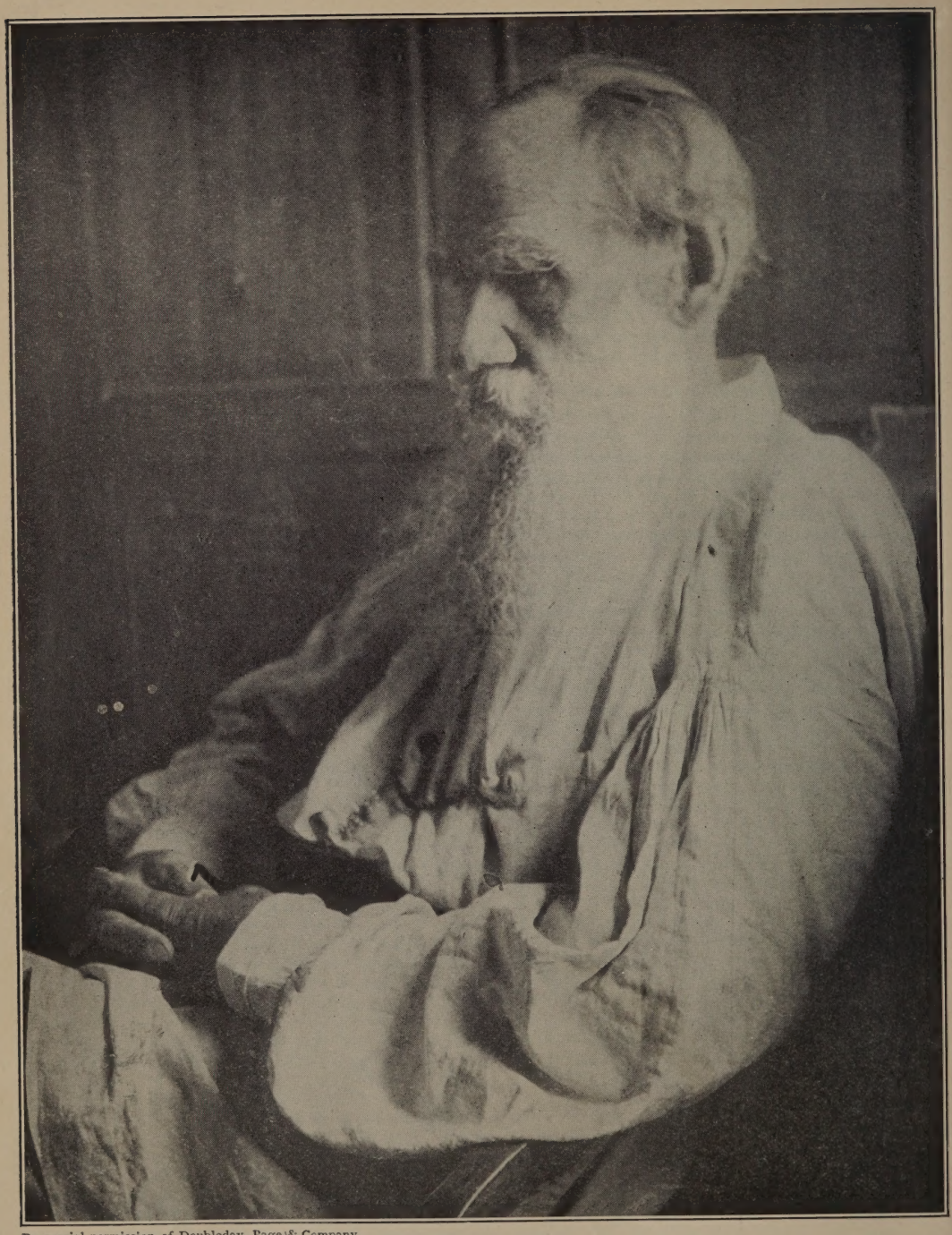
ONE OF the most popular cries that has been raised against Socialism by the capitalists who make great pretensions to respectability but whose working formula has been to give as little and grab as much as possible, is the claim that Socialism is a sordid, materialistic philosophy that strives to arouse hate and create enmity in the hearts of men. Of course, all students of Socialistic philosophy know that the fact is exactly the reverse of this. The Socialists the world over are the champions of peace and human brotherhood. They with one accord demand and have ever demanded the abolition of child-slavery. They demand such conditions of economic freedom as would enable every toiler to support his family in such a way that old and young might develop the best within them. In his paper the Presidential candidate of the Socialist party admirably sets forth the idealistic character of the Socialistic philosophy.

**"The Religion of Benjamin Franklin."**

IN MR. ERNEST C. MOSES' thoughtfut paper on *The Religion of Benjamin Franklin* we have an interesting discussion of one side of the life of one of the most remarkable and many-sided thinkers of modern times. We incline to believe that the writings and utterances of FRANKLIN as a whole will hardly warrant the assumption of his holding nearly as conventional religious views as our author claims. FRANKLIN was, above all, a man of peace. It will be remembered that during the period prior to the opening of the Revolution, he was more than once denounced by the more ultra-Americans because it was held he was too much of a compromiser. From first to last he ever strove to avoid antagonizing others. Besides this there is much in the life of FRANKLIN that leads one to believe that his thought frequently took cast from that of those with whom he was in communion. All students of human life know that many of the world's great men have at times reflected the thought of those with whom they were *en rapport* in so remarkable a degree that they have not unfrequently been termed chameleon-like in character. We think the sum total of FRANKLIN'S writings, his creeds, his journal and his letters, leave little doubt but what he was, as our author says, a deeply religious man, a deist, a profound believer in God, as was THOMAS JEFFERSON; yet a man almost if not quite as liberal in his views as the latter statesman. The life of FRANKLIN will ever hold profound interest for true friends of democracy and patriots who love the Republic. He was one of the great trio who in our judgment were the most influential minds in the battle for fundamental democracy and the rights of the people in the great Revolution that inaugurated the democratic era.

**"An Awakening."**

IN *An Awakening*, by MRS. JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN, which appears in this issue, our readers will find one of the most interesting, thought-stimulating and conscience-stirring magazine articles of recent months. MRS. VROOMAN writes in a smooth and pleasing style which will appeal to the finer sensibilities of thoughtful men and wo nen; and in giving the interesting facts in relation to the extensive work being carried on in Switzerland to give vacations to poor children and mothers, she makes a strong and compelling appeal for the unfortunates of our own land.



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TOLSTOI—PROPHET OF THE LAST GENERATION

TAKEN FOR MR. WALLING IN 1906, AT THE TIME OF HIS INTERVIEW

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*—HEINE.

# The Arena

VOL. 40 DECEMBER, 1908 No. 228

## A REVISED VERSION OF VENICE.

BY JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN.

ON THE train going to Venice, our compartment was occupied by a variety of persons thrown into a juxtaposition, which typified curiously enough the contrast that existed between their particular points of view.

A couple of college girls, bubbling over with enthusiasm and scarcely able to wait for their first ecstatic glimpse of Venice, were seated opposite two English women, who were exhausted and *blase* from the strain of six months' incessant travel and indiscriminate sight-seeing, while a pleasant matter-of-fact-looking American business man, who had got separated from his Cook's party, and whose one idea of travel seemed to be to "do" a city or a country as fast as possible and "be done with it," discussed his kaleidoscopic methods of sight-seeing with a plodding German tourist, intent on seeing the whole of Italy with a microscope. My *vis-à-vis* was a well-known art professor in one of our girls' colleges, who had a habit of saturating herself afresh every few years with the spirit and works of her favorite old Venetian masters. Here also was contrast, for I had only seen Venice once before, and that in such a fleeting and cursory manner that Titian, Tintoret and Georgione were merely so many names to me.

In the gondola which the American business man, the two college girls and myself had taken for the hotel where we all happened to be booked, I remarked casually that my husband had proposed to me in Venice to the accompaniment of that same Santa Lucia which was floating up to us from a group of musicians nearby. "I don't blame him," one of the girls replied with crushing candor, as she caught her first glimpse of the minarets of San Marco. "A man isn't responsible for what he does here. There is something irresistible about this mixture of music and moonlight."

Venice was at her best that night, and as we glided along the Grand Canal, past the shining palaces that rose out of the water to greet us, all our preconceived notions and prejudices, all our differing points of view were forgotten and we yielded unconsciously to the spell of the place as to some subtle and imperious law of nature. Indeed, for the moment it seemed but a part of the natural order of things—to be sped over moonlit waters

by a gondolier, who might have been a grand-opera singer, to a hotel which had once been in fact the home of a doge. Even our conscientious Cook's tourist seemed to feel that he was no longer in the dreary world of sight-seeing, but in a dreamland of enchantment, and I found myself wondering if the cultivated *ennui* of the much-traveled English ladies would be able to survive the shock of this dazzling vision of Venice.

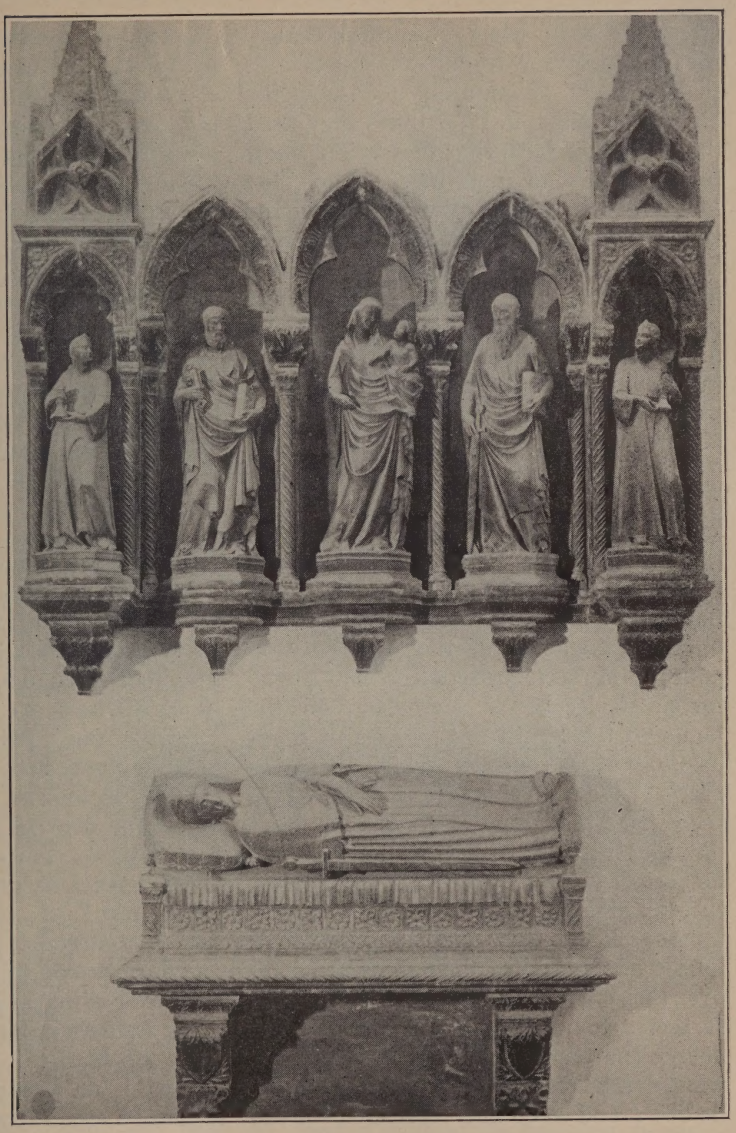
Since on my first visit Cupid had so bandaged my eyes that the city of Desdemona had served only as an enchanting background for my own romance, I had been looking forward to this opportunity to come back soberly, put on a pair of prosaic spectacles, and see Venice according to the best lights that have been lit for modern tourists. To this end I had brought with me a number of books which I felt would help to unlock for me the city's inmost treasures. Ruskin I had selected for the old school of art and for the spiritual insight he gives, Berenson for the new school with its scientific method and philosophic treatment, Grant Allen for his splendid grasp of the historical development of Venetian art, Kugler's *Italian Schools of Painting* for reference, Taine and Gautier for French sidelights they cast, and Mrs. Oliphant for bits of ancient gossip to deepen local colors.

The third night after our arrival the art teacher dined with the college girls and myself, and I recall her lament that with a wealth of suggestive books at hand, capable of developing one's capacity to appreciate and enjoy the highest art, so many tourists should yet be content to follow Baedaker's stars as their guiding stars, and by thus limiting themselves to second-hand impressions lose all the zest of a real personal experience. I recall her striking comparison of people who substitute Baedaker's word for the witness of their own hearts, to those persons in the religious world whose convictions are all borrowed, whose spiritual horizon is limited to some one's else vision, and whose adherence is to a *belief* based on some outside authority rather than to a *faith* founded on their own experience. Just as she was concluding, our matter-of-fact compatriot paused on his way out of the dining-room and announced complacently that he was off for Rome the next day. He had actually covered most of the ground mapped out by Baedaker for a four days' trip, and I must confess that the accurate and businesslike way in which he had disposed of about three-fourths of the sights compelled a certain admiration even on the part of the art teacher. At the same time, by serving as a concrete illustration of the point she had just made, his example encouraged me in my resolve not to attempt to swallow Venice whole, but, on the contrary, to try taking my art as I take my food—slowly, with a tendency toward "Fletcherizing."

The next morning, on my way to the Church of Sts. John and Paul, I looked up the little bas relief of St. George killing the dragon, which Ruskin cites as "the topmost example of the sculpture art of Venice," but which on my previous visit I had not considered worth my attention, having had little inclination at that time to bother with either Ruskin or St. George! In the square before the church, coming suddenly on the Colleoni monument, probably the noblest equestrian statue in the world, I had a guilty recollection of having accorded it formerly only a passing glance. "Think of it," I said to myself reproachfully—"Verocchio, Leonardo's master, put years of his life and the very essence of his genius into the design of this statue, and I having come some thousands of miles presumably to see the best that Italy had to show, had stood for a second or two staring at the horse's tail, without having the curiosity or taking the time to go around the statue and see the rider's face!"

With a mental apology to Verocchio, Colleoni and Italy, I crossed the square to the Church of Sts. John and Paul where so many knights and doges lie buried,

and where in tracing the rise and decline of the art of monumental sculpture in Venice one gets interesting sidelights on the lives and characters of the Venetians. First I examined the early Gothic tomb of a fourteenth-century knight with his arms folded and his sword by his side, sleeping the sleep of death. Above, under Gothic niches, Mark and Peter, patron saints of Venice and of the knight, stood guard over the dead—while two saintly little personages, bearing censers, gazed tenderly at the central figure of the Madonna holding aloft that little child born in Bethlehem who had opened up the way of life. It was a peaceful scene and one could imagine that for this soldier saint, with his sword in its scabbard and the emblems of his faith about him, death had no terrors.



PURE GOTHIC TOMB OF DOGE MARCO CORNER (d. 1368).

(Contrast severe simplicity with florid character of Morosini tomb.)

I then passed on to some later tombs of the early Renaissance where the designs were more elaborate and the angels were more perfectly done, but which still breathed the same spirit of love the artist had in his work, and of faith in the truth he was representing.

In the work of the later Renaissance, however, with its increased boastfulness of design, and faultlessness of execution, one has the feeling that artists were beginning to care so much more for the fame of setting up a statue than for the joy of making it, or for the truth they were expressing by it, that the soul of the work was lost. They made more ornate things, it is true, more perfect things from a purely technical standpoint, but never

afterward such wholly beautiful things. As Ruskin says, "In old times men used their powers of painting to show the objects of faith; in later times they used the objects of faith that they might show their powers of painting." Thus the Magdalen in whom the earlier artists and sculptors had seen a woman who loved much because she had been much forgiven and who came with her most precious ointment to anoint her Savior's feet, became for the artists of the Renaissance an excuse to paint a voluptuous woman with only her empty bottle of ointment to help you divine who she is.

The early warriors who lay themselves down so serenely in the sleep of death, are succeeded in a later age by warriors impatient of that sleep. These will have none of the trappings of death about them, they ignore the very nature of the tomb. The angel of the Annunciation and the shrinking Madonna make way for classical subjects, Hercules, with the lion and the hydra and groups of bombastic virtues—virtues which unfortunately were as conspicuously absent in the lives of the later Venetians as they are flauntingly present on their tombs. No longer content to lie down in their sleep, these knights stand upright on their tombs; later they even mount their horses and brandish their swords, riding over their own ashes, defying death. Ah! It seems to me the earlier artists were nearer the truth; better they thought—when death comes submit to it like a man, lie down and sleep and trust God for the waking, since all the prancing horses and gilded trappings and brandished swords cannot make death any the less real or solemn or inevitable.

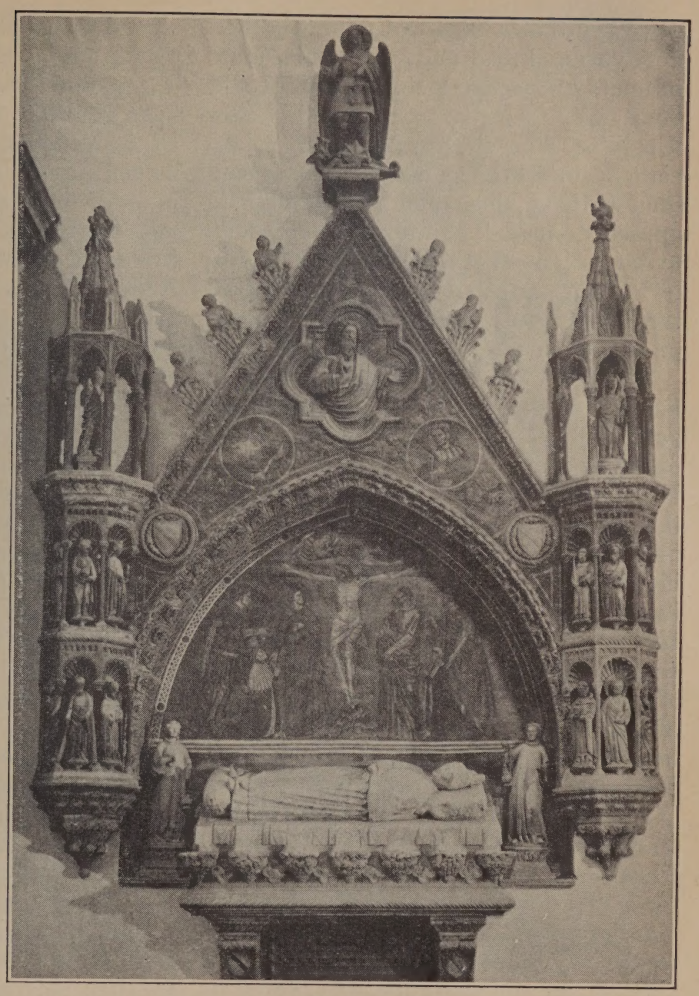
From the early part of the seventeenth century the way of Venetian sculpture seemed all down hill—to judge from the examples of florid eighteenth-century work that flaunt themselves in this church—coarse, overgrown angels, like ballet girls, drawing heavy curtains from gaudy tombs—that revealed a perfect menagerie of lions, genii, winged Mercuries, over-dressed dogaresses and under-dressed nymphs in profusion and confusion.

At last from the tombs I turned to the pictures and discovered one wistfully beautiful group by Lorenzo Lotto, called "St. Antonius giving alms." Painting toward the close of that first period of the Renaissance, which symbolized youth with all its joy in the beauty of life and its radiant self-sufficiency, Lorenzo Lotto in his art shadowed forth the period of maturity, when with some of youth's visions faded, some illusions gone, man begins to feel the need of a greater strength than his own, and there comes a reaching out after the faith of his childhood which his youth had thought it could put away. In this picture one feels the new human impulse of the time, a yearning after something higher than man's highest, a hint that perhaps after all to help suffering in others is the best way to lighten one's own, and that the lost path back to God may lie through service of one's fellows.

On our way home we stopped for a few minutes to look at the sculptured angels above the door of the "furniture store," formerly St. Theodore's Scuolo—which Ruskin takes as one of the texts for his arraignment of modern sculpture, the kind that stretches every muscle for show and has ceased to reverence faith, hope and love, either as emblems on its tombs or as realities in its life. People smile at some of Ruskin's excesses of sarcasm, but with his illustrations close at hand, it hardly seems possible for any one to ignore the great gulf that stretches between the works of those whose ruling passion is fame and fortune at any cost—and those who follow the inner light; who "work for the joy of working, each in his own bright star painting the thing as he sees it for the God of things as they are."

Fame inevitably comes to, or rather, as is oftener the case, follows after, the real artist, who must have genius of soul as well as of intellect; but the fame is not his concern and if he deliberately makes

it his concern, the best part of his work, the soul of it, that alone which is capable of immortality, is lost. Everywhere it is divinely true that only he who loses his life shall find it, only he who loses all ruling thought of fame shall in the end attain it. This is the lesson one learns in contrasting the academic pictures of Ghirlandhjo and Guido Reni with the works of Fra Angelico, who painted on his knees, and the early pictures of Raphael before he was spoiled by adulation and lost his vision. The first sacrificed the highest in them to at least a lower, and their fame, such as it is, was bought with a part of their soul. The fame of the others is as the afterglow of their soul's achievement—the glory that lingers in the heavens when the sun is set.



MONUMENT OF DOGE MICHELE MOROSINI (d. 1382).
Most ornate of the Gothic monuments.

That evening I read Browning's analysis of Andrea Del Sarto, he whom men called the "faultless painter," who yet fell so far short of his highest—that place "side by side with Agnolo"—a genius who had his vision but not the courage of his vision. Genius is not given to many, but to each man is vouchsafed a vision. The star that of old led the wise men, still shines for souls to-day, and to every man that comes into the world there is given an inner light by which he may discern his highest. Stars differ from each other in glory and mountains in height, and one man's highest is higher than another's, but the secret of each man's highest is between himself and God. To fall short of that highest is to make the great refusal, the only possible failure.

On my first visit to Venice I would have disdained to spend a whole morning on one church and a few stray pictures, as it had never occurred to me up to that time to distinguish between the relative values of the comparatively little one might see with some intelligent appreciation, and the immense quantity one might see in a slipshod way.

On my return home from that trip, the

discovery that a friend of mine who had never been abroad had yet a much more intimate knowledge of Italy than I could boast, made me realize how much better it may be, after all, "to be able to appreciate beautiful things and not have them, than to have them and not be able to appreciate them," and it gradually began to dawn on me that the same truth applies to Italy in particular as to life in general, that what you take out depends largely on what you put in.

The fact of having worn out a certain amount of shoe leather in European art galleries does not necessarily imply that one has gained any culture thereby. Not infrequently it happens, as witness the case of my travel-stained self and my untraveled friend, that a person by studying at home the art of Italy, and through its art, those ideals which have molded its history and been the guiding genius of its people, may perchance catch something of the spirit of her old masters into his life and learn thus the secret of Italy's heart, which is hid from many who have only seen her face.

Having an engagement with the art teacher and the two college girls for lunch, I had just time before the appointed hour, for a ride down the Grand Canal, which Gautier says "is an immense gallery open to the sky where from the depths of a gondola one can study the art of seven or eight centuries—the Byzantine, the Saracen, the Lombard, the Gothic, the Roman, the Greek, and even the Rococo—the massive pillar and the slender column, the pointed arch and the round arch, the whimsical capital full of birds and flowers come from Acre or Jaffe and the Greek Capital found in the ruins of Athens."

Here one may dream of that far-off day when Venice was Queen of the Sea and the nations of the earth brought as tribute their gold, frankincense and myrrh—all that glory of Greek form and Oriental color, of Roman strength and Gothic grace, which she wrought into her dwellings, before she, like that ancient city of Babylon—"was consumed in her palace among the nations."

Some one has called the Grand Canal the real "book of gold" of Venice, "where all the Venetian nobility have signed their names upon a monumental façade." Most of these ancient names have faded, but others have been added, not unworthy to replace them—Browning, Wagner, Ruskin, Byron and many others whose genius or whose talents make them more notable than the vast majority of the Venetian nobility.

But even in the early days her nobles were not the only citizens who shed luster on Venice—for the Bellinis were of a humble peasant family, Tintoret was the son of a dyer, and one faded fresco on the outside of a crumbling palace wall still hints dimly of the time when Venice counted Titian and Georgione among her "house painters."

We took our lunch at a famous little Bohemian restaurant on a side street near St. Mark's—and while waiting for the proprietor-chef to cook the steak we had selected off the counter and the "*soupe aux piddochi*," a classic dish of Venice—we stepped into the atrium of St. Mark's to glance at those naïve Old Testament mosaics which give one the feeling that Adam and Eve and Noah and the animals must literally have sat for their portraits to the Byzantine artists who contrived to breathe so much genuine knowledge of human nature into their childlike efforts.

As we followed with breathless interest the story of our first parents, I understood the remark of a friend who insisted she never could forgive the Higher Criticism for robbing her of Adam and Eve! There is a note of solemn joy in the quaint conception of that first wedding morn when the bride is given away by God, the Father—and we were genuinely distressed to see Eve picking the fatal apple so soon afterwards. In order to settle the blame once and for all time on her woman's shoulders, the artist (with more historic accuracy than magnanimity of spirit) has

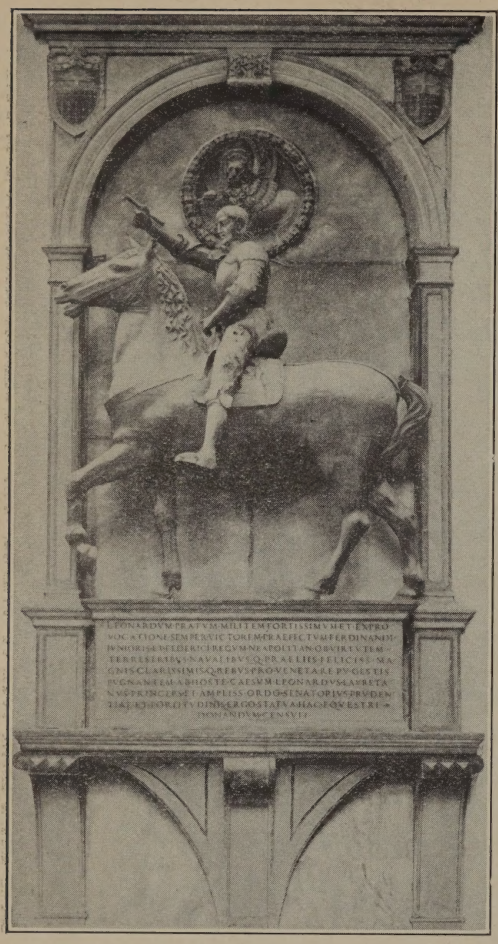
twice represented her in the act of offering the forbidden fruit to Adam. Adam, having finished eating his half of the apple, makes haste to tell on Eve, whereupon God chides them very sorrowfully and they kneel down, Eve meekly, Adam abjectly, to receive their sentence of punishment. After they have risen, God presents them with garments. Eve, rather pleased than otherwise with her new clothes, is dressed first and stands waiting for Adam who has great difficulty in drawing on his shirt and finally has to be assisted by Deity. When they are ready to leave Paradise, they are not expelled by a furious angel with a fiery sword, as in later pictures, but are led to the gate by God Himself, who, laying His hand gently on their shoulders as if in benediction, sends them forth.

EXAMPLE OF RENAISSANCE, EXQUISITE DECORATION AND FINISH, BUT LACKING SPIRITUAL FEELING.

(See figure is risen.)

Even in this solemn moment Eve seems curious and talkative, straining her eyes to see how the world looks outside the gates and vainly trying to reassure Adam, who looks dubious as to the future and sullen about the past. In the last scene, however, Adam comes out well. His punishment has been turned to the divine account—and he is joyfully subduing the earth, while Eve sits close by with her work sewing for the baby: They have "made it up" with each other, and by the perfect peace and joy of the scene we know they have made it up likewise with God.

Beyond in the atrium, we caught glimpses of other Old-Testament scenes. One mosaic we noticed which depicted in most realistic fashion Noah pushing and one of his sons pulling a reluctant lion into the Ark—but just at this point a little urchin, dispatched from the restaurant, came rushing up to tell us our "*piddochi*" was getting cold, so we left Adam and Eve to their hoeing and sewing



POOR IMITATION OF COLLEONI MONUMENT, SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

(See figure mounts a horse.)

and went to eat our lunch which we felt we, too, had earned that day by the sweat of our brows.

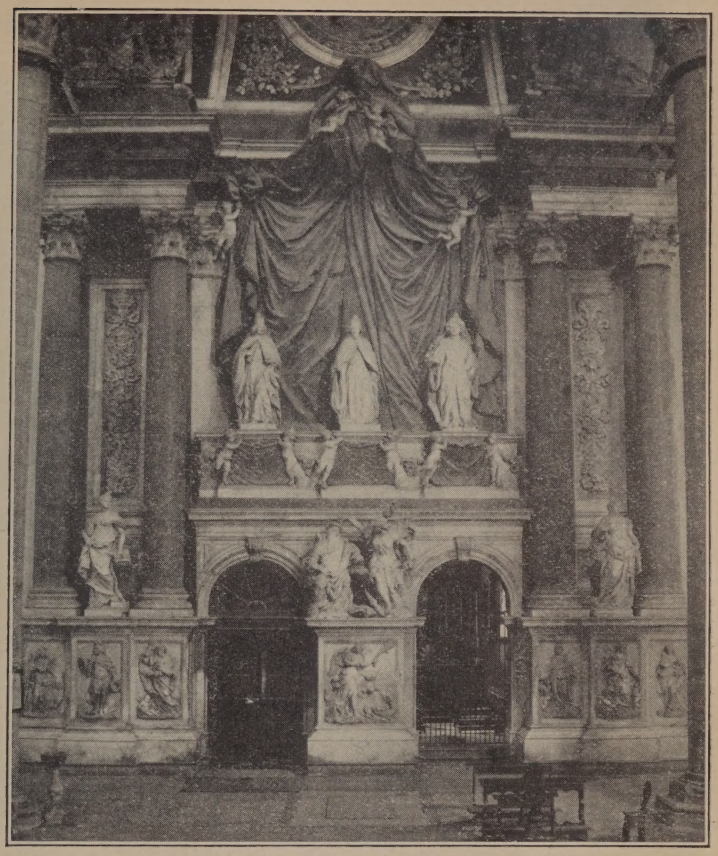
We then devoted an hour to the Academy, where Carpaccio, perhaps the best after-dinner story-teller of the Renaissance, held us spellbound with his quaintly charming series of pictures, illustrating the life and vicissitudes of St. Ursula and her ten thousand Virgin companions.

I squandered very little time buying lace and glass in Venice this second trip, for it had finally dawned on me that while I could get Venetian glass and lace in many American cities, never again in any other place than Venice could I have such an opportunity to see Tintoret, and in him Venetian painting at its high-water mark, with what was realest in religion and deepest in poetry and loveliest in art all combined. One of his paintings in the Scuola de San Rocco, adjoining his Parish Church, is to me as deeply moving a picture as I have ever seen. Who that has looked on it can ever forget that white-stoled Figure standing before Pilate with bound hands and the look of a conqueror? Yet for all the Godlike calm of His face, there is a feeling of infinite human weariness about the figure, strange mingling of a man crushed and a God triumphant—a God who could only conquer by suffering and a man who dared to suffer like a God. Opposite sits Pilate in his royal robes of state surrounded by all the pomp and splendor of imperial Rome. No hint of shrinking, you might say, in that figure, and yet, as you look beneath the glittering surface, pierce through the body to the naked soul of Him, the man seems literally to dwindle before your eyes, until by some subtle swift play of inner vision the masks drop from the figures and the scene is changed —Pilate is the condemned one and Christ stands forth the judge.

There is a great pity in Christ's eye as He looks upon Pilate washing his hands. Can the man really believe that water will wash away the stain? What pitiful superstitions are people bound by, what meaningless rites suffice, how shallow a man with such a creed! Ah, standing there with the weight of the world's sin crushing Him, He knows that saying, "I wash my hands of this," will not do away with the least atom of responsibility. About to pour out His blood in token of regeneration to teach the world the law of sacrifice, He knows that easy-going formulas are not enough, that water does not suffice, that without shedding of blood is no remission. One may not turn on the faucet of this or that church, or trust that some man-made creed or

priestly rite will save him. No, one's life must be devoted to a divine purpose, one's material interests must be subordinated to spiritual ends.

We feel instantly on looking at this picture, that the sadness in Christ's face is not for Himself. The small moment of personal agony, of shrinking in Gethsemane is over. He is thinking of the ignorant mob outside shouting "Crucify Him," yes, Him, their King; of the fleeing disciples who had been so long time with Him and yet had never known Him; of Peter who is denying Him as the cock crows; of Judas who has betrayed Him; of Pilate who in order to remain the friend of Cæsar at last condemns the Christ. He seems to be speaking now to Pilate—Pilate the puppet, who dreams he is the judge—"Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above." Ah, the judgment scene is not here, not now. A few hours ago, alone in the garden, the real judgment had been passed. When He refused to call for the legion of angels to deliver Him, and stretched out His hand only to the one who brought the cup—He Himself gave Pilate the power with which to judge Him now. "No man takes my life from Me,"—the words come ringing down the centuries and Tintoret has caught their echo—"No man takes my life from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again."



DECADENT MONUMENT OF DOGE BERTUCCIO VALIER AND FAMILY, 1708. IN CHURCH OF STS. JOHN AND PAUL.

Christ before Pilate! Pilate before Christ! Either phrase might serve as the title for this picture, and yet neither is entirely adequate, for in the final analysis both figures seem to stand so terribly alone—each weighing not the other's, but his own soul in the balance—type of that inevitable, inexorable judgment which every man must pass on his own life. We cry out to God for mercy, and He hands us the scales. By the choice we have made of light or darkness, of our highest or our lowest, we pronounce upon ourselves that judgment which alone is final.

Looking back on those days in the sea city, it seems to me that, if only one have

the mind to, one may "go to church" to as good purpose in voluptuous Venice as in Puritan New England: may hear, if one have ears to hear, a still, small voice speaking from her pictured lips and find some deathless truths of religion wrought into her lifeless marbles.

Before I left Venice this second time, though I had by no means covered all the ground I had hoped to, I had at least caught a glimpse of something of which Baedaker makes no mention—something that cannot be seen or appreciated mechanically, and that is the spirit of the dying city, of which the splendor of her past and the magic of her present are but the more or less inadequate material expressions.

To the discerning traveler there is a more delightful experience than a first visit to Venice, and that is a second, and a still more delightful experience, and that is a third. Indeed, it was easy for me to understand, after having seen the enthusiasm of the art teacher, the charm there might be in taking a possible thirty-third degree. Such is the spell of the place that before you have seen Venice she lures you in your dreams, and once seen she haunts you ever after.

JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN.

*Cotuit, Massachusetts.*

# "THE DEVIL": A POWERFUL DRAMA OF MENTAL SUGGESTION.*

BY RYAN WALKER.

MENTAL suggestion has at last crept upon the stage, and two of last season's successes, as well as two of this season's, are plays whose powerful and underlying theme has been to show the workings of the mind for good or for evil.

The first of this class of drama to be produced was "The Witching Hour," a crudely-handled play from the pen of Augustus Thomas. It was a structure built upon hypnotism, pure and simple, the power of a strong man's mind over the minds of his weaker brothers.

Next in line came that enormously masterful drama—or one might better call it a dramatic allegory—"The Servant in the House," by Charles Rann Kennedy; and more recently Jerome K. Jerome's "The Passing of the Third Floor Back." In these two plays the Christ spirit furnishes the theme for thought, overcoming evil by banishing selfishness and hypocrisy.

The present theatrical season opened with a production of "The Devil," a play by the Hungarian, Franz Molnar, whose irony and cynicism suggest Bernard Shaw, and whose brilliant epigrams carry one to the pages of Oscar Wilde, though the former might be said to be the master of clever epigrams and scathing sarcasm.

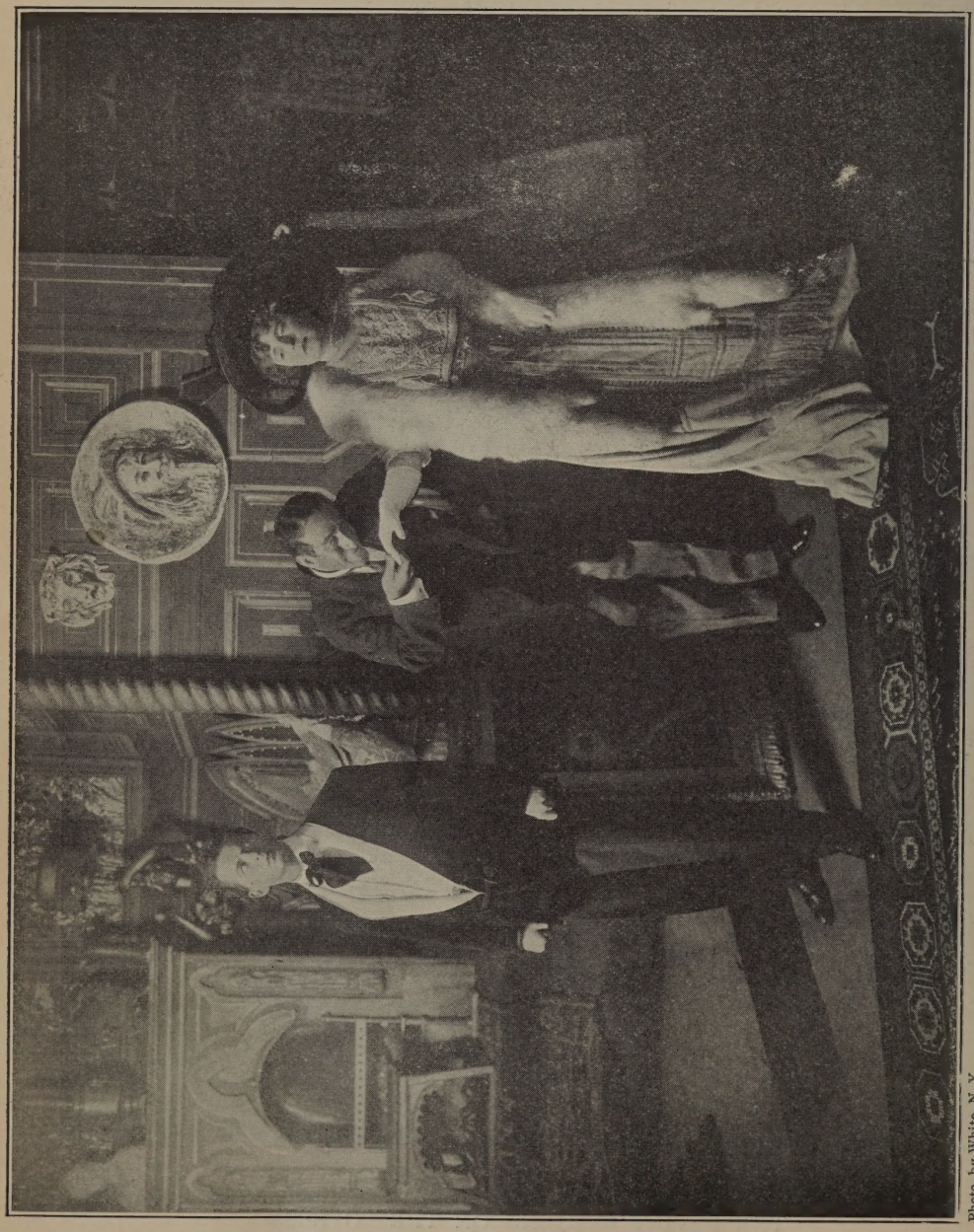
"The Devil" is the antithesis of "The Servant in the House," and Satan walks among his victims in evening dress and silk hat, possessing the suave manners of an elegant man of the world. But he represents the Power of Evil in the minds of a man and a woman who are being drawn together in illicit love. During the meetings of this man and woman, the Devil ever lurks as their shadow, working subtly, maliciously, surely. From the moment that he rises suddenly from behind the pulpit-like chair in the artist's studio, to face the woman who has come there to sit for her portrait, the thought is

*The quotations from the play used in this article are from Mr. Oliver Herford's translation, by special permission of Mr. H. W. Savage.

Photo. by White, N. Y.

THE DEVIL'S BLESSING ON THE LOVERS.

**First Act of "The Devil."** In Henry Savage's production at the Garden Theater, New York. Edwin Stevens as the Devil, Dorothy Dorr as Olga, and Paul McAllister as Karl.



Photo, by White, N. Y.

THE DEVIL PLAYS WITH KARL AND OLGA

From Molnar's comedy, "The Devil." In Henry Savage's production at the Garden Theater, New York. Edwin Stevens as the Devil, Dorothy Dorr as Olga, and Paul McAllister as Karl.

Photo. by White, N. Y.

THE DEVIL EXERCISES HIS POWER UPON OLGA

Scene from Henry W. Savage's production of "The Devil" at the Garden Theater, New York. Dorothy Dorr as Olga and Edwin Stevens as the Devil.

suggested that he represents her mind, her desire. And thus he follows her, from the beginning to the end of the play, overpowering her with his insinuating, diabolical influence. And when, in the agony of her own guilty soul, she demands of him, "Who are you?" he replies touching her on the forehead, "I am here."

To compare "The Devil" with "Faust" would be like comparing a strong man with a weak infant. "Faust" might be termed fairy lore; "The Devil," a wonderful psychological study, gripping one at the rise of the curtain and holding him in its clutches (no other word would fit the feeling one experiences in seeing this play) till the end of the last act.

In view of the fact that theatrical history offers no parallel to the popularity of "The Devil," for no less than thirty theatrical companies are playing it throughout the country—either in Oliver Herford's translation (as produced by H. W. Savage) or Kontas' adaptation (as offered by Harrison Grey Fiske), it may be of interest to give a brief outline of the play.

The play opens in the reception-room adjoining the studio of Karl Mahler, a brilliant young artist in Budapest. The artist enters and summons his aged servant, Heinrich, whereupon he roundly reproves him because the front door is left wide open. It next develops that Karl is about to attend a reception. He gives his servant some instructions and dismisses the latter, who, before leaving, tells him that Mimi, the artist's model, is in the studio. Karl appears indifferent to the presence of the girl and tells the servant to dismiss her. The model, however, insists upon seeing the painter. A scene ensues, but finally she is induced to leave.

The bell rings, and the servant shows in Hermann and Olga Hoffman. Hoffman has brought his wife to have her portrait painted. He is a man of the world, engrossed in the markets—money-mad; and after some talk of the reception to be held that evening at their home—a reception given largely in the hope that Karl will fall in love with a beautiful heiress, Elsa, whom the Hoffmans very much desire to see wedded to the artist, the husband leaves, arranging to call for his wife at four o'clock.

It next develops that Olga and the artist had been old-time lovers, and if not actually engaged had frequently exchanged kisses. Olga, however, had chosen the elder man who was immensely rich. During the *tête-à-tête* it is quite evident that the old-time passion of Olga for the artist is not entirely dead and that Karl reciprocates this feeling. At length preparations are made for the painting. But since Olga has come in her street clothes and wishes to be painted *decolleté*, it becomes necessary for her to remove her waist and cover herself with a scarf. The artist leaves the room after locking all the doors except the one through which he makes his exit. Olga removes her blouse and chooses the scarf. At this juncture she utters a scream and quickly crosses the stage, for The Devil, faultlessly arrayed in frock coat and with a red carnation in his buttonhole, a man of the world with a face suggestive of the conventional concept of Mephistopheles, appears and deftly picks up the blouse which Olga has dropped.

The Devil—Pardon, madame! I think you dropped something! I must beg your pardon, madame, I came from lunch. Karl was not at home; I waited and I fell asleep in this very comfortable chair. (He rubs his eyes.) Forgive me, madame, for opening my eyes at a moment when, for propriety's sake, I should at least have kept one eye shut. (Olga takes blouse from him, puts it on couch and walks away, horrified and disgusted.)

Olga—Oh!

Devil—I am aware this is a base insinuation—of course you only come here—(Ironical).

Olga—To have my portrait painted.

Devil—I once had a similar encounter at a dentist's, and the lady, to prove

that my insinuations were false, did not hesitate to sacrifice a perfectly good tooth.

OLGA—I tell you I——

DEVIL (Very politely)—Oh, I know you speak the truth. I am even at liberty to believe it, though *your truth* is only partly in style. *Truth* should have nothing on at all, you know.

OLGA—The insolence! What right have you to speak to me? Who are you? What are you doing here? Karl! (Karl tries the studio door.) Karl! (She opens the door and lets him in.)

KARL—(Very much surprised at the Devil.)

DEVIL—How do you do?

KARL (Taken aback)—How do you do?

DEVIL—You do not seem to remember me. We met at Monte Carlo.

KARL—Oh, yes.

DEVIL—Quite an eventful day it was.

KARL—Yes, yes, I remember. It was last fall, and I had lost all my money at roulette. As I turned from the table I caught sight of a stranger frowning on me. It was you. I was startled, because only a moment before I had seen you next to the croupier and I thought I heard you laugh when I lost, but now I remember you stood behind me, and when I had lost everything you offered me, a total stranger, a handful of louis d'or.

OLGA (Frightened)—It is very strange—this chair was empty; there was nobody there.

Then Karl is at a loss to introduce this friend, and he says, "I quite forget your name——"

DEVIL—Call me anything you like; we only call names when the party is absent; but I am here now—call me Miller, or Brown, or Black. If you think Doctor sounds better, why not call me Doctor Miller?

Olga, after being made thoroughly uncomfortable by insinuations, leaves the room to adjust her blouse. The Devil, commenting to Karl about her shoulders, remarks:

"I have only known one sculptor who could model such shoulders."

KARL—Who 's that?

DEVIL—Good living. Such tender, soft lines are only possible for a woman who lives exquisitely well. I take it she is the wife of a millionaire?

Later, when Olga has returned and is awaiting the arrival of her husband, The Devil remarks to her that a woman's intuition invariably anticipates her husband's coming by ten minutes, and if it "was n't for that ten minutes there would be more divorced women."

Olga demands, "What do you want with me? You turn everything to evil. I have scarcely known you five minutes, and I seem to feel your fingers at my throat."

Then Dr. Miller, in giving advice on a man's career, sums it up thus:

"An artist ought never to marry—his wife will swear on the wedding day to stand by his side all through life. The day after the wedding she will stand in his way."

OLGA—Not the real wife.

DEVIL—The real wife is always the other man's wife.

OLGA—You 're a cynic.

DEVIL—Oh, no, not cynical; only careful. A tigress who has married—I mean eaten—a man, is no longer dangerous. . . . You must wait until she has married—I mean eaten—somebody.

The Devil now changes his tone. He goes into the church chair, on whose back he leans, speaking as from a pulpit. The studio grows dark, a red light illuminates his face.

"What a splendid couple you two would make. Wake up! (to Karl) You, with your talent, your splendid youth. You (to Olga) with your temperament and beauty and longing!"

KARL—Stop! Stop! I beg of you—for years we have been just good friends.

DEVIL (Speaking in a whisper)—You may say what you like, bu I can read your eyes. They say to me, "Do n't believe him, he lies."

Then The Devil gives this masterpiece of suggestion:

"It [love] is not a base thought; it is a great thought—a thought that brings joy and warmth and light into your wretched little lives. But joy has its price—and you must pay it, you misers! The drunkard dies of drink, but while he is drunk angels in heaven sing to him. The poet dies in ecstasy of his sweetest song. It is the coward's bravery that turns away from the wine, the song—and the lips of woman. The smallest candle-end shows you it is worth while to burn up for the sake of a little warmth. The end of *life is to burn*—to burn yourself up. You must flame and blaze like a torch and toss the fire about you. I know: your moralists tell you to love another—do n't believe them. Your grubby little earth with its paltry million years is not ripe for such a love as that. It can only breed monks, madmen, Methodists. Do n't be a fool, be a rogue—but be a jolly rogue—and the world is yours! Look at me! I own the earth. Here is the key to life—Love *yourself*—only *yourself*. Dress yourself in the softest garments—kiss the sweetest lips—drink of the wine of Life. Drink! Drink! Drink!"

On the appearance of Hoffman, he is introduced to "Dr. Miller."

HERMAN—Pleased to meet you. (To Olga), Well, my dear, where 's the picture? May n't I see it?

KARL—There 's nothing to see—there is no picture.

HERMAN—What have you been doing?

KARL—Nothing. It 's been dark for the last hour.

HERMAN—Yes, but I have been gone two hours.

DEVIL—It was all my fault. We have been chatting; we have had a very interesting discussion. And madam was kind enough to invite me for this evening.

HERMAN—Oh! I 'm very pleased.

DEVIL—Thank you. I have just come from Odessa. I had a talk with the Russian Wheat King. He tells me——

HERMAN—Yes, I have heard: *wheat has gone up.*

OLGA—Is n't that good for us?

HERMAN—No, dear. I did not tell you. This is the first year I am short on wheat.

KARL—What does it mean to be short on wheat?

Then The Devil gives us a side-light on modern speculation by answering for Herman:

"It means digging a ditch for others and falling into it yourself."

The Devil intimates to Herman that he can materially aid him with some secret information which he possesses, but that he cannot give it to him until evening. Accordingly he is urged by the husband to come to the reception. The wife acquiesces in this invitation, but later, when Herman and Karl have stepped into the studio to examine some of the artist's work, Olga turns to The Devil and requests him not to come to the reception. He insists that he has been invited and has accepted, and intends to come. Finally, however, he compromises by declaring that he will not come unless she again asks him to. On the return of Hoffman The Devil remembers that he has another engagement. Hoffman, however, whose avarice has been excited by The Devil's remark, insists on his coming and turns to his wife, requesting her to invite him. This she does.

Karl, remembering his engagement with his model, tells the Hoffmans that it will probably be late before he will be able to get around to the reception, as he expects an art dealer.

HERMAN—I know your art dealers. Fie! And you are going to be married!

OLGA—Oh! What is it?

KARL—Oh! Nothing.

DEVIL—I think I hear some one knocking.

HERMAN—I did not hear anything.

DEVIL—Yes, there it goes again. (Cynically), Probably the art dealer. (Goes to hall door.) Oh, it 's you, my dear. Come right in. (Swings Mimi into the room.) The art dealer!

MIMI (Embarrassed)—Good evening! (Goes to studio door.)

DEVIL (To Herman)—Do n't you think we had better be discreet and go? (Mimi and Olga stare at each other.)

HERMAN (To Karl)—The art dealer! (Laughing and going to the door), Well, *au revoir.* (Exits.)

DEVIL (To Olga)—Quite a little comedy?

OLGA—You think so?

KARL (To Mimi, pointing to the studio)—Please step in there, Fraulein. I 'll be with you in a minute.

DEVIL (Whispering to Olga)—You were good enough to invite me for this evening; I am now going to repay your kindness. In five minutes I shall be back here to interrupt this *tête-à-tête.* Watch me forget my overcoat. (Karl sees Olga out. The Devil takes Karl's overcoat. Heinrich notices it.)

HEINRICH—Pardon, sir, but this is not your overcoat.

DEVIL (Aside)—Shut up! (Exits.)

The model returns to the room and Karl offers to marry her. She, knowing that his feeling is not genuine, refuses him and hurries from the room just as The Devil enters. To the artist The Devil tells the story of how he once lost a coin that he did not need. But he shot his servant, whom he suspected of having it, merely because he felt an intense desire to possess the coin, cost what it it might. He continues:

"I would have given it away, but it slipped through my fingers, and whatever slips through our fingers, that is just the one thing we want."

In this manner he continues, working the artist up to a high nervous pitch. Then he compares Olga to the lost coin.

DEVIL—And that little woman will become dearer and more precious to you every day—you will realize that she could have given you wings; that her temperament, her beauty, her passion would have been the inspiration of your work. All this you will realize when she has slipped away. You could have become a master,

EDWIN STEVENS AS THE DEVIL.

a giant! Not by loving your art, but by loving her. But you won't know until it is too late—too late! (He now takes the shawl that has been over Olga's shoulders

and throws it over Karl's, forcing him to see it.) This shawl has touched her bosom. (Karl clasps it and touches his lips to it.) Think what you might have been to each other! What divine happiness, not because she is beautiful—no, but because you——

KARL (Throwing away shawl)—Be quiet! Be quiet! Do you want to drive me mad?

DEVIL—Frightened again! A life that has not been squandered, that has not been lived!

KARL—Why do you tell me all this? What do you want? (Horrified.) Who sent you?

DEVIL—Nobody, no one; I am here.

KARL—No, I tell you. I have known her all these years and we 've been good friends only, and we 'll remain good friends, nothing else! I do n't want the found sovereign!

DEVIL—If it slips away—if another man runs away with it?

KARL—Who? (Looks at the Devil.)

DEVIL (Triumphant)—I!

KARL (Laughing)—You?

DEVIL—To-night, this very night, she 'll be mine. Oh, what joy, what exquisite joy! For ten thousand years I have had no prettier mistress——

KARL—What do you say?

DEVIL—Mistress, I say! Come to-night, to her house! When the lights are burning, when the air seems to be filled with music and perfume, *you 'll* see, before day dawns.

KARL—Enough, enough!

DEVIL—How you will run after your lost sovereign! Every hour when you wander where she is she spends with me. A carriage passes, your heart stands still. A light goes out in some window. Who put that light out? We! We sit in every carriage, we vanish around every corner, clinging lovingly together. We stand behind every window curtain in close embrace, looking into your tortured face, your maddened eyes—and we cling together—closer, closer—and we laugh—we laugh.

KARL (Throwing himself down on couch)—Enough, enough!

DEVIL—We laugh at you, you poor, weak fool. You luck-refuser!

KARL (Screaming)—You fiend! (Reaches for revolver with hand. The Devil grabs revolver and, taking it away from him, leaves it on the table.)

The second act takes place in the palatial home of the Hoffmans. Elsa Berg, the beautiful and unsophisticated young girl whom the artist is expected to marry, is introduced, but the spell working between Olga and Karl is already so pronounced that the beautiful young girl who a few hours before would have attracted the artist, no longer appeals to his imagination.

The scene developes two climaxes, showing the baneful effect of evil suggestion. The Devil persuades Olga to do something odd, something *outré*. He suggests that she put on a long opera cloak that shall envelope her, and thus attired walk through the ball-room. Olga agrees, and while gone for the cloak, The Devil tells Karl that she is to appear wrapped in a cloak, but otherwise nude, at the same time slyly hinting that Olga is doing the rash act to please his whim. When Olga discovers the truth of The Devil's insinuation to Karl, she is deeply incensed, and calls upon her husband to remove her cloak, thus disclosing the fact that she is completely gowned. After the guests have departed she writes Karl a farewell letter, as follows:

"Sir, your behavior of this evening has shown me that you are no longer——"

Then The Devil interrupts and dictates as follows:

"——able to keep up the wretched farce of mere friendship. I read your innermost thoughts, and, Karl, the knowledge that you love me has made me unspeakably happy. Dearest—Why should we struggle longer against the resistless tide that is drawing us together? My strength is gone. Without you I am lost in the black waters. Save me, Karl! With your strong arms about me, with

your lips to mine, I care not where we drift. I am yours, all yours; you are the master of my soul. Do not leave me, Karl. I love you; I cannot live without you. Heaven bless you." (Olga's head falls forward on her arm. The Devil picks up the letter and puts it in his pocket.)

OLGA—What have I written?

DEVIL—What was in your heart—a cold, harsh and final letter!

Hereupon The Devil withdraws. The room is dark. Olga starts to retire, when like all the black, evil and wicked thoughts that lie deep within the mind, the shadow of The Devil looms large upon the wall. With a piercing shriek Olga falls to the floor.

The final act reverts to Karl's studio. There is a very pathetic scene between Elsa and Mimi, the model, after which both depart.

The Devil enters, quickly followed by Olga. The Devil calls for tea and rum, and as he sips the concoction the following conversation takes place:

OLGA—Oh, tell me, did you—have you——

DEVIL—Your letter? Delivered!

OLGA—Tell me, did he read it?

DEVIL—Yes.

OLGA—My God!

DEVIL—When he read it he buried his face in the pillow and cried. I hate a man that cries.

OLGA—I did not want him to have that letter. I wanted to speak to him first myself. I wanted him to give me back my letter unopened if it had not been read. I am too late!

. . . . . .

OLGA—I do n't know how I shall find courage to speak to him, yet I feel I must. I want to go away from here, yet there is something that keeps me back—I cannot! I cannot! What will become of me?

HEINRICH (Poking head through door)—My master will be here in a moment. (Exits.)

DEVIL—Very good, I will be off.

OLGA—Oh, do n't go! I do n't want to be alone with him.

DEVIL—You will want to discuss your letter—I will only be in the way.

OLGA—Well, then, I shall speak to him quite frankly. I shall tell him for the last time—— (Karl's voice is heard.)

DEVIL—If you need me I shall be here. (Exits.)

KARL (Entering)—Olga! (Olga motions him to be quiet.) I was—I was afraid you would never forgive my brutal treatment of last night.

OLGA—Speak low; Dr. Miller is in there. I have acted foolishly, but I could not control myself. I, too, after what had happened, I wanted to know, to make sure whether you loved me as I thought you did—as I hoped you did, day and night, every hour.

KARL—Olga!

OLGA—Everything has changed since yesterday. But let us try to repeat what we said then about shaking each other's hands honorably; let us try to be strong and keep our promise. Karl, if I was frivolous, it was only a desire to know your innermost sentiment. But I am afraid. I have been punished too hard; and what I said a moment ago about shaking hands—honorably—I am afraid it is too late. My strength is at an end. I am lost!

KARL—Olga!

OLGA—Sh-h! He is there! Tell me, were you surprised about my letter?

KARL—Your letter? What letter?

OLGA—Karl—oh, I understand; you want me to be discreet. Be frank. I am not ashamed and am not afraid. When I wrote that letter I only half knew what I was doing, and I was sorry afterward that I had written it. But I am sorry no more. Women do n't always write what they want, but they always want what they write. Karl, I should like to read that letter over with you.

KARL—Why, I have n't received any letter. Did you write me?

OLGA—You did not get my letter?

KARL—No. Really, I did n't.

OLGA—Dr. Miller! Dr. Miller! My—my letter!

DEVIL (Entering)—Oh, I ask ten thousand pardons. I quite forgot. My only excuse is, there are certain letters that had better not be delivered.

OLGA—Who is this man?

DEVIL—But I can deliver it now. (Does so.)

OLGA—Karl, tear up that letter! (Karl does so.) Put that letter in the fire! (Karl does so.)

DEVIL—I regret if my forgetfulness has occasioned any inconvenience.

KARL (To Devil)—Do n't let me detain you!

DEVIL—Oh, my train does not leave for an hour. How was I to know that the non-delivery of the letter would occasion such terrible anguish?

KARL—You will miss your train.

DEVIL (Kisses Olga's hand)—Again I ask ten thousand pardons. Good-by. (Exits.)

OLGA—Karl, I would have given a year of my life if you had not burned that letter.

KARL—Why, you told me—why, what did it contain?

OLGA—You know it all. What I told you a few minutes ago. And now—burned to ashes. My first love letter, the trembling confession of my infatuation with you, which I would love to read over and over again with you. I want that letter, to drink in its passion; I do n't want to think! I want to be happy! Only happy! If I but had that letter back! Karl! (They start to embrace.)

DEVIL (Entering ready for travel)—ask ten thousand pardons—so careless of me. By some mistake I gave you my coal bill instead of your letter. (Gives Olga letter.)

OLGA (Runs and joins Karl)—Karl! Karl! Karl! I have my letter! (Throws herself into Karl's arms.) My letter! (Olga and Karl exit together, reading letter.)

Grimly smiling, The Devil picks up his bag, and goes, uttering three of the most cynical words ever put into the mouth of a character:

"*There you are!*"

RYAN WALKER.

*New York City.*

## THE VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGN FOR DIRECT-LEGISLATION IN MAINE.

BY KINGSBURY B. PIPER.

THE FACT that the people of the state of Maine are the first in the eastern part of the United States to incorporate the principle of Direct-Legislation as a part of their state constitution is not due to there being any great difference in their ideas as to what constitutes good government, but is due rather to the fact that the struggle for the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum has been diligent, diplomatic, systematical and energetic.

Maine people are very conservative. They are prone to cling to old customs, to stand true to party tenets. In doing so, they make no sacrifice of conscience, for it is through their interpretation of conscience's teachings that they allow oftentimes false reasonings to lead them to falser conclusions. And it requires much evidence and of a very convincing nature to demonstrate to the average Maine citizen that he has ever been misled and wrong in his party faith: that what is termed representative government is sometimes misrepresentative of public good. When once convinced, however, there are needs of righting the body

politic, that flagrant abuses exist as the direct result of official breach of trust, then will Maine people turn about and seek industriously to find a means by which the best may be had without departing from the ways of the Fathers to get it.

Representative government has not been any more corrupt in Maine than in other states and the movement to make the Initiative and Referendum a part of the law-making machinery was not due to any sudden revulsion of public sentiment caused by some especially flagrant act of injustice on the part of the state legislature. For years the public had become more and more cognizant of the power of wild-land owners who were responsible for the existence of a powerful lobby at the State House and there seemed to be some relationship between that lobby and the fact that wild-land owners paid a smaller per cent. of taxation than equity demanded. For years the public had learned more and more of the corporation lobbies in the State House corridors and there seemed to be a logical connection between them and the granting of franchises worth millions of dollars and to all intents given away for the asking for all time. The public had found out that year after year desired legislation of merit suffered defeat after defeat, sacrificed to the successes of legislation asked for by private and corporate interests and accomplished by well-paid lobbies.

But the public knew no remedy, except to back desired meritorious legislation by a counter lobby, and the Grange and the State Federation of Labor began to send their legislative committees to the State House. Even then, desired results were not obtained to the extent expected for corporation interests represented at the State House, have always been at the front to exact support for their measures or to use their power to defeat legislation desired by others.

The problem, then, which confronted duly authorized legislative committees was to figure out how much in the line of reform would be allowed by their enemies rather than how much was deserved. This condition made the fact real that the measure of public good contained in accomplished legislation was largely offset by just about so much of the vicious type of statutes forced through legislature and under the hand of the governor for approval. The reports of the legislative committees of the State Grange and the State Federation of Labor necessarily contained reasons why laws so much desired had not been enacted and those reasons just as necessarily brought out the prominence of the corporate, the wild-land and the railroad lobbies in opposing Grange and labor measures as well as accomplishing the consummation of their own schemes.

Under those conditions there was but one of two things to be done: elect a greater number of legislators in sympathy with the desires of Grange and labor or better the representative plan of government. Biennial attempts to improve on the character of legislative nominations made plain the fact that corporate, wild-land and railroad influences went a long way towards controlling the actions of caucuses and conventions, thereby increasing the dangers of defeating efforts to secure equitable taxation laws and correspondingly insuring the successes of schemes to add further strength to the power of those lobbies. Attempts to repeal laws giving corporations great privileges were met by learned arguments in committee-rooms and on the floors of both House and Senate setting forth the sacredness of "vested rights" and the duty of legislators to perpetuate the privileges coming therefrom.

It was in the state legislature of 1903 that the way to better the plan of representative government was first presented, a bill to amend the state constitution by making the Initiative and Referendum a part thereof being presented by Hon. Cyrus W. Davis of Waterville, in the House. The measure was drawn by Mr. Roland T. Patten of Skowhegan, who appeared with Mr. Davis before the

judiciary committee and, although practically nothing was known as to the merits of the proposed change, the arguments of Messrs. Davis and Patten were so logical the committee recommended the reference of the matter to the next legislature and that recommendation was adopted. What the next legislature would do with the matter was, of course, not known, but the chances were strongly in favor of nothing being done with the measure except burying it. The nomination of Mr. Davis in 1904 for the office of governor by the Democrats probably gave his Initiative and Referendum measure considerable prominence, and it was in the late fall of that year, after the state election, that the legislative committee of the State Federation of Labor decided to concentrate its energies to secure the passage of an Initiative and Referendum resolve and to bring about the coöperation of the Grange. Petitions were circulated and signatures numbering sixteen thousand obtained. Senator E. S. Clark of Bar Harbor introduced a new bill early in January (1905) and it was referred to the judiciary committee of which he was a member. At the public hearing, held some weeks later, many strong arguments were presented for the bill by gentlemen representing the State Federation of Labor, the state Grange, the Civic League, Hon. Cyrus W. Davis, Mr. Roland T. Patten, Frank K. Foster of Boston, and Professor Frank Parsons of Boston. The judiciary committee held the matter under advisement until March 17th, when two reports were submitted to the senate, one endorsed "ought not to pass," signed by six members, and the other "ought to pass in new draft," signed by four members.

The two reports were considered in the Senate on March 22d, and by a vote of 12 to 11 the minority report was substituted for the majority report and the new draft, which was a poor and nearly worthless thing at the best, was given its first and second readings and passed to be engrossed and sent to the House, where similar action was taken by a vote of 67 to 38. On March 24th, the last day of the legislature and just before the usual felicitous speeches were delivered in praise of the worthy work accomplished, the Initiative and Referendum was defeated in both Senate and House, the vote in the former being 13 to 13, and in the House 62 to 48, the two-thirds required to pass a constitutional amendment resolve being lacking in each branch. The corporations used every tactic they knew to accomplish the result. Prominent attorneys were present in the lobby and did all they could to belittle the demand for such an important departure from long and well-established methods of legislation. They delighted to style the movement "a union-labor idea."

But the friends of the Initiative and Referendum believed they had made a great fight for a worthy cause and they were full of courage for the next battle. They had learned much from experience and they decided to profit thereby. Early in the summer of 1905 the State Referendum League of Maine was formed, it being deemed necessary to have an organization to serve for the single purpose of bringing about the adoption of a constitutional amendment and to coöperate with the Grange and State Federation of Labor. At the outset several politicians made an effort to capture the new organization and to dictate what its policy should be. The effort failed within a half-hour. The League adopted a constitution which reads as follows:

"Article 1.—Name. The name of this organization shall be 'The State Referendum League of Maine.'

"Article 2.—Object. The object of this League is the establishment of the people's right to a direct vote on questions of public policy.

"Article 3.—Policy. It is understood that while this organization shall be interpartisan in membership, its methods shall be strictly non-partisan, and that its support of any person's candidacy, or its opposition thereto, shal be based solely

on said candidate's attitude toward the purposes of this League.

"Article 4.—Membership. Any citizen of this state may become a member by application in writing to the secretary, and the payment of specified dues.

"Article 5.—Officers. The officers of this League shall consist of a president, vice-president, recording secretary, financial secretary, treasurer, press agent and lecturer.

"Article 6.—Duties of officers. The officers of this league as named in article 5 shall perform the duties which by general usage pertain to their respective offices, together with such other duties as may be enjoined upon them by the League or the executive council. The treasurer shall pay no money except upon written order signed by the president and secretary, and such orders shall be drawn only when directed by the executive committee or by the vote of the League.

"Article 7.—Executive committee. The officers as named in article 5, together with three additional members, shall constitute the executive committee. The executive committee shall have general and immediate control of the affairs of the League, subject to the direction of the League. The executive committee shall have power to fill any vacancy in office for the remainder of the unexpired term.

"Article 8.—Advisory council. The executive committee shall have power to appoint an advisory council, consisting of 16 members, one from each county of the state, who shall assemble at the call of the executive committee for conference upon the general affairs of the League.

"Article 9.—Elections. All the officers, together with the executive committee, shall be chosen by a vote of the majority of the members present at the first regular meeting in May of each year and shall hold office for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

"Article 10.—Quorum. Seven members shall constitute a quorum.

"Article 11.—Final jurisdiction. In affairs of the League the members shall have the right of referendum, the initiative, and the recall, details for the exercise of which shall be provided for in the by-laws.

"Article 12.—By-laws. Any by-laws not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution may be adopted by a majority vote at any regular meeting of the League, notice of intention to present such by-laws having been given at the last previous regular meeting of the League.

"Article 13.—Amendments. This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any regular meeting, 30 days' notice of intention to present such amendment having been given either at a regular meeting or by a written notice to each member.

'Article 14.—The regular meetings of the League shall be held in Augusta on the second Tuesday of May each year. Special meetings may be called by the executive committee."

Article 3 of the constitution above gave the politicians something to think about and when every man the following spring and summer who had been mentioned as a candidate for legislative honors, received a letter from the secretary, asking for a declaration as to his attitude on the Initiative and Referendum, and, if necessary, a second and even a third letter with the ultimatum that unless his position was defined he would be put down in the "No" column, there seemed to be a force worth catering to. At the annual meeting of the State Grange, held in December, 1905, strong resolutions were adopted endorsing the Initiative and Referendum and in the summer of 1906 the leaders of all political parties were asked to favor the adoption of an Initiative and Referendum plank in their state convention platforms. The Democratic party again honored Cyrus W. Davis with the gubernatorial nomination, and the Republicans renominated Governor William T. Cobb. Both candidates had expressed themselves as favoring what the League wanted and their parties adopted referendum planks. The Republican plurality at the

September election (1906) was about 8,000, rather a narrow margin for the state of Maine. Many candidates for the Senate and the House who had opposed the Initiative and Referendum two years previous were defeated at the polls. Nearly all those who were reëlected had pledged themselves to support a referendum amendment, but of the ten members of the judiciary committee of the legislature of 1907, six were opposed to anything in the line of Direct-Legislation, and they were frank enough to state how they felt. Hon. Fred. J. Allen, president of the Senate, had been an outspoken enemy of the League and its purposes from the first, and his position augured ill. Hon. Beecher Putnam, chairman of the judiciary committee, believed that from the acts of the legislature there should be no direct appeal for the people. The corporation lobby was present and was outspoken in its opposition. To complicate matters, the Democrats decided to introduce a resolve to include constitutional amendments within the scope of the Initiative and Referendum, thereby making resubmission of the prohibitory amendment subject to its provisions. The Democratic resolve, introduced by Representative Charles F. Johnson of Waterville, also differed in several other important particulars from the League measure, introduced by Representative George G. Weeks of Fairfield, the Republican leader in the House, and as the Democratic membership numbered 67 in the House and seven in the Senate, it was important for the League to eliminate as many of the differences in the two measures as possible. Representative Johnson and his Democratic colleagues as well as the League knew that there were Republican members who were very loth to support the Initiative and Referendum and that those members would be delighted to promote division upon minor details and so defeat the movement while appearing to be friendly. The League resolve included only statutes in the operation of the Initiative and Referendum. To go as far as Mr. Johnson's bill would be simply waving a red flag at the prohibition element of the Republican party. Representative Johnson was most magnanimous. He redrafted his bill so that it was exactly like the League resolve except that it covered amendments to the the state constitution. The one difference was a party matter and the adoption of the two reports was decided by a strict party vote in both House and Senate. The magnanimity of the Democrats was again shown, when Representative Johnson in the House and Senator Staples in the Senate stated that, if the minority report should not be adopted they would vote for the passage of the League measure, and it was the Democratic support that made possible the two-thirds vote required. As Representative Weeks was prevented from attendance on account of illness the day action was taken in the House, the majority defense fell upon Representative Bertram L. Smith of Patten, who did his full duty and he and Representative Johnson coöperated and within a half-hour after the two reports had been voted upon the resolve was given its several readings, passed to be engrossed and finally enacted in the lower branch. No member of either House or Senate said "No" after the Weeks bill had been started upon its passage.

The signal success attained in the legislature was due to the well-defined attitude of Governor Cobb, who stated in his inaugural address that he believed in the Initiative and Referendum, that such legislation was desired by public sentiment, that the friends of the movement knew what they wanted and that they would not accept form for substance. The legislative committees of the Grange and the State Federation of Labor did valiant work. Hon. Milton L. Merrill of Saint Albans and Edward Evans of Waldo were active for the Grange, and Abner W. Nichols of Augusta and Roscoe Eddy of Bar Harbor, for the State Federation of Labor, were untiring in their efforts for the cause.

During the eighteen months intervening between the adjournment of the legislative session and the date upon which the electorate was to decide whether the Initiative and Referendum should be a part of the legislative machinery of Maine, there was much to be done. Thousands of people did not understand the question submitted to them. As a general thing Republican newspapers would not give space to articles designed to discuss the matter impartially. Senator Eugene Hale, regarded as the most influential man in the Republican party, circulated throughout the state in public-document form a speech delivered by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge before the Boston Central Labor Union in which the Massachusetts Public-Opinion Bill was criticized and all legislation of that nature condemned. The corporations also circulated during the week prior to election a pamphlet which contained letters from parties in Oregon and California, also a letter by Judge William L. Putnam, denouncing the Initiative and Referendum in strong terms. The League did what it could with its limited finances to get its case before the people. Campaign speakers of both parties were asked to explain the amendment to be voted upon, and they complied to some extent, the Democrats coöperating much more in that particular than Republicans. The leading corporation lawyers of Bangor came out in a public letter of large proportions and large type urging the readers of the two leading papers of Eastern Maine to vote "No." Nearly every Republican newspaper, weekly and daily, in their issues the last week of the state campaign had editorials against the adoption of the amendment. The only paper in the state which aided the cause was the Waterville *Sentinel*, owned by Hon. Cyrus W. Davis who introduced the first Initiative and Referendum resolve in the legislature of 1903. Through the assistance of Mr. George H. Shibley of Washington and Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, the League issued an argument in support of the Initiative and Referendum and distributed about 20,000 copies of the same in public-document form, under the frank of Senator Owen.

Not a heavy vote was expected at the polls, but the amendment was adopted by a vote of 53,785 to 24,543. The whirlwind opposition at the eleventh hour increased the "No" vote to some extent and the shameful duplicity of election officers in withholding referendum ballots contributed towards keeping down the "Yes" vote. The amendment, however, received a majority vote for adoption in each of the sixteen counties.

The officers of the League have worked and sacrificed to reach the end realized. They are now confronted with the future and its problems. Having accomplished the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, it would seem cowardly to halt and break ranks when there is need for wise and conservative action under the new order of things. The most important reforms must come, and it is now possible to reach them. The League has decided to ascertain the attitude of every member-elect of the next House and Senate upon three measures: A corrupt practices act; a better ballot law; and a direct-primaries law, and to give notice that, if such legislation is not accomplished next winter at the State House, such laws will be initiated by petitions before the convening of the legislature of 1911. The referendum will be used to good advantage during the next session of the legislature, according to present indications. Whether it will be necessary to carry effected legislation to the people or not will depend upon the legislature itself. If its acts appear to be in the interests of corporations, wild-land owners and political bosses, the Grange and the labor forces will have the referendum as the means to wage a war of ballots for better citizenship.

Kingsbury B. Piper.
*Waterville, Maine.*

# WHY RACE SUICIDE WITH ADVANCING CIVILIZATION?

By Solomon Schindler.

THERE has never been an age when in the Western part of the world—which takes so great a pride in its high standard of civilization—the care of the "child" has been made so prominent a part of humanitarian or philanthropic endeavor as in our present era.

Nation, state, communality and private institutions vie with one another to secure to every child, rich or poor, its full rights and all the opportunities which society can establish by law.

The clumsy midwife has been replaced by the skilled physician and the trained nurse; maternity hospitals give to mother and child the comfort that bespeaks for the future a healthy condition for the infant. Artificial substitutes for the mother's milk are prepared in laboratories over which scientists preside. Even for the poorest child "sterilized" milk can be obtained to save it from premature death and to nurse it into health.

Hospitals for children abound; so do nurseries in which experienced attendants give to the youngsters that care which mothers, tired by their housework, cannot bestow upon them.

Then follow the kindergarten, the school, the vacation school, the playground supervised by an expert. Books and stationery are supplied free; free lunches show an entering wedge; and in many cases the school manages to give clothing to the needy. Eyes, ears, teeth, lungs, are examined in the schools, and into the homes of ignorant parents the the district nurse brings the knowledge which they lack.

Clubs of all descriptions supply the social needs of the growing-up boy or girl.

Even the criminally inclined are treated with love and consideration by the juvenile court, the probation officer and the protectory.

There are societies that see to it that parents do not cruelly maltreat their offspring. Child-labor is regulated by law and prohibited up to the age of fourteen or fifteen years. Corporal punishment has been entirely abolished in all public institutions, save the few in which refractory children receive the needed special training.

What a glorious age! What a glorious advance in civilization!

Contrast it with bygone times, or with the state of the child in Eastern countries, where absolutely nothing was done or is done for the child by the community, and where the parents, either from ignorance or on account of poverty, leave the child to grow up as best it can.

Should we, therefore, not think that in an age when the child is so well cared for, it would prosper and be seen in abundance?

Should we not surmise that when so many burdens are lifted from the shoul ders of the parents and carried by the community, large families would be the rule? But lo and behold! Just in these most civilized nations, where so much is done for the child, we find—race suicide. Neither France, nor Germany, nor England, nor America can hold their own in population; while on the other hand, in Eastern, less civilized countries, the large family is the rule, the small family the exception.

Not quite a hundred years ago European scientists and philosophers feared that the population of the world would outgrow the ability of the earth to supply the needed food for all, and they preached continence as a check against the dreaded over-population. In our day people think of schemes to check the suicidal tendencies of the race.

Plants die when they are not cared for,

when their environment militates against the forces that give them life, but they will prosper and multiply when placed in conditions that favor their existence.

How is it that children are not wanted in the very countries that do all that science, humanity and philanthropy can suggest to raise the human plant, and that they prosper and appear in large numbers where nothing is done for them and all odds are against them?

Can this question be answered?

SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

*Mattapan, Massachusetts.*

## OUR RAILROAD RIDDLE.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

ONE OF the anomalies of our present railway situation is the attitude of sullen opposition to a free and intelligent discussion of this important question, which is being manifested by the people who are loudest and most insistent in the proclamation of their conservatism. Carried away by their passions and prejudices on this subject, and in open disregard to the dictates of common business prudence, these self-styled conservatives and guardians of the business interests of the country have adopted the puerile and ludicrously ineffectual ostrich policy of refusing to face disagreeable facts. Happily, the great mass of our people not being thus handicapped, are gradually coming to recognize the imperious necessity under which we as a nation now labor, not only of working out for ourselves the most effective possible system of railroad regulation, but also of making careful preparation, by means of a commission of investigation and in other ways, for that consummation which all serious students of the subject recognize to be at least possible, and which most authorities, even when they are opposed to it theoretically, recognize as the most probable *ultimate* solution of the transportation problem, *i. e.*, public ownership and operation.

How much stronger would be the position of the government if it could say calmly to the corporations: "We hope to make a success of government regulation and ask for your loyal coöperation with our efforts in that direction, but while carrying on this important experiment, we are going to make the most searching inquiry into the whole transportation question that has ever been made, and just as soon as it becomes evident that government regulation is inefficient or even insufficient, we shall not hesitate to propose more effective action."

The more carefully and the more deeply a man has gone into the study of this question, the less apt he will be to advocate any undue hastening of the process of railway nationalization; but on the other hand, the more thorough his mastery of the subject, the more likely he will be to realize, first, that the studied ignorance of the reactionaries on this subject is quite as dangerous to the cause of social order as is the fanatical half-knowledge and ill-timed haste of some of our radicals, and, secondly, that the only cure for either or for both of these evils lies in a prompt presentation to our people of a generous diet of thoroughly authenticated facts.

Practically all serious students of this problem recognize that there exists to-day among the masses of our people a widespread and deep-seated sentiment in favor of public-ownership, which a grave economic crisis may crystalize at any time into an irresistible demand for railway nationalization. The precarious nature

of this situation has been pointed out by President Hadley of Yale, in the closing words of his well-known and eminently conservative volume on *Railroad Transportation.* He says:

"There is a strong popular feeling, to a large extent unsuspected by those in authority, in favor of government ownership of railroads as a system. No one can have much to do with the more thoughtful workingmen without finding how strong that feeling is, and what hopes are based upon it. The fact that the question is not now under discussion must not blind us to the fact that forces are at work which may prove all but revolutionary when the question actually does come under discussion. If it be true that government railroad ownership would be a most serious political misfortune for the United States, we must be prepared to meet the danger with our eyes open. Unless we are able to face it intelligently, and to show reason for our action, the widespread feeling in its favor will prove too strong for us. It may not come for many years; but the lessons of the Granger movement show plainly enough what forces will lie behind it when it does come."

That a similar state of affairs exists in Great Britain, the only other first-class power which still holds firmly to a policy of private ownership and management of its transportation facilities, is borne out by a statement which was made to the late Professor Frank Parsons not long ago by Mr. W. M. Ackworth,* the most conservative railroad authority in England, to the effect that, "nine out of ten people in Great Britain would vote for public-ownership of railroads, if the question were submitted to a vote to-morrow."

As showing the attitude of the railway interests of the country on this great question, the following editorial from the *Railway World*† is most significant:

"President W. W. Finley in his thoughtful and suggestive address before the New York Traffic Club, made one remark which we earnestly commend to the attention of railway stockholders and officials. After showing that the growth of the transportation system of the country must anticipate and further its continued economic development, and that the present tendencies of public regulation, if allowed to operate, would be to cripple private enterprise in the railway field, President Finley said: 'I do not believe that the sentiment of the majority of the people of the United States is favorable to government-ownership, nor do I believe that Congress and our state legislatures are consciously moving in that direction, but I do believe that if some of the more extreme legislation already enacted is supplemented along the lines now proposed the ultimate result must be to break down the system of private ownership.'

"We hope that President Finley in some subsequent address will enlarge on this subject. Government ownership of railroads, long regarded as a dream of the impractical radical, is rapidly looming into view as an impending change, far-reaching and fundamental in the structure of our economic life. *Government ownership of railroads is the inevitable consequence of the present system of regulation,* which is developing, as President Finley says, into a scheme of irresponsible public management by boards and commissions which will 'practically leave little to the owners of the property but the privilege of providing the capital necessary for construction and operation, and liability for heavy damages and attorneys' fees in every case of failure to maintain the required standard of service, and for penalties in amounts which might easily absorb a very large proportion of the gross earnings of a company rendering the most efficient service in its power.'

"We seriously question whether public-ownership would not be better than the system of public regulation which Presi-

**The Railways, the Trusts and the People,* by Professor Frank Parsons, p. 289.

†March 13, 1908.

dent Finley so graphically describes. True, it would seriously impair the efficiency of our transportation system, perhaps to the extent of forcing a large amount of traffic onto the otherwise to be neglected rivers and canals; it would also make the railway policies of the country the subjects of political controversy. . . .

"There is, however, another side to the picture. Under government-ownership, the stockholders and creditors of the railroads would exchange their holdings for government bonds and they would be sufficiently influential to protect themselves from any serious injustice in the terms of exchange. They would then turn over the management of the railroads to the government officials, freeing their long-endangered capital for entrance into safer lines of employment and leaving the country to struggle with a set of 'problems' far more serious and difficult than even the tariff and the currency questions.

"Why should the owners of American railway companies resist the trend toward government-ownership? They will suffer no damage in the transfer. The courts can be relied on to protect their rights. They will be freed from further worry and annoyance. To them at least, if not to the shipper, the change will come like a cool and refreshing shower at the close of a hot and sultry day. We recommend to the attention of railway owners the careful consideration of this matter. We would even go so far as to suggest that they become active in support (of the public) of the public-ownership propaganda, and meanwhile that they refrain from further investment in railway development. Even if their advocacy of the strange doctrines of Socialism may not succeed, their refusal to invest further in a business which they are not allowed to control may furnish a needed object lesson to the advocates of railway regulation."

In harmony with the above statement is a declaration by a former secretary of state, Mr. Richard Olney, in a letter to the New York *World*, to the effect that,*

"Democrats, it is urged, should not vote for Bryan because he has declared for government-ownership of railroads if government regulation proves a failure as he thinks it will. This declaration, wholly unnecessary and from the viewpoint of his political fortunes decidedly detrimental, has the redeeming feature of demonstrating that Bryan at least has the courage of his convictions. With this position of Bryan—which is certainly open and square—compare the position of the Roosevelt and Taft combination. It professes hostility to government-ownership of railroads. Yet, notwithstanding its professions, it is at the same time doing the things and advocating the things which lead straight to government-ownership and, indeed, make it inevitable. But when a government gets so far as to dictate the prices a corporation may charge for what it sells and to fix the capital it may invest in its business and prescribe the securities by which that capital is to be raised, government-ownership has in effect arrived. Private owners in such a case, on the most elementary principles of justice, are entitled to insist that government shall relieve them of the risks of the business and assume them itself—that is, shall take over and pay for property in respect of which government has deprived them of the essential elements of ownership.

"The situation, then, is this: As matter of theory, Bryan favors government-ownership of railroads upon the anticipated failure of government regulation. As matter of practice, Roosevelt and his disciple, Taft, are favoring a kind and degree of government regulation of railroads which makes government-ownership of railroads both logical and imperative.

"The situation to be anticipated, then, is that railroads, private properties and representing private investments aggregating billions of dollars will find themselves controlled in the vital matter of their charges by two public boards—one

**North American Review*, November, 1905.

representative of local interests and the other of national interests, and both antagonistic to the interests of the private owners concerned. The two boards will aim at the lowest possible rates, each in behalf of the particular business under its charge, and will therefore be in constant rivalry with each other in the endeavor to extort from the carrier the best service at the smallest cost. Under these conditions anything like just, skilful, reasonable or stable rate-making becomes impossible. A situation is created intolerable to the carriers and the public, and the sure outcome—unless the whole scheme of government rate-making is abandoned—is government-ownership."

The attitude of another important category of men, which includes Mr. Roosevelt, was expressed by Senator Lodge in a letter to the Boston *Herald** in response to Mr. Olney's famous open letter in support of Mr. Bryan.

"Mr. Olney is opposed to the President and to Mr. Taft because he says that their policy of regulating great interstate corporations leads to government-ownership. The curse of government-ownership may be forced upon us, but the only way in which its coming can be arrested is by government regulation. The people of the United States, without regard to party, will no longer suffer great interstate corporations to go uncontrolled, and will no longer endure the efforts of those corporations, very often corrupt efforts, to manage and direct the Congress and the administration. If the people cannot have what they believe to be a proper governmental regulation and supervision, they will take possession of the corporations themselves. It is Mr. Roosevelt's policy which Mr. Taft will carry out, which has thus far prevented government-ownership, and which, in my judgment, will continue to prevent it."

The same idea was more briefly and more forcibly stated by Senator Clay of Georgia in a speech in the United States Senate on January 22, 1906. He said:

"Let me say to you now that public sentiment in favor of government-ownership is growing every day. I am not in favor of it, but unless you check it by government regulation you will watch it grow and continue to grow."

Differing as they do on other matters, all of the gentlemen above quoted are in complete agreement in their belief, that, unless the railroad question is handled in a satisfactory way government-ownership is imminent. But interesting as is this striking and authoritative prognostication, it is not the most important fact to be noted in connection with the present railroad situation in the United States. Whatever weight we may or may not give to the opinions of these railway specialists and statesmen, the facts of the case which are absolutely beyond dispute are these. During over half a century the American people carried on a thorough-going experiment which resulted in furnishing them with a complete demonstration of the unsatisfactory nature of a transportation system run in accordance with the principle of *laisser faire*, or no regulation. On awakening to a realization of the decisive nature of this demonstration they at once set about trying to work out an efficient and satisfactory system of governmental regulation. It is this plan which we are now in process of perfecting, and hope soon to bring to the highest attainable state of efficiency. Whether or not our system of regulation, even at its best, will prove to be permanently satisfactory, is an open question. If it does so prove, the American people will be able to congratulate themselves upon having succeeded in doing something which no other nation has yet done; and if it does not, they will know that they have worked their way one step nearer to a solution than they were before. For in accordance with the simple process of mathematical elimination if we fail in our effort to work out a satisfactory system of regulation it necessarily follows that our only remaining alternative will be the plan of government-ownership. It thus becomes

*September 30, 1908.

perfectly clear that, not by force of any legislative enactment or judicial decree which can be reversed or set aside by a higher court, but in accordance with the resistless trend of events over which neither politicians nor magnates nor judges have any control, the railroads of the country to-day are being operated under a suspended sentence of nationalization.

DANGER OF SUDDEN NATIONALIZATION.

As an indication of how rapidly and unexpectedly such a change can be brought about when events begin to shape themselves the right way, take the case of the taking over of the Prussian railroads by the state. Early in the year 1879 a proposition in favor of state purchase was introduced into the Prussian Landtag which, after a long discussion, was rejected by a vote which was unanimous with the exception of one vote. But *less than six months after this decisive victory*, a new election having taken place and the voters having expressed themselves in favor of state railways by electing to the Landtag a strong majority in their favor, a measure was carried by a vote of 226 against 155 providing for the purchase of about 3,000 kilometers (or 1771 miles) of railroad. This measure also passed the Upper House before the end of the year, and thus suddenly and decisively was Prussia committed to a program of state railway purchase.

For another and more recent illustration of the rapid and sometimes inexplicable way in which public opinion veers from one side to another on this question, take the case of Italy. On the eighteenth of May, 1903, a royal Italian commission, following closely in the footsteps of the more famous commission of 1878, brought in a report favorable to a continuation of private management of the Italian railroads. In the parliamentary debate on June 3d, which followed the publication of this report, it was made very apparent that the Zanardelli government and a majority of the Chamber of Deputies were in entire agreement with the recommendations of the commission—while the minority favoring government-ownership was made up chiefly of Socialists and a few railway specialists, together with the small followings they could command. On the twenty-eighth of the same month, the united Chambers of Commerce of Italy issued a declaration in which they took their stand squarely with the commission and the government in favor of a continuation of the existing *régime* of company management. The unanimity of opinion among the "better elements of society" was thus practically complete—and yet within a little less than two years, on the twenty-second of April, 1905, a bill passed the Lower House almost without discussion providing for the future management of nearly all the Italian railroads by the government after June 30th of that year. What is almost as strange as this incident is the fact that on talking with representative business men and statesmen of the different political parties in Italy to-day, one is surprised to find that scarcely any one, except a few interested financiers and their adherents, is any longer in favor of private railroads. It would be hard to imagine a more rapid or a more complete revolution in public opinion.

Perhaps the most extraordinary part of this whole affair is the fact that this revolution was caused not by agitators but by events. Theories are fragile affairs when they come into conflict with facts, and while most Italian public men were believers in the orthodox theory of political economy, and consequently were partisans of private railway management, unfortunately for them their theories came into conflict with a particularly awkward fact which for many years had been looming ominously on the Italian political horizon. It had been denied by political tricksters; it had been distorted by a purchasable press; it had been most carefully and curiously explained by learned professors of political economy, and it had even been whitewashed by

two royal commissions. In the end, however, the ugly naked truth had to be recognized, that the Italian *régime* of private railroad management had been a dismal failure. In the face of this ponderous and intensely disagreeable fact, orthodox *laisser-faire* economic theories cut so sorry a figure, that for a time they were very generally retired from circulation, and the principle of government ownership and management of railways was again firmly established in the Kingdom of Italy.

As a result, however, of this *sudden* leap from a private to a public system of railroad management, the inadequate, slow and expensive railway service, which for two decades the companies had been palming off on a long-suffering public, suddenly manifested a tendency to grow worse rather than better. This intensely unsatisfactory condition of affairs reached its climax with the arrival of the autumn season of crop transportation, about three months after the government had taken possession of the roads. The car famine which set in at this stage of the proceedings tied the whole industrial and commercial life of the country into a tight knot. A correspondent of the London *Times*, in a special article on the subject, in a statement which contains perhaps as much truth as exaggeration, said:*

"In the first place, there are not enough cars; secondly, there are not enough locomotives to draw the cars at their disposal; thirdly, there are not enough platforms on which to load the trains for which there are locomotives; fourthly, there are not enough freight depots in which to store the goods when they are unloaded; and fifthly, there are not enough sidetracks to hold the trains which are waiting to be unloaded."

This acute crisis was succeeded by a return of the chronic state of uncertainty and delay in the forwarding of goods which had prevailed under company management, and which even up to the present time, has not been entirely got rid of. To be sure, practically all dispassionate students of the subject are agreed that the Italian government is gradually solving the many almost insoluble problems which the corporation railways left behind as a vicious inheritance of their disastrous *régime* of railroad mismanagement; but at the same time, if the Italian government before taking possession of the roads, had only had the foresight and the common business prudence to perfect the necessary preliminary arrangements, not only for the creation of an efficient administrative organization, but also for a thorough rehabilitation of the entire railway system, the difficulties of the situation could have been met and disposed of one by one as they rose, and there need have developed no such period of industrial confusion as that which followed the inauguration of the new state *régime*.

A careful first-hand study of European railroads has convinced me, first, that *in Europe* state railroads furnish better transportation facilities and charge lower rates than do private companies; secondly, that in connection with European state railroad management there exists nothing in the nature of a "spoils system" to prevent them from securing the best available officials and employés; thirdly, that graft and corruption are very much *less* frequent in connection with state railways than with private ones; and lastly, that the state railways, instead of being troubled with deficits which have to be made up from the hard-earned shekels of the taxpayer, in a large majority of cases they have made an entirely satisfactory financial showing and in some cases, notably that of Prussia, have lightened the burden of the taxpayer to the extent of between one and two hundred million dollars a year.

These strikingly significant facts are absolutely incontrovertible, and are recognized as such by a large majority of the world's most celebrated and reliable railroad authorities.

One very frequently hears urged as an objection to government-ownership of

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railroads, the fact that the percentage of railway earnings which is absorbed in working expenses is bound to be larger under governmental than under private management. This seems to me to be not only undeniable but self-evident. Clearly a road cannot raise wages, shorten hours of labor, improve the service it renders and lower the remuneration it demands for that service, without noticeably increasing the percentage of its earnings which must go for working expenses. This objection to government roads is only another way of stating the most important argument which can be mentioned in their favor, *i. e.*, that the aim of state roads is essentially different from that of private ones. Private roads have but one supreme object in view—profits, though their managers recognize that in order to gain these profits they must furnish the public with a service that is not too unsatisfactory. Government roads likewise have but one supreme object in view—the public service, and their managers are forced to recognize that in order to make that service permanently satisfactory and increasingly efficient they must assure themselves a reasonable remuneration. In other words, to sum up the whole matter in a nutshell, the corporations charge all that the traffic will bear, whereas the government gives all that the rates demanded can be made to pay for.

A recognition of this important distinction does not, however, remove the objection which in some cases is only too valid, that most government railways are not managed at as high a state of economic efficiency as the best private ones. Recent developments in the form of organization adopted for their state railway administrations by Switzerland, Italy and France tend to indicate that even this last and most valid of all objections that can be urged against state railroad management is gradually being done away with, and that in the future we may expect as high, if not a higher, standard of industrial efficiency on the part of an autonomous state railway administration as on the part of a transportation system managed from Wall street, in the interest not of the public, nor yet of the stockholder, but of the stock manipulator, almost hysterically absorbed in his utterly indefensible schemes of predatory finance. But even though it were granted for the sake of argument that the capital, brains and brawn employed in running a given railroad could be shown to be slightly more productive economically under private than under public management, that isolated fact could not be considered a very conclusive argument in favor of private ownership. It would simply go to show that private roads *could* give lower rates, better service, shorter hours of labor and higher wages than government roads, but that they *will not*, that they insist on reaping for themselves all the benefits of their "economic superiority." The chief benefit the public gets from this "economic superiority" is in the way of "general prosperity," the "increase in the national wealth," which so far frequently has taken the form of an increase in the wealth or the number of those millionaires, who, particularly in America, corrupt our voters, prostitute our press, purchase our legislators and befoul the whole world of finance—until it has become apparent that this colossal and irresponsible wealth in the hands of marvelously intelligent and entirely unscrupulous men is not so much a national blessing as a national menace.

Moreover, all the authorities are in practical agreement in saying that, to the solid business and industrial interests of the country, far more important than all other considerations are: first, stable rates so that business men can plan ahead and make contracts without fear of a rise in rates forcing them to fulfil their contracts at a loss; and, secondly, the same rates for everybody, the total abolition of the rebates, and other forms of discrimination which build up individuals, companies, cities or section of the country—to the ruin of their less favored com-

petitors. The power of certain men to change rates arbitrarily, to give special rates to friends or business allies, and to refuse such rates and at critical periods even to refuse cars to competitors, injects an element of uncertainty into the business world, that is like a poison in the blood. This arbitrary power makes business success dependent not as much on industry, will-power, insight and organizing ability, as on the slimy capacities for intrigue and corrupt Machiavellian ability to pull wires and make dishonest deals for the purpose of spoiling alike competitors and the public. The business world under these conditions becomes not an open field where merit wins, but a baleful and bewildering arena where conspirators struggle in the dark and where, as often as not, merit goes down from a knife-thrust in the back.

Therefore the *supreme* advantage of government roads consists not in the lowering of rates, the amelioration of the conditions of labor or service, etc., but in the emancipation of the people, rich and poor alike, from their economic subjection to the irresponsible power of railway magnates. It is not only incredible but quite impossible that a people which has achieved its political freedom should long consent to this insolent and intolerable form of industrial tyranny. The only possible question is as to the respective advantages of government *control* and government *ownership*.

For some years we, the American people, have been engaged in an experiment with government control of private railways, an experiment which has never yet proved permanently satisfactory in any country in the world, which, in fact, has been given up by one country after another in favor of the simpler plan of government ownership and management. If our railroad magnates had foresight and common sense "but as a grain of mustard-seed," they would do their utmost to coöperate with the government in making that control satisfactory to the American people as long as possible, for the moment it becomes apparent that this control is a failure—that moment ultimate government-ownership in America is assured, and its coming is as certain as the movements of the tides.

At such a psychological crisis it would be useless to repeat the threadbare assertion which so long has served as a substitute for sound argument, that "however it might be elsewhere, government roads in America would prove a costly luxury." The people would simply reply, "So be it! If only government roads can give us economic freedom from railroad tyranny, then are they a 'luxury' that is infinitely desirable, a 'luxury' that not only every nation can afford, but that no self-respecting nation can afford to be without, a 'luxury' as necessary as are the police that insure our domestic tranquility or the army and navy that guard us against external aggression." When liberty, either political or industrial, is at stake, nations do not haggle about the price. Cost what it may, in time, in money or even in blood, a virile people can always afford to be free.

Carl S. Vrooman.

*Cotuit, Massachusetts.*

# THE PASSING OF THE WIDOW IN HINDOSTAN.

By Saint Nihal Sing.

POONA CITY is the headquarters of the exclusive, blue-veined, Marhatta Brahmins, proud of their military prowess and of their social standing. It is the stronghold of caste and conservatism. Hoary tradition regulates the life of the people, ruthlessly crushing all individuality and sternly punishing the least deflection from approved courses of conduct. In point of reaction, no other town in India comes up to the city of Poona.

A strange irony of fate has rendered Poona the center of a movement that has for its aim the uplift of East-Indian womanhood. During the last ten years the Poona man's attitude toward woman has undergone a phenomenal change. As a consequence the male mind is closing its obsession of sex superiority and is more and more coming into the realization that the mothers and wives of the nation form the keystone of national well-being and that on their proper bringing up and education depends the future of the people. Pious people have established a widow's home, which is the best of its kind in India.

Away from the hurly-burly and hum of of the hives of the city, and yet not too close to the illiterate country rustics, the Poona Widow's Home provides for its students all the advantages of quietude and God's good open air, with the blue sky above and the lures of nature all about. The avowed purpose of the association is to provide an education for young widows belonging to castes that will not tolerate remarriage. The effort is made to enable them to earn an independent livelihood and at the same time cultivate their minds esthetically. The pupil is allowed to remain in the home for a limited number of years while she is receiving instruction. After that she is permitted to go into the world and rely upon her own unaided efforts, unless she elects to devote her entire life to the work of the Home. One of the ideas of the institution is to create and maintain an order of Hindu sisters of charity and mercy.

The Hindu Widow's Home Association of Poona was officially born on June 14, 1896. The association did not attempt to open an independent home at once, but utilized institutions already started, while they collected the sinews of war. The few widows who first applied for help were lodged, fed and educated at the Government Girls' High School and the Female Training College. During the following two years a little over $3,000 were collected and the people interested in the fledgling institution advanced a rung up the ladder of success and placed the Widow's Home on a legal footing. In January, 1899, a house was rented in Poona City. For the first time the Home found itself running on an independent basis, with two widows as its inmates and Mr. and Mrs. D. K. Karve as conductors and teachers. Ten other widows under the care of the association were being educated at the two government institutions, but it was not thought advisable to interfere with their instruction and they were not taken into the new Home but were left where they were. A year from the time the Home was started in rented quarters in Poona, a generous sympathizer with the movement for the uplift of the widows gave seven acres of land to the association, a temporary building was erected and the Home was removed to it. One permanent building after another was put up and now the value of the property of the Home is estimated at about $12,000.

Almost without exception the widow-students are very poor, and the entire burden of maintaining them falls upon the institution, but in a few instances

their guardians pay all or part of their expenses. Some of the widows have been permitted to bring their little daughters to the Home with them. While the institution is primarily intended for the education of widows, still a few unmarried girls have from the beginning been allowed to take advantage of it, with the understanding that, at any time the number of widow applicants is large enough to demand the full attention of the school, non-widows will have to retire in favor of their less fortunate sisters. In 1907, 57 widows and 9 married and unmarried girls attended the institution. The pupils varied in age from 6 to 25 years.

Every girl in the Home, whether she be of high or low descent, is compelled to share in the domestic work of the institution. The work is so planned that grinding, pounding or other hard labor shall not extend over half an hour, the time being gauged according to the physical strength of the pupil. Domestic occupations are not, under any circumstances, allowed to take up more than an hour and a half of the day. Girls from well-to-do, high-caste families sometimes show a disposition at first to rebel against doing manual work, but the example set by the teachers, who unhesitatingly engage in every sort of work, soon persuades them to accomplish their tasks without grumbling. The pupils are carefully instructed in cooking, and every one of them is taught to cook and serve meals for at least six people.

Life is full of labor at the Poona Widows' Home. There are no idle hands in the institution ready for mischief. From early morning until late at night, the girls are busy at their tasks, learning to be self-supporting and independent instead of slaves and objects of charity. The older pupils rise between half-past five and six o'clock in the morning. The younger ones are allowed to sleep until six or half-past six. They immediately engage in light household work, take their daily bath and wash their clothes. Then the girls spend a few quiet moments in worship and prayer. This done, they prepare their lessons for the day, until the dinner-bell rings at ten o'clock. The older ones do not eat before this time, but the younger pupils are given a slight breakfast or a cup of milk in the morning. At eleven o'clock the school work proper begins, lasting until a quarter-past four in the afternoon, with a half-hour recess for "tiffin"—luncheon.

Religion is given a prominent place among the studies of the Home. A specified time is spent each day in the recitation and explanation of the Hindu scriptures, both in English and the vernacular.

After school is dismissed in the afternoon, the girls find time for a short ramble in the open air, and for necessary household work. The supper-bell rings at 7.30 P. M. The children of the Home retire at nine o'clock, after singing moral and religious songs. It is the custom of the older students to gather in the Gita-Mindar—a chapel or room for religious worship, fitted up and donated by a friend of the institution—singing devotional hymns, listening to readings from ancient theological and ethical books. At 9.30 the reading is finished, and by ten o'clock every one is supposed to be snugly settled in bed.

No attempt is made to follow any regular educational standard in the Home. The pupils are treated as individuals and the work given each one of them is based upon the pupil's intelligence and capacity to learn. Three languages are taught in the Home—English, Sanskrit and Marhati, the local vernacular. The instruction must, of necessity, be simple. For the most part the tiny widows are absolutely illiterate—for only one woman out of 146 in India is able to read and write. The first year, and perhaps more, is spent in learning the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic. Later the pupil receives instruction in history, geography, poetry and grammar. The girls depending entirely upon the Home for their maintenance, as a rule are given the "Training College course" in order that

they may qualify as teachers. In addition, if they are intelligent enough, they are taught English. Students whose expenses are paid by their guardians are permitted to choose between the Training College course and the English course.

Always the proof of the pudding lies in the eating. The good results achieved by the institution can best be gauged by the work of the students. The Home is only eight years old, and started in a most modest manner. It took in hand absolutely raw material, girls who, beyond their native intelligence, were quite uneducated. At the close of 1907 six of the inmates were in the Female Training College. Four of these girls appeared for the final examination this year and one will finish the course next year. Three one-time pupils of the Poona Widows' Home are studying at the Female High School. Two went last year to the Victoria Zenana Hospital at Delhi to qualify as nurses and midwives, and one more joined them this year. Four others are taking a similar course in the new hospital for women at Indore. Three pupils left the Home last year to study for the High School examination and six for the English Sixth Standard. It is declared that at least 25 of the present inmates of the Home would be able, if necessary, to act as assistant teachers in girls' schools. Two pupils, Kumari Gangubai Gode and Shrimati Mathubai UchGookar, last year figured in the list of successful candidates at the High-School examination. The latter finished her course in five years and a half from the time she first began to learn English.

The Home provides an industrial education as well as teaching book knowledge. The young widows are given two lessons a week in sewing, with a regular tailor as their instructor, and all the clothes required for common use in the institution, as well as some garments for sale, are made by them. A number of young widows have become adepts in the use of the sewing-machine. A knitting-machine was installed in the Home a couple of years ago and two of the girls have learned to knit socks. Three students were sent to a regular knitting establishment in the city, for a month, to learn the "tricks of the trade," and later two others were sent to the same place to spend a year or more perfecting themselves in this industry. Two girls were sent to Maheswar to learn the art of weaving on hand looms. As soon as they have mastered the business they will return to the Home to teach the pupils there this fascinating work.

The people at the head of the Home realize that "all work and no play" dulls the wits of Jill, just as much as it "makes Jack a dull boy," and they provide innocent, healthy amusement for their charges. Always, before the inmates disperse for their summer vacation, they are taken out for a picnic excursion. Last year, for instance, they were taken to Hedapsar, near Poona, to visit the paper mill. From there they repaired to the Karla caves. They remained over night in a village at the foot of the hill and spent seven or eight hours in the caves, before being sent to their homes.

A small band of women known as "Lady life-workers" does the work connected with the successful maintenance of the Home. Until January, 1903, Mr. and Mrs. Karve worked alone. Then they were joined by Mrs. Parvatibai Athavale, who pledged her entire life to the welfare of the institution, *without pay*. She held a first-class certificate from the Female Training College, Poona, and had to secure special permission of the government to join the force of workers at the Widows' Home. She was joined a year later by Mrs. Banubai Deshpande, and a few months later by two more, Mrs. Nam Joshi and Mrs. Devdhar, under-graduates of the local and Madras universities. Several other women, less highly educated but useful in teaching lower classes and overlooking the domestic affairs of the Home, assist them. The women are helped in the teaching work by half a

dozen male teachers who live on the premises.

The membership of the Hindu Widows' Home Association consists of "Patrons," "Sympathizers," and "Well-Wishers." The Patrons are those who contribute $167 or upwards in one gift, or annually give $16 to the institution. The "Sympathizers" are those who give $33 in a lump sum or $3 annually, while those who give $3 at one time or 33 cents (one rupee) each year are known as "Well-Wishers." A managing committee of 12 members supervises the affairs of the association. Six of them are elected by "Patrons," four by "Sympathizers" and two by "Well-Wishers." Besides the managing committee, a ladies' committee looks after the domestic welfare of the Home. An auditor examines the accounts and two trustees hold the property of the association in trust. The Home is constantly struggling for existence, and the "Lady Life-workers" are traveling most of the time soliciting funds to keep its head above the financial waters.

In the past the widow has not been a personage of interest to any one in particular. She has been a sort of dumb beast, suffering hunger and inclemency and abuse—bearing it patiently because there was no ray of hope to color the gray of her dawn with rose-mist. Therefore the Poona Widows' Home has had an uphill pull of it because its work was unpopular—even unorthodox. But it has plodded stolidly along, making slow progress, but refusing to give up the struggle for existence. While the number of widows who have been rendered self-supporting is small, still it is a sign-post pointing to liberty and happiness for that erstwhile hapless human—the Hindu widow.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

*Cambridge, Illinois.*

## AMERICAN JOURNALISM.

BY WILLIAM SALISBURY

OF ALL businesses, professions or trades, it is most difficult to generalize about American journalism. In its many phases, journalism partakes at times of the nature of almost every calling. It can, and it sometimes does, do the noblest work in the world. And it can, and not infrequently does, do the basest.

But here I am in danger of generalizing, when that is the thing I must particularly avoid. For in writing of American journalism I am in some degree writing of the whole American people, and their customs, laws and history.

There are as many kinds of newspapers as there are kinds of people in the United States. But I fear there are not proportionately as many good newspapers as there are good people. The reason is that journalism has ceased to be a profession, granting that it ever was such, and has become a trade, or more of a trade than it ever was—a trade that is in many ways, in many instances, an unclean trade. And a vocation that has been degraded does not attract the workers it should attract, and its product becomes debased.

"But who are you to deliver such opinions?" I can fancy "journalists" asking. "What do you know about it?"

I spent more than nine years on as many different newspapers in five American cities, writing upon or about almost every conceivable subject, and did some foreign correspondence for newspapers and magazines. But if I had spent ninety-nine years on as many papers in as many

cities there would still be those in journalism to say, "Oh, well, he had little or no experience in *this* town, or he never worked on *this* paper, so he can't know much about newspapers." But I am not writing for such as these.

Or, those who have read my book, *The Career of a Journalist*, may cry "Faker and hanger-on! Your own book proves you to have been both. Your opinions don't count."

But I have shown that the highest-salaried newspaper man in the United States to-day is a faker; also that the most famous of all American newspaper correspondents, Henry M. Stanley, was probably a faker. And there are plenty of others I could mention, but do not because their individual names would mean nothing to the public, and it would be casting needless discredit upon those who must still work for newspaper salaries. I admit, too, that I was a hanger-on. I hung on for over nine years. In the last four of those years I was at no time discharged, but the danger of discharge was always hanging over me. This danger would have become a certainty at any time had I refused to write or edit news or opinions as desired by the papers' owners.

That is the tragedy of American journalism. Individuality is suppressed, stifled by the rude hands of the owners, or of those whom they place in the chief editorial positions. This is generalizing again, but this time it applies generally. The exceptions are few. Not including dramatic and musical critics, who, on a number of prominent dailies, are in a class by themselves, I can think of but two men in the United States entitled to be called "journalists"—men who are regularly allowed to write their own opinions and whose opinions are worthy of consideration because of the individualities behind them. These men are Colonel Henry Watterson of Louisville and America, and Mr. Walter Wellman, Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Record-Herald*. There are many other gentlemen and scholars in American journalism. But they cannot express themselves, they cannot give the best of themselves to the trade which their profession has become. And, like many who have gone before, they have either become hardened cynics and pessimists, or are looking forward to the time when they can leave journalism for something that gives better monetary rewards, or more self-respect, or both.

A young reporter in New York, just out of college, asked his city editor for his idea of the ethics of journalism. "The ethics of journalism!" repeated the editor. "Hell, there are no ethics in journalism." And he assigned the reporter to write an attack upon the character of the owner of a rival paper, whose political aspirations the owners of the first paper feared would conflict with their vested interests.

No matter how young the reporter, no matter how little he knows, or cares, about the right or wrong of a political or other subject, he may be called upon at any time to write things involving the reputation of any one from ditch-digger to President. He is allowed the freest expression, not of his own, but of his owners' opinions. He may even reflect upon the sanity of a President whose policies affect the business of his employers, as articles in the New York *Sun* and *Times* recently did. His only restraints are loose libel laws, and the interests of those who pay his salary.

Every political campaign sees let loose, like packs of well-trained hounds unleashed for the chase, crowds of newspaper writers who seize upon and rend the reputation, political, social or moral, of whomever they are told to attack. They do not sign their names to news articles or to editorials. So far as the public knows, the blows are all struck from the dark, or from behind the mask of journalistic zeal for public welfare. The chief aim of these Hessians of the press is to serve their masters well. They know that to refuse to strike when ordered would mean instant decapitation without even the benefit of court-martial.

Often such writers do not realize what they are, or only occasionally and vaguely realize. There is a glamour about writing for the daily press that none but those who have written for it can fully understand. The rapid march of events, the great procession of things he must think about in a day, the kaleidoscopic whirl of life that is always passing before his vision, and which he must try to understand and reflect at once for a vast number of people—all this, together with the ever-present example of workers about him, bewilders the newspaper man's judgment, and makes him less unwilling to accept rules of action laid down by others, and to write and even think as directed.

Yet the average of personal integrity among newspaper writers is surprisingly high, when one considers the really degrading work they often have to do, and the temptations they encounter. I think there are proportionately more honest newspaper men than there are honest lawyers. And while there are few newspapers whose main reason for existence is the defense of corporations, the chief aim of most lawyers seems to be to serve corporations, good or bad, or any other well-paying client, good or bad. Without the aid of some newspapers many law-defying trusts would find it hard to endure. Without clever and unscrupulous counsel they never could have existed. And many of the journalists I know would prefer to work for honest rather than for dishonest papers, even for smaller salaries.

Doubtless if a law were passed providing that every published attack or reflection upon the character of any person should be signed by the writer, there would be much less of this sort of thing. With an added sense of responsibility would come increased self-respect. Doubtless, also, if the names of all the stockholders—and bondholders—of every newspaper had to be printed in its every issue, many of such attacks would have less effect. And if, for instance, the public were not allowed to forget just whose newspapers printed editorials defending the shameful neglect of District-Attorney Jerome to prosecute the millionaire insurance and traction thieves, less weight would attach to the views expressed in Mr. Pierpont Morgan's *Sun* Mr. George W. Perkins' *Evening Mail*, Messrs. Ryan and Belmont's *Times*, and I know not whose *Globe* and *Evening Post*. The so-called "conservative" papers often seem a more serious menace to republican institutions than even the most sensational sheets.

Also, if the names of stock and bondholders were kept standing on all editorial pages, the public could more easily understand just what was meant when "what the press thinks" upon any subject was talked about. "What the press thinks" may mean almost anything, but it means more than aught else what the commercial persons who own most of the papers find it to their advantage, or not to their disadvantage, to have expressed. These persons, whose ideals are of the market-place, whose newspapers are managed on department-store principles, whose editorial writers are generally overworked and underpaid, simply order such and such an opinion to be written upon a given subject—and it is written.

These newspaper owners, each a despot in his own office, and a power in his community mainly because of the loosest libel laws in the world, coin into huge profits the crime, the scandal, the disasters, the political and other troubles, the sports and amusements, even the religious aspirations of the people. They pay the employés in their various departments as little as they may. Editorial and reportorial workers are not allowed to join labor unions, and the employer, reducing expenses along the line of least resistance, generally pays them what he will, or what competition forces him to pay. And competition is done away with in not a few cities by the organization of newspaper publishers' associations with secret agreements governing

the employment, discharge and blacklisting of workers. In Chicago the rule is that whenever an employé seeks to change from one paper to another, his employers are at once notified by telephone as soon as he leaves the office to which he has applied.

Any reporter and, in many offices, any editor may be discharged without notice. There is no general standard of conduct, of intelligence, of morals, of integrity. Each office is a law unto itself, a petty despotism whose rules and whose subordinates may all be changed at the whim of the chief power. I have known reporters and editors to be discharged for disagreeing with a superior about the meaning of a word; for indulging in mild profanity over a refractory typewriter—milder even than the chief's profanity; for having a luxuriant head of hair while the superior had none; for not laughing at a superior's jokes. Of course, these were not the reasons given, but they were the real reasons.

I have known editors in "high" executive positions who were trained in strange schools for journalism. One had managed a drug store, another raised lemons in California, a third was an insurance solicitor, a fourth had sold typewriters, a fifth was an able seaman on an Arctic whaler. The managing editor of a Republican morning paper in Kansas City, the owners of which are the railroads of Kansas, was a few years ago a country storekeeper. The present head of a department of one of the largest and most respected papers in New York was not long since in the business of making soda-fountains. These men may all have been competent to edit ideal newspapers, but the chances are that they were not at the time of their appointment, and are not now, and never will be. That "a little learning is a dangerous thing" does not apply in journalism; at least, the danger does not seem to menace the editors themselves. Then they have a way of appearing wise that is not suspected by ordinary mortals. Like Bacon, they have made all knowledge their province. The only difference between Bacon's method and theirs is that he carried his knowledge in his head; they keep theirs in reference books and encyclopedias with which they are constantly surrounded.

It is often said that most successful newspaper men are not college graduates. I used to think this reflected upon college men. I understand better now. Men are more apt to acquire ideals in colleges than out of them. It is almost impossible for a young man of even ordinarily good character and of even average understanding to come into contact with as much of the great thought of the world as he must meet with in a college course, and not have his ideals raised above the level of the market-place. The glittering mask of a disguised trade may deceive him for a time, but his superior vision will penetrate it soon or late, and his superior mind will rise above it.

"Why," I asked a veteran editor who had survived the old school, "do the big papers, with one exception, no longer have Washington correspondents who sign their articles?"

"Because," he said, "they would have to pay higher salaries to men with names of importance." He was still in journalism, or he might have added, "and such men could not be induced to sign all of the articles that the papers would want them to write." It was Alfred Henry Lewis, for years a Washington correspondent, who first called the press gallery the "press galley."

In a business in which the chief aim of of the employers is profit-making it is not likely that ideals can remain high. The kind of news and editorials that about ninety-nine per cent. of the workers must write at times, if not all the time, is the kind meant to attract the largest number of subscribers and the greatest amount of advertising. This state of things, I admit, may be, and often is, more the result of evolution than of chosen policy. But it is this which makes journalism in in America a trade, and has even begun

seriously to affect British newspaperdom.

The character of the age in which we live may partly explain this. This is the age of commerce, the age of the machine, the get-rich-quick age, the age in which most "successful" men are self-made, and all are quickly made, and few are well made; the age in which brains are preferred to intellect—when we live for the body more than for the mind—when we want our mental food in tabloid form, and our bodily food in twenty-nine courses—when it is more important to know the meaning of *paté de fois gras* than of *belles lettres*—when the automobile outdistances Pegasus as a motor-car romance does the "Iliad."

Journalism naturally partakes of much of the nature of the age. Besides, newspapers are, first of all, things of commerce, they are traded in as are mines, factories and stores, and, as a rule, they produce the kind of wares for which there is the largest demand. Their employés must direct their efforts accordingly.

The "conservative" papers in New York city, with the exception of the *Tribune* in the morning, and one paper in the evening field, printed about as much of Prince Helie de Sagan's spectacular courtship of Anna Gould as did the most "yellow" papers. And they generally have their full share of all crime and scandal news, although they use smaller headlines and fewer pictures. One of my friends on a most respectable journal confided to me that Prince Helie was "meat" for the reporters. He said they could quote him as saying almost anything, and that as he spoke English poorly, and was something of a fool, anyhow, his denials, when he took the trouble to make any, had no weight.

I patronize a most intelligent Italian barber who is studying medicine. He reads the New York *Times*. He complained to me recently that his race was badly misrepresented by a sensational story on its first page. It was about a threatened lynching narrowly averted among the Italians of Brooklyn. "The papers all said that a terrible crime had been attempted, and that a crowd had a rope ready to string up the suspected man to a bridge or a telegraph pole. Why," he protested, "I was there, and I know there was no rope. There was only a mild excitement at the most, as the man's offense was not half so bad as the papers said."

He could not understand why such an exaggerated account was printed. The reason was that the reporters for both "yellow" and "conservative" papers got together and agreed upon the details. Such a thing pays in every big American city. Especially does it pay in New York, where reporters are remunerated according to the space given their stories. It is this system of payment that is largely responsible for a school of fiction unequaled in journalism anywhere else in the world. The writer who never "touches up" a story is soon eliminated. The reporters for the "conservative" papers are the same kind as those employed on the "yellow" sheets. Why should they not be? Any day—any hour—may see a man discharged for some trivial offense, or for no real offense at all, from one brand of paper, and hired, if he be lucky enough to be hired anywhere, by a paper of the opposite brand.

All reporters in New York know that the highest-paid newspaper man in that city or in any city, a man whose salary almost equals that of the President of the United States, is a writer of fake news, and an editorializer who takes any side of any question that his employer commands. This man, now the head of the "yellow" school, was trained on a "conservative" paper—the paper that was owned by Charles A. Dana, and is now the property of Mr. Pierpont Morgan. Most reporters in Chicago know that the highest-salaried managing editor there—on a "conservative" paper, too—was once a police reporter who stopped at scarcely anything to make news sensational—or to make sensational news. It was he who encouraged a negro quartette in a low dive to sing a pathetic song until an abandoned woman was driven to suicide—an act that made a "beautiful story," and helped along

his promotion to his present eminence.

Some Japanese journalists visiting Washington recently were addressed by Speaker Cannon. "I hope you gentlemen are learning the American methods of journalism," he said. "These methods are great in a labor-saving way. When nothing happens the correspondents are not discouraged at all. Their papers are full of news just the same—news that the writers do n't have to search for, but which they evolve out of their own abundant imaginations."

Some months ago Mr. William J. Bryan and Senator Daniel of Virginia had a little dispute in a Washington hotel lobby. Enlarged reports appeared the next day on the first pages of both "conservative" and "yellow" papers in New York. This news was much more important from a business-office standpoint than any correspondent's honest opinion of political conditions could have been. Such instances might be cited without end. While even the best and highest-paid workers in journalism must become daily Boswells to any-one and every one rather than writers of their own views the calling will attract few, and hold fewer, men of learning and talent. Thinking persons will not respect those who cannot respect themselves.

The idealist in a newspaper office is laughed at and ridiculed until he "quits the game," or ceases to be an idealist. Only a few days are required for the one thing or the other. Yet Benjamin Franklin, the first great American editor, was an idealist, for all his practicality. His ideal does not seem to have been to own a newspaper of many pages, published in a building of many stories, and making profits of many thousands or hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. One hundred and seventy-nine years ago his Pennsylvania *Gazette* freely criticized the public conduct of several persons of high standing in Philadelphia. Some of his patrons called to express disapproval. After listening patiently he requested that they would sup with him, and bring any other gentlemen who were dissatisfied. When the guests assembled he listened to further reproofs. At length supper was announced. The party seated themselves around the table, where they saw nothing before them but two puddings of coarse meal, commonly called "sawdust puddings," and a stone pitcher filled with water. Franklin helped them all to liberal portions, and then himself ate freely. The others tried to eat, but their appetites refused obedience to the will. The editor, observing their difficulty, at last arose and said: "My friends, any one who can subsist upon sawdust pudding and water, as I can, needs no man's patronage."

Contrast that scene with this: It is the busiest hour of the night in a metropolitan newspaper office. Reporters are at every typewriter feverishly "tearing off" news of crime, scandal, disaster, politics, sport and religion. Copy boys are seizing the sheets as fast as they come from the machines, and carrying them to a long desk where, under green-shaded lamps, sub-editors take the "stuff," "whip it into shape," write heads for it, and then bellow for the copy boys, who again seize it, and send it whizzing to the composing-room through pneumatic tubes. The editorial writers, mental serfs of the most feudalistic of modern institutions, have long since turned in their "stuff," written according to rules and specifications, and edited by one superior—in authority—to themselves. The "humorous" department, the "literary review" department, the market and other minor departments are also in type.

A strong-jawed night editor now comes from his cubby-hole in one corner of the big room, and walks up and down, shouting orders: "All you tireless writers, put on the brakes. The business office has just taken four columns more of our space for ads. Jimmy, go tell the sporting editor to cut his dope to the bone. Johnson, shut off that political hot air when you 've got three hundred words done—and be sure to leave out the speaker's raps at department stores; Moore, two columns is the limit on that

Black-Hand outrage. I do n't believe the Black Hand had anything to do with it, anyhow, but the other papers 'll probably feature that phase, so we 'd better play on the organization a little. Burke, let up on that club-woman rot; we have n't room for the hussies to-night, and they can stand it not to see their names in print for one day. Jenkins, a column and a half 's the most you can have for the Vanderbilt divorce rumor. Stowe, skiddoo for that accident tale—nothing but a bunch of Dagoes battered up in a Third-avenue street-car smash, anyhow. Marston, cut the Reverend Doctor Bilkins' bunk to ten lines. To hell with him. And Mason, for Christ's sake, go easy on that traction-combine stuff. I do n't know yet just how we can handle that."

And where is the owner of the paper? In Europe, perhaps, or in a box at the grand opera, or—if the paper be "conservative"—he may be one of a group at a secret midnight conference planning a street-railway consolidation, or the abolition of a transfer system to increase his dividends a million dollars a year to help buy a title for his daughter.

And in not a few offices whose proprietors are not openly the heads of public-service corporations, injunctions are often given to "be careful if you 're wise" in writing of any such corporations. Blocks of stock judiciously distributed by promoters have helped make newspaper owners rich as frequently in American cities (where the dailies almost invariably oppose public-ownership) as Zola's *Paris* shows to have been the case in the French capital. And even the most aggressive champions of public-ownership sometimes cease their attacks upon public-utilities companies when they receive large advertisements from them, as I have shown that Mr. Hearst's paper did in Chicago. Nor should it be forgotten that there are daily papers that steadfastly refuse favors from corporations. I found no such papers in Kansas City and Omaha, and they are the exception everywhere, yet they exist. But it is all the same to the writers of news and editorials: They must write as ordered.

In the official reports of the United States census bureau the making of newspapers is given simply as a business. And it is a business in which the receipts for advertising amount to tens of millions of dollars more annually than those from the sale of papers. The total received for advertisements in American newspapers and periodicals in 1900 was almost one hundred million dollars, and it probably averages much more than that now. The newspapers, of which there are more in the United States than in all other countries in the world combined, get by far the greater share of this total. The total annual profits of some of the larger New York and Chicago dailies is nearly a million dollars a year each. Truly, liberty of the press is a most beneficent thing for some people.

But is this the liberty for which our forefathers sacrificed their lives and fortunes, for which many martyrs have gone to the stake in many lands, for which Milton pleaded in his *Areopagitica*, that most splendid argument for unlicensed printing that, more than any one other thing, laid the foundation for a free press? Let us consider a few of the words with which he swayed the British Parliament, and made history:

"And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching, how can he be a doctor in his book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whereas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licenser to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgment? When every acute reader, upon the first sight of a pedantic license, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a quoit's distance from him: 'I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licenser, but that I have his own hand here

for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgment?'"

But in most newspapers the reader has not even the proprietor's "own hand here for his arrogance." The proprietor may, like Mr. Morgan, or Mr. Rockefeller, or Mr. Perkins, or Mr. Ryan, or Mr. Hearst, or Mr. "Fingy" Conners, be anywhere else but in his newspaper office. Some of these gentlemen own or control half a dozen papers each, and the first four I have mentioned probably never visit the offices of any of their papers. Their personalities, though potent to their journalistic employés, are shadowy and indistinct to the readers, if not entirely beyond their ken.

Yet the very diversity of the interests of the various owners is an aid to the publication of the truth. The trouble is that it is often necessary to buy copies of every paper in a town to get the truth. And the fact, too, that there are still newspapers which, either from good business foresight or honesty of intention, make it a rule to print what is true, or even go out of their way to champion the public interest, helps along the common good and causes all other papers to reflect at least some of the truth. For instance, the New York *World's* exposure of insurance corruption forced even the most "conservative" dailies to publish the facts.

There are some encouraging signs in the newspaper world. The average intelligence among the workers seems to be slowly increasing. Those papers which are out-and-out supporters of lawless corporations exercise much less influence than those with honest policies. Some of the brightest minds of the country are giving serious thought to this neglected field, and many of the rankest weeds may be uprooted in time. For instance, Mr. William Marion Reedy of the St. Louis *Mirror* has recently been making public speeches as well as writing columns of criticism about the daily press. President Roosevelt, in some of his messages, has denounced controlled newspapers, and one of his Cabinet officers has publicly spoken against them. A number of colleges and universities have established schools of journalism. The graduates of these, if they do not turn away in despair from real journalism, may aid in raising the tone of it, and may even secure, in some instances, that individuality denied present workers, a denial that causes Mr. Reedy to say, pessimistically, "I am inclined to think that the time is about here when we shall have to return to the day of the pamphlet, if we are to have any such thing as free utterance of heretical opinion."

No longer am I an idealist. No longer do I pursue the phantom of journalistic greatness. I indulge no more in rose-hued visions of a daily uplifting of humanity by a free and untramelled press—of dragon-slaying by the sword-pen dipped in printers' ink—of crusades against intrenched wrong by an every-day assault of columns of printed words—of Justice enthroned and guarded by a Loyal Legion of the Press. But I do still hope for a time when the American newspaper owner will be rare who can truthfully say with Bismarck, "Decent people do n't write for me"; when that will not be true of most American papers which was true of a London daily in Macaulay's time when, commenting upon a reported duel he said, "There could have been no such duel because no gentleman would fight with a writer on the *Morning Post*"; when the only way to "succeed in journalism" in America will not be to get out of it. I hope for a time when American newspaper workers, among whom I know some of the finest characters who ever lived, will not have to be political assassins or, at the best, mere paid claquers of any cause, good or bad, which they are ordered to support; when editors, reporters and correspondents can truly respect themselves, and can therefore command the respect of that public which they seek to instruct and advise.

William Salisbury.

*New York City.*

# A NEW KIND OF VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

By Rex Mitchell Baxter.

NOT LONG ago the surreptitious disappearance of a member of the western quadruped transportation system—the horse—was untechnically settled by that informal judiciary, the Vigilance Committee. To-day, and further east, a like body still looks after the transportation system. Only now the Vigilance Committee is called a Progressive Association, a Commercial Club, or a Board of Trade. Nevertheless, it is just as much a duly authorized array of "leading citizens." The usurper of property privilege is now an unwise council, or an over-zealous corporation, and the transportation facility is the street-car—or the street-car's inspiration—a franchise.

But the Vigilance Committee is more than a sectionally provincial institution. The "public" everywhere takes things as they are, disregards the hammering on new theories, and vigilantly, informally asserts the obligation of public servants to be honest. Occasionally a truly memorable instance of this happens; and the more completely it gets known the more frequent outbursts of municipal indignation become.

A recent noteworthy outburst was in Lima, Ohio. Now Lima is one of those communities of central western growth that has accomplished its metamorphosis from the one cabin to an alert place of industry within the four-score years of one man. It is typical. Reclaimed from heavy forest by privation—fearless settlers, whose only acquaintance with transportation was the ox-team and the covered wagon, these pilgrims took the land of the state. The only previous occupants were Indians and wild game. The center of reclamation grew. The hewers of wood added unto their possessions more forest. The cluster of cabins identified itself as a town. The people toiled, raised families, and were happy. The commuuity growth was essentially agricultural. Then came, several decades ago, a mineral discovery, crude oil. With that, there was a changed commercial life. Thus the town awoke to a new era of its growth. It was known nationally and its neighborhood was a national Mecca. Happily there was no boom. Growth was deliberate, eminently conservative and balanced. The Octopus recognized its strategic value, and the Standard Oil Company built here one of its refineries. The establishment of new manufactories and the enlargement of old ones presented something more than a renaissance of industry.

Like so many of these hopeful city towns throughout this region, separate businesses organized the Progressive Association, the prime object of which is to cultivate social growth—a unified development. "What helps one helps all"—was the underlying motive of the primitive efforts; but "What helps all helps one" is the avowal of a more generously developed society. Furthermore, geographical position has made Lima the inevitable commercial center for the territory of a seventy-five-mile radius. This advantage has been cultivated by the construction of interurban traction lines, which bring "to town" the most favored and most independent class; the farmer. He comes often and stays leisurely to spend his abundance. Therefore the more readily does every sizable population center renew itself by easy acquaintance with the rural citizen, and by agricultural commercialism.

Now the traction lines of Ohio are the property of the Ohio Electric Railroad Company, and these transportationals also are disposed over the whole state. Mr. W. Kelsey Schoepf is the president of this enterprise. Few men know the game better. Getting much for nothing is a part of that game, and graciously, though

with dramatic sacrifice, giving fair value is another part. Mr. Schoepf lately sought a further extension of his industry. He went East for the money. The Drexels, generously interested in the traction business, agreed to take an issue of bonds and give the money. But what sort of a franchise did Mr. Schoepf have in Lima that would make putting money there a good investment? Not very much—the last ten years of a twenty-five-years franchise which had been got from the city for nothing in the first place. This is little to borrow on, though it is a good deal of collateral for uncompensated citizens to give. It was then Mr. Schoepf's duty to get a franchise, as big and as cheap as ever. An imagination directing itself by past achievements would look lightly on the task. This was lamentable, for Mr. Schoepf was going to be disappointed.

The introduction of our drama was a certain evening when two active citizens took their way to the municipal council chamber on business wholly disconnected with a franchise. Imagine their consternation to fall upon the introduction of a most amazing request for franchise privileges. Mr. Schoepf had the affair in charge. His imposing plea and persuasive presence were the fitting climax to the prearranged program. As a preliminary, the council, or much of it, had been materially persuaded before the meeting time. What Lima would have lost if mere chance had not otherwise determined, would have been the entire street-car franchise privileges of the city for practically no compensation. But this ordinance was left on the table for consideration at the next meeting.

Overwhelmed, the two active citizens betook themselves to the Progressive Association. That body forthwith appointed a committee of ten to work on the situation. They determined the terms for the city solicitor to put into an ordinance "to bargain and sell" a franchise. Neither this committee nor its product met a cordial reception from the council. Instantly rebuff stirred public feeling. Even council members dared not proceed. Nor did Mr. Schoepf tumultuously insist. He knew better.

The council was out of the consideration. There was only one thing to do. Mr. Schoepf went to the Progress Association committee. And what he met there was a tedious and determined opposition. The committee's prefatory demands amounted to an assurance that the city would receive what street-car companies are apt to regard as mere matters of detail. Some of those matters of detail look like golden opportunities to a municipality which has theretofore freely given but never freely received. However, the meeting proceeded smoothly till the plain hard-and-fast matter of compensation for the franchise came up, and there things stopped—not once, but many times. No one likes to pay for what he has usually got for nothing. Something was said about an annual contribution of one or two thousand dollars for a limited period, to a park fund, but this would not do. A levy to go to a general fund was all that determined citizens would listen to. Some wanted a percentage of the gross receipts, some favored a compensation based on the amount of trackage, and still others sought a lump sum. What finally came of the balloting of the committee was, first, a suggestion that the company pay four per cent. of its gross receipts, or, second, $5,000 a year for twenty-five years. The former was turned down; and the latter was mildly compromised. So that for the present year the company pays $1,000 and an additional $1,000 for each of the succeeding years through 1911, and then from that time to 1932, a yearly payment of $5,000 is to be made.

By the time the evening for presenting the popular ordinance had come, the public conscience was thoroughly aroused. No council member, possessed of ordinary sensory capacity, could mistake his course. That night the council chamber was jammed with a determined taxpaying representation. It was a mob, assembled

for unmistakable purposes, and ready to take procedure into its own hands. Finally, that was what happened. Parliamentary rule had no place in the meeting. Things were done "out of order" or, as was oratorically suggested, a little "out of the regular." When a member of the council body made a motion to consider the Schoepf ordinance, the flint struck fire. A member of the Progressive Association committee broke upon the deliberations demanding recognition, and he got it. This was certainly "out of the regular," but highly informative. The council had told to them that the people had presented to the "honorable body" an ordinance which it was to pass upon before it left that room, and no other measure was to be considered, that the interests of the town were paramount to the private interests of the individual council members; and that each member was to get up on his feet and declare his own position on this legislation—"to go on record." There was only one record "to go on," and still get away from that crowd comfortably. Some councilmen had to give up the alluring prospect of mysteriously speedy payments on private properties yet unpaid for, and voted for the public interests. It was a triumph. That night men had simply snatched the work of government out of the hands of rascals, and had left them standing as puppets. It was not governmentally scientific but it was tremendously effective.

The citizen takes municipal corruption as a matter of course. It is only in desperation he declares his freedom. Indeed a political Vigilance Committee is essential in every right-minded community; it imposes the alertness of citizenship on the citizen and does not shift the burden of maintenance of public utilities on a corruptible body of municipal legislators. Occasional vigilance will buy some liberty.

And what did this dramatic episode bring forth? In the first place it got a fair money compensation for a street railway franchise—$115,000 for fifteen years, nominally estimated. In reality it was that sum for a twenty-five-year franchise, for the present one still has ten years to run and it was got for nothing. The other things taken separately do n't sound so much like magnanimous concessions. But take them together and they suggest a land of Prester John. Within two years from the acceptance of the ordinance, an interurban terminal station, which with its land is to cost $50,000, will be built. The matter of track construction is attended in this way. The rails are to be the seven-inch "T," ninety-one pounds to the lineal yard, and the range four feet eight and a half inches. The board of public service shall determine the location of every track, curve or extension, and the quality of their foundation. Whenever the city determines to pave, repave or repair any streets or alleys over which privileges are granted, the company must pay the bill for the width between its track and eighteen inches on the outside; and the cost is a lien to be collected in just the same way that special paving assessments against abutting property owners are collected. The company must sprinkle its right of way and the city will supply the water at the lowest commercial rate at which it is furnished to consumers. The old wooden poles are to be replaced with others of iron or steel. Underground systems of iron or metal pipes are to be effectually protected from injury by electrolysis. A good deal is unequivocally determined as to how the cars are to be run and when. There is provision for an immediate addition to the number of cars, and their pattern is specified. The degree of their winter temperature is clearly set out. The corporation may run merchandise cars on a designated schedule, but not for freight—unless it be construction material for company use. About the building of other lines, the town assured to itself the centralizing there of over a hundred and fifty miles of new interurban trackage, to be built within two years.

Now the question naturally suggests

itself—what becomes of any possible competing interurban line which should seek entrance to the city? Such a project must have, already built, or in course of building, ten miles of track outside the city as an evidence of good faith. Then it may come into the city over the present company's tracks and into its terminal station, on mutually agreed terms. But suppose a likelihood, that mutual agreement is out of the question—then the matter is disposed of by arbitration and they have thirty days to settle. Disagreement puts it up to either party to ask the nearest judge of the Court of Common Pleas to pick a third arbitrator. Pending the arbitration, the petitioning interurban company shall have the right to use the tracks and terminal provided it gives a $10,000 bond, conditioned that it will abide the result of the arbitration. This gives a fair field to every *bona fide* enterprise and protects the present franchise-holder from malicious "hold-up."

Where the public meets the street-car company with gnashing of teeth is when it pays its fare. The low fare is best evidence of a convincing bargain. Looked at one way, the Lima public pays a good deal. There are only the usual concessions—that is, six tickets sell for twenty-five cents; and in ten years' time twenty-five tickets are to sell for a dollar. Every local interurban car must be considered as a city car within the corporate limits and stop to take on or let off passengers, but it does not confer transfer privileges unless the passenger is merely enjoying city traffic.

The matter of value in a franchise is almost entirely a question of relativity. About two years ago the Commissioners of the District of Columbia undertook to get together all available data showing the conditions and restrictions under which franchises are granted to street-railway companies in American cities of more than two hundred thousand inhabitants. A comparison chart of the franchises of nineteen of those cities is suggestively informative. Not one of the nineteen has a population of less than two hundred thousand people. They range from this to the enormity of Chicago or New York. Their geography includes Minneapolis of the North and New Orleans of the South; Boston on the East to San Francisco on the West.

And yet of all these transportation centers only a few, if any, have secured the terms that Lima has got. Considering the matter of municipal revenue alone, there is Baltimore at one end of the scale. The railroad people there pay nine per cent. of their gross annual receipts into a public-park maintenance fund, they are taxed on real and personal property, and their charter (for there is but one company in the city) runs only twenty-five years. At the other extreme is the Boston Elevated Street Railway Company. All that it pays to the city of Boston is an annual sum determinable on a percentage basis. If the dividend paid is six per cent. or less (or none at all) seven-eighths of one per cent. of the gross receipts is due to the city; and if a larger dividend is paid, then the percentage of gross earnings to be turned in is mildly increased. This generosity is indefinitely established by a franchise, practically perpetual.

All the way along between these two are variables. Chicago gets no percentage of the gross earnings on its franchise. Instead, the franchise value and tangible property are taxed. Cincinnati was sold out by the Cox machine. In Cleveland and Detroit, where street-car battles have been hottest, there is no special tax on earnings. Up in Milwaukee, in lieu of all taxes on the realty and personalty, the corporation pays a license fee of four per cent. on the gross cash receipts of $500,000 or more, or two per cent. if the receipts are less. Newark, New Jersey, imposes a tax on realty and personalty, and asks five per cent. of the company's gross receipts, but the franchises there are perpetual. New Orleans gets as much as it can for a fifty-year franchise by giving it to the highest bidder, who offers the

largest percentage of gross annual receipts. San Fancisco does much the same thing for a twenty-five-year franchise.

What a municipality gets from a street-railway company for the right to do business by a franchise tax sometimes looks large. But what do the people have to give indirectly? Usually, in fares and transfers, as much as they get. For instance, the one Baltimore company, though it pays the city well, asks a straight five-cent fare; and it has a monopoly of all traffic. Boston municipality levies a small tax for the practically perpetual franchise. Added to that, the passenger pays a five-cent fare. Chicago companies ask a five-cent fare and give a transfer to any company's line. Detroit makes no requirement about transfers from one line to another; Milwaukee people pay to the one company five cents; in New Orleans you pay a five-cent fare but you can't transfer to another line; in Philadelphia the company says where and when it will give a transfer or whether it will give any transfer at all or not. And as for the rest, it is largely a question of a transfer with a five-cent fare.

By way of comment on this statistical array, it must be admitted that conditions at the present vary some from what they were a couple of years ago when these figures were compiled. Nevertheless, they strike a present-day average. They show a bird's-eye picture.

It would seem from this survey that the efforts of Lima's determined men had really done more than had been done in any of our most public-spirited population centers. True, some cities like Baltimore demand a percentage of the gross receipts, and a high percentage. But in Lima, the city is not dependent on the uncertainties of a percentage determination. It gets a lump sum each year, which amounts to about three per cent. of the gross annual receipts on a 25-year franchise. However, this franchise is to operate over 10 years of an old franchise which had been got from a more daring council for nothing. More correctly speaking, then, the city has given a 15-year franchise on which it will realize five to six per cent. of the company's gross annual receipts. Very good bargain, indeed, for a place of thirty thousand! Compare this with the railroad income of the larger cities.

The Lima council, when it came to the question of fares, did not get the special workingman's ticket; but the cities that do enjoy this concession are very few indeed. Even Boston has not this advantage, though a state law gives it permissive power to insist upon such a concession. The local traffic in a town of thirty thousand is not large, the cost of carriage per passenger is much greater than in a city which furnishes a heavy volume. Twenty-five tickets for a dollar, a special workingman's ticket, and school children's rates are matters of population growth.

Very few ordinances look so broadly to a community's growth. Interurban traffic is the propelling life of the Central Western community. And it is the assurance that generous outlays will be made for this kind of electric-railroad building, that the Lima franchise is notable for. This was done by conditions calling for the construction of over 100 miles of interurban road centering in Lima; and a wise provision upsetting any chance of monopoly of terminal facilities or entrance into the city by the present company.

Certainly this ordinance is a unique piece of municipal legislation. The town has awakened to a new kind of patriotism. It has welcomed a new habit of citizenship. The people have a better notion of their own importance. And the taxpayer has committed himself to an alert vigilance.

Rex Mitchell Baxter.
*Indianapolis, Indiana.*

# A DAY IN A TWENTIETH-CENTURY ORPHAN HOME.

By B. O. Flower.

THE BATTLE between greed and human rights is the struggle between the darkness and the light, between the forces of materialism and those of idealism; and on the final issue hangs the fate of civilization.

Recently, from the perusal of a description of the pitiful, pinched lives of thousands and tens of thousands of unfortunate little children in our mills and factories, we turned for that moral uplift and mental stimulation that is necessary to keep one from sinking into the slough of despond, to the personal inspection of one of those serious and earnest yet unobtrusive works that shadow forth the better side of twentieth-century civilization and which are rich in promise of the brighter day for which every true man and woman is working.

Accepting the invitation of our old and valued friend, Rabbi Solomon Schindler, so well known as a prominent contributor to the earlier volumes of The Arena, we visited the Leopold Morse Home for Hebrew Orphans and the Aged, over which he has for the past ten years efficiently presided.

During this time Rabbi Schindler has quietly but with rare discrimination and patient faithfulness carried out ideas he had years before conceived to be feasible for the rearing of children under clean, wholesome and normal surroundings while preserving for them the ideal home atmosphere and spirit. During this time one hundred and fifty children have left the home and entered into the larger activities of the great world around them. Not one of this number has turned out badly. Many of them have obtained excellent positions. Others have shown special aptitude for independent work or professional pursuits that required special training, and they have been given the necessary instruction or training outside of the home, after which they have become independent wealth-creators, such as dressmakers, bookkeepers, etc. Some have entered homes and others have been happily married. Some are working in manufacturing establishments and making excellent wages, one, for example, earning twelve dollars a week making neckties.

But the careful training and guidance in the realm of industry, and the thoughtful interest manifested which is so largely responsible for the successful placing of the children who a few years ago were forlorn and helpless waifs, is but one of the beneficent features of this twentieth-century home for Hebrew orphans under the management of Dr. Schindler. At all times the management has striven to develop character and accustom the children to those virtues that make for sturdy manhood and womanhood, for success and happiness in life. High ideals, industry, orderliness, wholesome recreation and industrial as well as mental training—these have been conspicuous features of the administration of Dr. Schindler, who is nothing if not a broad humanitarian, a philosophic student of human life and a practical idealist.

Many of the children had from birth suffered from insufficient nutrition. This defect is met by an abundance of good, wholesome food.

"One child," said the Rabbi, "came to us with St. Vitus' dance. He was a pitiable object. I was satisfied he had not been properly nourished. We put him on six eggs a day, with several glasses of good, fresh milk. In a little time he was entirely cured."

With these general observations we will now glance at the institution and survey the orderly operations of the Rabbi's long-cherished theories.

The home was originally a magnificent

country seat. The palatial residence, built a century ago, remains to-day in a perfect state of preservation, a stately colonial mansion house surrounded by ample land for gardens, lawns and large playgrounds for the children. Two extensions have been made since the purchase of the home. The one immediately in the rear of the original building is a commodious brick building that serves as a home for aged Hebrews. There are at the present time twelve occupants. Here also is the large dining-hall. Adjoining this building and still further to the rear, is the model children's quarters, a building erected after a design made by Rabbi Schindler. Here are two large dormitories, one for the girls, another for the boys. They are on the ground floor as the Rabbi holds that children should not be allowed to sleep upstairs in buildings where it is possible for fire to break out. These sleeping halls are provided with an abundance of large windows which admit of splendid ventilation and would allow of instant egress in case of necessity. Each child has his own bed, and under each is a little wire basket suspended from the springs, in which he places his clothes at night. There are also lockers for the children and ample toilet facilities. The halls are models of cleanliness, as indeed is the whole institution from basement to roof.

In the boys' sleeping-room we noticed a number of American shields, in the red, white and blue colors, each bearing a motto, such as "Justice," "Love," "Honor," "Freedom," "Duty," "Kindness," "Honesty," etc. The Rabbi explained that they were made for the boys who took part in an entertainment, each boy speaking in behalf of the virtue inscribed on his shield. "When the entertainment was over," continued the Rabbi, "the shields which, as you will see, are well made and ornamental, were hung up in the hall for their suggestive value. You know," he continued, "how an advertisement, if it is constantly kept before the eye, in time frequently becomes effective. You may not need the article; you may not even want it; but you see the advertisement in the cars morning and night, you see its virtues proclaimed on the billboards and on the printed page, and at length you buy the article. Mental suggestion has done its work. Now, acting on this psychological fact, we try to keep the things which we wish to impress on the young minds before the children in an unobtrusive manner."

We mention this fact because it is thoroughly typical of the management of this institution. There is everywhere the evidence of the philosophic utilitarianism which is wise enough to know that virtue and the principles which make for good character and a useful life can best be inculcated by methods that are not so obvious or aggressive as to run the risk of arousing antagonism in the child's mind.

Beyond the large sleeping-hall is an assembly-room for religious services and other gatherings. It is so constructed that the great doors which extend almost across the rear of the room can be opened, making another large audience-room, and at the end of this second room the door arrangement is duplicated, so that when necessary a third room can be utilized, the whole making a large auditorium. When the doors are closed the two rooms in the rear of the hall are used for class and work rooms. At the farther end of the second room is a long closet extending across the rear, where are kept the instruments used by the wonderful band of twenty-four little people, of which we shall have something further to say. Under the entire building is a large, light, airy basement, most of the space being used as a great indoor playroom for the children when the weather will not permit of outdoor games and pastimes. Here also are the bath-rooms with large stationary tubs, and a number of individual bath-rooms fitted with shower-baths. The building is a model of its kind, as complete and in all respects as admirable as the funds at command could produce.

And the model character of the building is but an external manifestation of the spirit that dominates the home. Here Rabbi Schindler and his capable wife have been in fact father and mother to the sixty children under their care. They have faithfully devoted their lives to making the institution as near a model healthful and happy home as possible with the facilities at their command. The healthy physical, mental and moral development of each child has been their constant concern; nor has this been all. The future of the child, in so far as has been possible, has received their serious attention. It is largely owing to their fine paternal spirit, at once wise, sane, loving and forward-looking, that the record of those who have left the institution has been so exceptionally satisfactory, and that those now in the home are so manifestly happy and contented.

We had scarcely completed our inspection of the building when the signal for dinner was given, and we had the pleasure of witnessing the little folks at their noonday meal. They entered and left the room as would well-behaved children in a well-ordered school. Their dinner consisted of beef soup with barley, beef, potato, bread and butter, and apple pie. Each child is at liberty to order a second or a third time if he desires, as the Rabbi is a great believer in liberally supplying the growing child with plain, nutritious food.

The girls in the institution are all taught to be housekeepers. They learn to cook and do laundry work, to wait on the table, to take care of the rooms, to do plain sewing and crocheting. Thus they are prepared for home-making. Even if they are not called upon to do these things when they have homes of their own, they have, when married, a a distinct advantage over girls more carelessly raised.

From the buildings we went over the generous area of land around the home.

"Do not the boys do any gardening?" we asked.

The Rabbi answered in the negative. "No, we tried that but it did not succeed. You see, the children are reared in cities. They do not take naturally to cultivation of the soil. We have been unable to interest them in the work."

We wished to discuss this matter further with our friend, but other subjects crowded for consideration and we were unable to do so. Yet it seems to us that this is the one flaw in this otherwise model home. It is doubtless true that the Hebrews have for thousands of years been accustomed to the lives of traders and scholars and to various commercial pursuits, rather than to following agrarian employment; but the time was when they were preëminently the children of outdoor life, both as herders and stock-raisers and as cultivators of the land. Moreover, we think nothing has been of late years more clearly demonstrated than that city children can be quickly and enthusiastically interested in gardening. The school gardens in our great cities, and the numerous successful experiments in cultivating unoccupied ground in and adjoining metropolitan centers, amply prove that city children can, as a rule, be quickly interested in the cultivation of the soil. As an incentive, it might be well to give the child all or part of the money that was derived from the sale of the vegetables raised in his little garden. With such an incentive and a keen interest on the part of the over-gardener, it seems to us that a splendid enthusiasm could be awakened in the children that would result in much good, not only as a part of the child's training and education, but as the primary school for a life-work that could easily be made the foundation for a successful career; for nothing is clearer than that more and more in the future market gardening, poultry raising and fruit culture will afford admirable opportunities for making a comfortable living in America.

In the afternoon Rabbi Schindler arranged for us to hear the children's band, composed of twenty-four boys and girls

ranging in age from nine to thirteen and a half years. At present the band is under the masterly direction of Mr. Emil Posselt. We shall never forget the pleasure of the hour we passed listening to the children's astonishingly good performance. The training of the little people amazed us. After some difficult renditions from standard operas, the children gave a medley of national airs and popular songs that magnificently illustrated their complete control of their instruments and their intelligent appreciation of the spirit of the various compositions. The rendition of music by this band was a revelation, and we could not help wishing that some wise and philanthropic business man might arrange for a series of entertainments by this children's band that would bring in money needed for further practical plans and improvements. For we believe that quite apart from the financial benefit thus derived, if men and women of means should hear these children and see what such little tots are capable of doing under such wise and practical management as marks this home, it would lead them to generously further all such efforts to give to unfortunate children of our day advantages that should be the heritage of every child.

"Our primary object," said the Rabbi, "is to bring the children to work in unison and harmony and to give them the harmonizing and refining influence of music."

"And," exclaimed Director Posselt, "it is wonderful to see how music does develop the finer side of the little ones' lives. You would have to see this as I daily witness it in order fully to appreciate the fact."

The practical value of the work here inaugurated and carried forward as unobtrusively as successfully, is very great; for all advance steps in education, in the care of the unfortunates and the uplifting of the people, wait on practical object lessons which prove the success of theories that but for the indifference and selfishness of society would be accepted when offered, and Rabbi Schindler has given us an impressive object lesson in this little twentieth-century model home for orphans.

B. O. Flower.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## THE WIDOW'S CHRISTMAS.*

By Rev. Roland D. Sawyer.

THE dismal black ribbon hung from the door of the little cottage in the hollow.
Again the Grim Reaper had visited the earth,
And the weary wheels of a toiler's life had ceased to turn.
The lids had been drawn over the glazed eyes,
The jaw had been tied up, the stiffened toil-worn hands folded across the breast,
But nothing could be done with the crushed skull and battered face,
The work of a treacherous machine that went wrong and killed its master,
To make it look like the face of a man.

*When I was a boy I found my Sunday-school and day-school books often setting forth the good and pious man, who always came into the life of some poor widow at just the opportune time. I have found since I have become a man that such stuff was all lies, drawn to deceive my childish mind in the interest of conventional religion and morality. I have drawn here what would be a more real picture, and about the only way that men come to the rescue of needy women in their distress, in this commercialized world of ours. Needless to say, this is too true a picture to find its way into the schools.

Roland D. Sawyer.

The widow with the children clinging at her dress,
Hung over the sickening, battered clay, and kissed it again and again.
"My God!" she cried, "the factory that I saw eating my love's life-blood day by day,
Has now killed him, and denies me the poor comfort
Of looking once more into his face, now so marred and torn,
A revolting disfigurement, the cursed factory's final stamp."

The agent, who lived in the big house on the hill, sent flowers;
The church sent a message of sympathy and condolence.
The man of God spoke of the sanctification of the affliction,
And the mystery of the distressing act of Providence,
But he never said a word about the defective machine that killed the man.
Perhaps he did not know, or perhaps he knew that dividends are in defective machines,
And he received a pittance of those dividends.
The man's comrades in the shop sent from their pitiful wages, a purse of money.
The city took some of it for a plot of ground to bury the man in,
The undertaker took some more for putting him there:
The lawyer took the rest, and, after taking more from the agent on the hill,
Told the widow that she had no case, and the law could do nothing for her.

The little home built on the blood of her love the widow would keep.
The children born of his love and hers, she would not let go.
The agent would give her work, of course, at less wages than had been paid to her husband,
And so the cursed factory reached out its hands and received her.

. . . . . .

The weeks had passed into months, and it was Christmas-tide;
The air was fragrant with thoughts of holly and evergreens,
Of Christmas-trees, sleigh-bells, candy-bags, toys and Santa Claus.
The two little girls and the boy met the tired mother as she returned from the day's work,
They were her only reward. She smoothed their hair and kissed their cheeks,
She heard with bleeding heart their chatter of Santa Claus.
She arose and went to the window to hide the tears.
She recalled the sacrifices of the year before,
That he and she had made that they might have Santa Claus.
She thought with bitterness that this year it would be denied them.
She looked out into the city lights, the great city,
Where men and women fought, and worked, and lived their lives,
The cruel city where men and women were lured to their doom and went down—
A sob came into her throat, a tender look into her eye, the Christ spirit into her heart,
No, they, her dear ones, should not be denied their Santa Claus.
She was still young, the haggard lines of care had not yet been drawn through her face,
Nor had the prison pallor of the factory been yet drawn over it,
Nor had hardship effaced the lines of the comeliness of her form.

The little ones were tucked safely in their cots,
She lingered to kiss their sleep-warm necks,
Hungrily she stroked their heads and caressed their faces,
She put on that poor little that made her best and went forth,
As women from of old have done, into the gates of the city.

It was the still, small hours of the morning when the mother returned.
In her arms were the bundles of things to bring joy to their hearts,
The price of the sale of her body for a night.
With tremulous hands the tired mother undid the strings,
She filled each of the little stockings hanging by the chimney,
She tumbled exhausted upon her lonely cot.

The mother dreamed: it seemed that prying eyes had seen her shame
She was brought before the Man of Nazareth and accused of her act.
The agent from the hill was there and pointed a scornful finger,
The church sent a message of condemnation and wrath,
The man of God talked of depravity and sin:
She seemed to sink beneath the feet of the Man of Nazareth;
He lifted upon her a look of wondrous tenderness,
His eyes shone with love, His voice trembled with kindness,
He smiled with sad sweetness and extended His hand:
And then, He turned blazing upon her accusers, and they slunk away.
And then she heard the Christmas angels, as they sang,
And their singing, their shouts of joy, were pounding, pounding in her ears,
They turned back the clouds of sleep, and she awoke to find,
It was the shouts of joy of the little ones why had found their stockings:
Her sacrifice was accepted, and the mother turned her face to the wall,
To sleep that sweet and peaceful slumber her tired body needed.

ROLAND D. SAWYER.

*Christmas*, 1908, *Ward Hill, Massachusetts.*

## THE UNITY OF JUSTICE AND HAPPINESS.

BY BAYARD MOSBY.

IN HIS commentaries on the laws of England, Sir William Blackstone says:

"As therefore the Creator . . . has so intimately connected, so inseparably interwoven the laws of eternal justice with the happiness of each individual that the latter can not be attained but by observing the former; and if the former be punctually obeyed, it cannot but induce the latter."

The above utterance from Blackstone, though written over one hundred and thirty years ago, is a healing message to this age. The world may at times forget that justice and happiness are "inseparably interwoven"; but the failure to observe this immutable law has brought with unerring certainty its punishment, that harvest of evils—the tares, which error has sown with the wheat. All truth is ancient, and this saying of Blackstone is but an unfolding of that promise set forth in Scripture: "But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and these things shall be added unto you."

Though all men seek happiness, few there be that find it; and in that vain search—eagerly, yet sometimes with faltering step—how many heed the warning of the Hebrew prophet: "None seek justice."

Every sage and philosopher who has investigated the subject has come to the

conclusion that true happiness is not to be found in the possession of material wealth, nor in the gratification of the pleasures of the senses; nevertheless men continue to struggle for the acquisition of wealth, building their houses on the sinking sand, ignoring justice, the bed-rock foundation.

When Henry George, the greatest of economic writers of the nineteenth century, founded his system of political economy, he accepted the rock which the builders had rejected—having justice for his corner-stone. Long before his day economic writers had found property in land to be indefensible, and that the earth is, and of right ought to be, common property. To secure this equal right of all men, to show the practicability of its attainment, was the high ideal to which Mr. George dedicated his life and labor of love to humanity. That he had faith in the truth he tried to make clear; that he was not a mere dreamer of dreams, but a prophet, conscious of the magnitude of his work, is witnessed by the following passage from his text-book:

"The truth that I have tried to make clear will not find easy acceptance. If that could be, it would have been accepted long ago. If that could be, it would never have been obscured. But it will find friends. Will it at length prevail? Ultimately, yes. But in our own times or in times of which any memory of us remains, who shall say?"

That Mr. George was thoroughly in accord with Blackstone as to the unity of justice and happiness may be seen in the following quotation from Mr. George:

"Just as social adjustments promote justice, just as they acknowledge the equality of right between man and man, just as they insure to each the perfect liberty which is bounded only by the equal liberty of every other, must civilization advance. Just as they fail in this must advancing civilization come to a halt and recede. Political economy and social science cannot teach any lessons that are not embraced in the simple truths that were taught to poor fishermen and Jewish peasants by One, who, eighteen hundred years ago, was crucified."

For keen spiritual foresight Mr. George rises like Saul above his brethren in this passage from his *Progress and Poverty:*

"Mind is the instrument by which man advances, and by which each advance is secured and made the vantage ground for new advances. Within our own times, under our very eyes, that Power which is above all, and in all, and through all; that Power of which the whole universe is but the manifestation; that Power which maketh all things and without which is not anything made that is made, has increased the bounty which men may enjoy, as truly as though the fertility of nature had been increased. Into the mind of one came the thought that harnessed steam for the service of mankind. To the inner ear of another was whispered the secret that compels the lightning to bear a message around the globe."

What a temptation was there to give the praise to the men who made these discoveries! No so with Mr. George. He rejoiced in a faith in the perfection and universality of God's laws, and this is why he was able to give a message to the world which will some day prove to be the greatest of material (if it be right to call it material) blessings; for it will in its own time unfold to an awakened consciousness, God's inexhaustible store-house—a world of comforts for all. "O ye of little faith."

Bayard Mosby.

*Linn, Missouri.*

# "RUSSIA'S MESSAGE."*

By Clarence S. Darrow.

MR. WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING'S book, *Russia's Message*, is not a tale of Russia, but a story of the human race. In this four-hundred odd pages is sketched the arrogance of the ruler, the brutality of his officials, the poverty, suffering and despair of the serf, the aspirations and hopes of the weak, and the bitter, cruel defeats of the poor.

The scene of the great drama-tragedy is Russia, but it might be France or Germany or England, or even the United States. It is really humanity—humanity struggling upward through violence and greed, traced by the bloody footsteps that has marked its progress through all the long, dark past.

Mr. Walling goes to his task with the mind of the student and philosopher, with the prophetic outlook of the seer, and the heart of the humanitarian. And with the Russian Revolution for a field, it needed no literary artist to write a book that must leave an indelible imprint upon the reader's mind.

The canvas is so large and the facts so many that a hurried reading can leave only an impression. An impression of a great land in the agony of war and despair, of the sore travail of the human race.

The key to the book is found in the first sentence quoted from Anatole France, "On the banks of the Neva, the Volga, and the Vistula, the fate of New Europe, and the future of Humanity are being decided."

The magazine reader can learn more of the book and the drama if I let Mr. Walling and his characters tell the story for themselves. Yet even here one is by no means sure that he can pick out the most characteristic parts of the story. The material is so great and the work so carefully done that it needs much time and study to digest the mass of facts and leave anything but a chaotic impression of the human struggle of which it tells.

The field is vast—half of Europe and a large part of Asia—and the people a hundred and forty million souls. A great broad plain, of the most fertile land on earth. A plain which could be covered with happy men and women and children living in luxury and peace, but which tyranny and greed and corruption has made a field of desolation and woe, peopled by the wretched and poor who have been taught to hate all institutions and to willingly face death in any form for a chance to slay a ruler or an oppressor.

The wretched condition of the great mass of the hundred million peasants is vividly told by Mr. Walling.

"There is a remarkable similarity among the houses in a village. As a rule there are not more than two or three houses in an entire village that differentiate themselves by some slight change from the others—though, of course, in different parts of the country the style and size of the cottage varies considerably. There is usually no iron employed, and even wood for doors is sparingly used. The single door is made so small that a peasant above the average height is unable to enter without bowing his head. Everywhere the people spend no small part of their time in rethatching the roofs and replastering the cracks in their houses with mud. Extremely cheap and amateur construction make necessary a great deal more repairs than are required in other countries. Of course, if the house falls into a bad condition while the peasants are very busy, or when they have lost a hand by death, they are forced to stand the cold and moisture for a long period.

**Russia's Message.* By William English Walling. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 476. Price, $3.00 net. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

"The cottage is generally fifteen by thirty feet, and half of it, without windows and constructed more poorly than the rest, is built for animals rather than for men. Indeed, every cottage is also a stable. As we pass through the low door we come into the animals' part of the house. Here we often stumble over cattle, chickens, and pigs, and some of the more valuable agricultural implements. It is impossible to describe this part of the house, for there is really nothing here to describe. Passing through the second door we come into the one room, about fifteen feet square, that serves as kitchen, sleeping and living room for the whole family of six to twelve persons—for a 'family,' it must be remembered, consists not only of parents and children, but also of the grandparents, and perhaps of a non-relative or two, for all single unattached adults of a community are divided up among the families.

". . . The only furniture in such a place is a table, benches around the wall, and the large shelf that composes the sleeping place of all the family, except the old people, for whom the top of the stove is reserved. Both benches and beds remind one of the jail furniture that in more prosperous countries is considered a part of the punishment of the convicted criminal.

". . . Not only do the peasants not have enough inner garments to permit cleanliness, but they do not have enough shoes and overcoats to keep them warm. I was shocked when I saw women passing along the roads in their short skirts on windy winter days and noticed that they wore no woolen clothing of any kind.

"It is almost superfluous to speak of the dreadfully low quality and poor variety of the peasant's food. He himself considers that he is very fortunate when he has enough to eat, to say nothing of quality or variety. The staple diet is black bread and potato soup, with, in summer, green cucumbers or watermelons. The staple drink is not tea as is commonly supposed; on the other hand this is considered rather a luxury. Their chief drink is 'kvas', which is brewed from sour bread. It is not only tea which is looked upon as a luxury more than a necessity, but often also sugar, cabbage, and even a sufficient amount of salt. All these articles are to be seen in every peasant's cottage, but they are very sparingly used. The tea is diluted and adulterated until it is almost unfit to drink, the salt is coarse and dirty from long keeping until it is repugnant even to the eye. Of meat, even the coarsest cuts of pork are not eaten daily, but are a luxury indeed. A large part of the peasant families have meat only on the greatest holidays—that is, four times a year."

It is plain that this population could have produced no substantial wealth, or done more than provide the uniforms and swords for the million odd butchers that the Czar has employed to keep them in poverty and subjection. Some idea of what they have not done can be gathered from the following pages:

"Russia is wretchedly provided with railroads; the United States has eight times as many miles for each soul of her population. But still Russia will find it difficult to build more until it is arranged that her people shall cease to starve. Witte boasted that the annual loss on the railroads had fallen from one hundred and seventy-six million rubles in 1892 to ninety million in 1897. According to the juggled official figures it fell to only thirty-five million in 1901, but by 1903 it had risen again to sixty million and is not likely soon to fall.

"Far worse, and in the end a greater waste, for the country is the almost complete absence of roads. I have seen almost no paved roads except for a few miles from the towns and across some of the properties of the grand dukes of the Czar. The mileage of paved roads in France is one hundred and in Great Britain six hundred times as great as in Russia.

"In fact, Russia has none of the elements of great wealth except the raw

materials of the earth that would have been there were the land without people at all. She has neither a great agriculture, a great transportation system, a great industry, a great internal, or a great external trade in proportion to her population. The value of the products of Russian industry as reckoned by Witte in 1897 was less than one-tenth, that of agriculture one-fifteenth, of those of the United States. The Russian farmers, confesses Witte, are in the economic position of European farmers of 1800 or 1850."

Still, poor and wretched as this population is, the people not only bear the whole weight of the government, but out of their income of about sixty dollars per year for each family they send large quantities of food to the better-fed people of the world:

"In 1906, when the official reports showed that thirty million people were on the verge of starvation, Russia's grain exports actually reached a value of more than five hundred million rubles—more than sufficient to have prevented the death by famine diseases of several hundred thousand children, and to have kept alive millions of dying horses and cattle on which the peasants' life or death in the future depended. If the peasants had not been pauperized by taxes, they would have bought this grain and never have allowed it to leave the country. If the landlords had not been subsidized for a generation, they would never have owned either the grain or the land that produced it, and the famine would not even have existed. For famine is a by-product of poverty."

This record of over-production in a land of poverty must bring comfort to the reasoning faculties of many a professor of political economy in our American colleges, besides furnishing abundant excuse to our American statesmen for slaughtering Filipinos, to provide markets for the over-production of fat that is destroying our American workmen.

In this land of poverty, only a spark was needed to light the fires of revolution. This spark was furnished by the war with Japan. The return of the weary, starving soldiers, and the increased burdens of the war, left a fertile field for agitation and discontent. The hired assassins of the Emperor could not put down the spirit of revolt, so the Czar resorted to the same extremity as the French ruler before the Revolution—he summoned the "States General." As in France, more than a hundred years before, the people saw the first hope of freedom and relief from the bondage of the past. They eagerly sent their representatives to the "Douma"; although the nobles and landlords and aristocracy were given representation at the polls a hundred to one of the artisan and peasant, still the first Douma was so revolutionary that the Czar arbitrarily dissolved the body and sent its members home.

Another Douma was convened, and in spite of almost impossible conditions of suffrage, the second Douma was as revolutionary as the first.

This Douma was largely Socialistic. It had the sense to know that political liberty is impossible without economic freedom, and the wit to understand that this could not come with private ownership of land, railroads and monopolies. The half-starved, ragged, ignorant peasants sent their representatives to the Douma—not lawyers, but peasants—and strange as it may seem, these peasants had a grasp of the great problems of government and social life that the lawyers and nobles could scarcely comprehend. It has always been a cause of wonder how much learning can filter down to the people who never had a college education; and likewise a cause of wonder how little knowledge can filter up to those who have a college education.

The Douma at once made it manifest that it was a social revolution as well as a political revolution that was on.

It was a peasant who had never been to college or studied in a school of oratory who arose in the Douma and expressed these sentiments about "sacred property rights":

"Do you landlords sitting here think that we do not remember that you used to bet us on cards and exchange us for hunting dogs? (Thunderous applause.) . . . Once the people make up their minds to it there is nothing sacred. . . . You say your property is sacred and inviolable. I will tell you one thing, that we will never purchase it; the peasants that sent me here told me to tell you the land is ours; we do not want to buy it, but to take it."

It was a body of peasants gathered together in a mean village in the midst of wretchedness and want that sent this address to the Douma:

"We are born and brought up in the villages. We do not know any other occupation except agriculture We are not in a condition to occupy ourselves with other things because we are lacking the means for it. Agriculture has to nourish us; it has to give us the possibility of saving a few pennies for our dark days, for the famine years, or in case we have to marry off a daughter or send our sons into military service. This occupation has to give us means of paying taxes, of paying for our elected authorities, our clergy, our school, our hospitals, and of constructing our roads and paying the indirect taxes, which are the most important of all and fall entirely on us. All the taxes on alcohol, petroleum, tea, sugar and matches come principally from us. We have to extract hundreds of millions of rubles from our land to pay for the needs of the state, and in spite of this the land that we possess gives us a chance to live only in a half-starved condition.

"That is what we are suffering from, the lack of land; but the lack of liberty makes us suffer still more. We have such a quantity of officials over us that at times we do not know whom we ought to fear most. We do not know why they exist in such a number, or who has installed them, but we know that those who are most numerous here are like guards over prisons. One might think that we peasants are the greatest of criminals. All our officials shout at us, curse us, threaten us with prison, the whip, and with forced military service. They have only one law, the club. They know only one kind word to address us with; it is 'give.'

"The 'land officials,' the police captain, the police colonel and the governor, even the elected authorities of the village, even the priests who ought to be our fathers in Christ, they, too, do nothing but laugh at us. Our assembly has no power over them. All the power is in the hands of the officials and the upper classes. We build schools to have our children taught. We want our children to learn the truth in these schools, but the officials send us teachers not of our choice. These teachers teach our children all sorts of stupidity in the place of true knowledge. They forbid our children to read good books. They hide the truth from them. We do not know where the taxes go that are collected from us, but we know that if we do not pay them in time acts of violence are committed against us.

"We have no true justice. We have no defense, if injustice is committed against us. When we want to defend ourselves soldiers are sent and beat us. It is our brothers and sons that do the beating, our brothers and our children whom we tear from our families and send to defend the Fatherland. They teach them instead to kill their own brothers, but they do not learn how to defend the Fatherland.

"The people must have the liberty of meeting and of speaking freely about everything, about affairs of state and about social questions. The censorship must be abolished.

"All crimes must be judged by jury, and the right should not exist to arrest any one more than two days without judgment."

These peasants, and, in fact, the whole Russian nation, rich and poor alike, understood that:

"The Russian revolution is not a mere political struggle for emancipation from

an archaic form of government—it is a movement of the masses of the people to regenerate Russian society. An old order is doomed—its government, its ruling caste, its ruling ideas, its religion, its property, its property forms, its economic methods and its dominating social power. The new order cannot by any possibility be ushered in by mere political changes modeled on the political institutions of England or the United States. With the autocratic form of government will go many of the social wrongs that weigh down both the peasants and the relatively more prosperous and more educated people.

"The Russian upheaval is, then, a conscious social movement, and this is why it may develop into the most portentous historic event up to the present time. Like former revolutions and civil wars in France, England, and the United States, it claims for the citizens the political rights of men. But unlike any preceding national cataclysm, it insists on social as well as political rights, on economic equality, on the right of every man to as much land as he can till, and of no man to more, and on the right of all the people to all the land for all time.

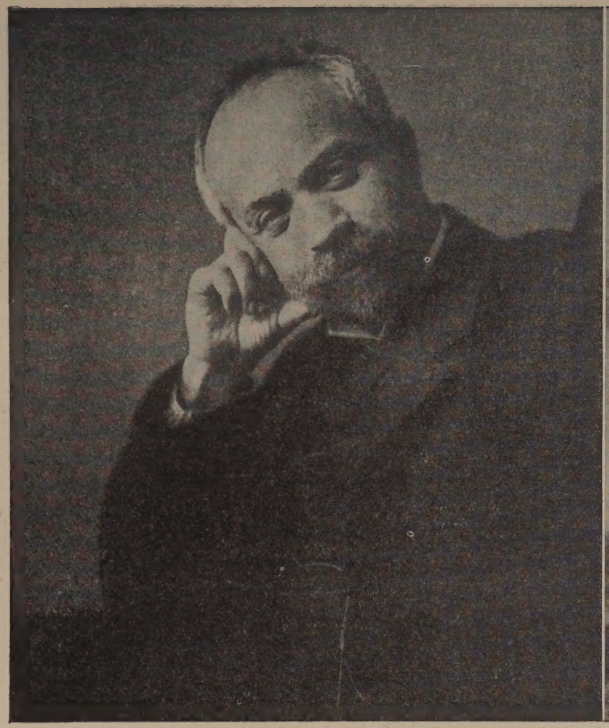
"The hundred million know very well they are asking for no simple social reform, but for a social revolution and the mastery of their country. They knew that they were not likely to see their strivings of half a century satisfied by a Douma in the full power of the Czar. The instructions, 'ukases,' they sent to their deputies by the tens of thousands were filled with a sense of the probable bitterness of the coming conflict. 'Fight on, you fighters,' were the exact words of one of these. 'Fight to the bitter end. Go forward fearlessly for the people's cause. Many millions of dead-worn and tormented peasants look to you and wait. As long as you are with us we will stand by you.' The deputies obeyed. In the Douma they denounced the government and all its works; when the Douma was closed they called the people to armed rebellion. They fought to the bitter end—prison and the shadow of the scaffold. And the peasants kept their word, too, as far as their power allowed, for they frequently offered their lives and liberty to save their deputies from arrest."

The Russian revolution, like all revolutions, challenges every human institution. Even the religion which the ages have fastened upon their minds is being tried again by the Russian peasants, as it was by the French peasants a hundred years before. In the ranks of the revolutionists are not alone the poor, but the doctor, the lawyer, the professor, the priest, and even the nobleman.

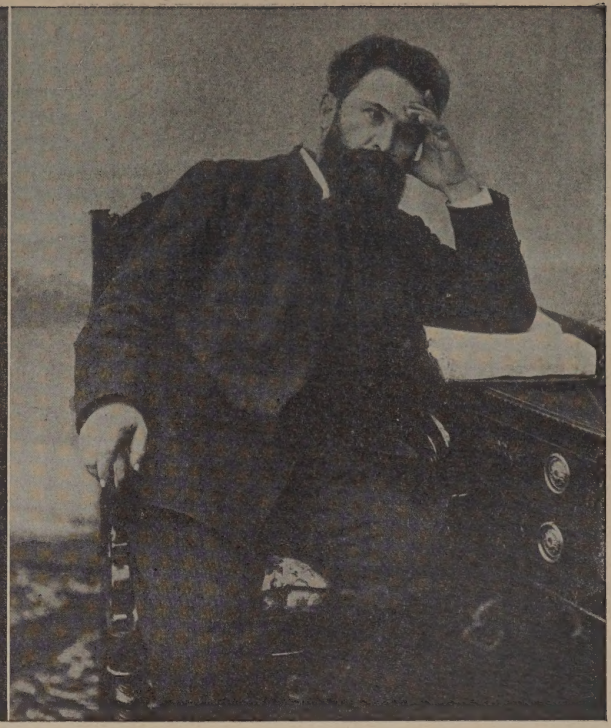
As in France, and in the coal strikes in Pennsylvania, the Russian priests are not all arrayed on one side. The rich and favored priests are with the government, and many of the poor priests and idealists with the revolution. When industrial war breaks out, in whatever form, it cuts through every institution and class, and men divide on industrial lines. It was a monk that sent out the following appeal directed against the enemies of the Czar:

"In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the great anchorite of the Lavra in Kiev has ordered the people to be informed that Saint Vladimir who first christened the Russian people, has risen out of the bowels of the earth, waked up the anchorite and wept with him about the Fatherland, brought to shame by the Poles and the Jews.

"O God, where is the courage of Russia that once hurled back the foreign hordes? Shame and dishonor to the descendants of the holy Vladimir who trembled before a handful of cowardly Jews and street urchins they have employed. All of us to whom the name of Russia is still dear must know that the Jew and the Pole are thirsting for our blood, that they are trying to set us against one another so as to reach the throne over our dead bodies and overthrow the Czar.



BOGORAZ (THE POET "TAN")
A founder of the Peasants and Teachers' unions



KOROLENKO
Novelist of international fame, who has frequently been exiled

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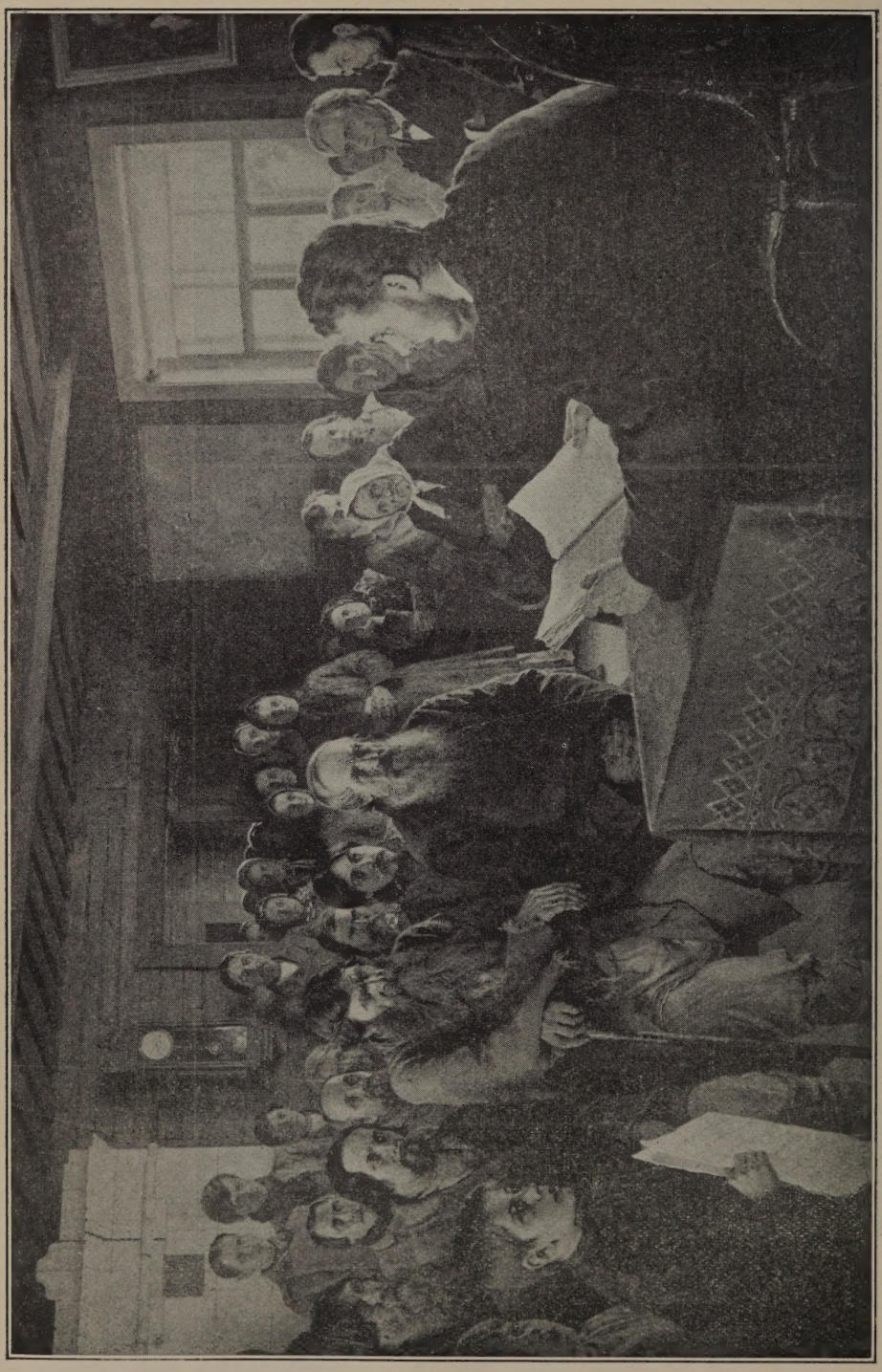

UNIVERSITY STUDENT GIVING A FREE LECTURE TO THE PEASANTS.

From a celebrated painting. By special permission of Doubleday, Page & Company.

"Gather, all of you, in the churches, and take counsel there as to how the Fatherland is to be defended against the Poles and the Jews.

"Do not kill the Poles and the Jews, but give the students who are sent by them the sound thrashing they deserve.

"Each person who receives this letter must make at least three copies and send them to other villages and towns.

"He who has not fulfilled this order in six days will undergo serious sickness and evil, but whoever spreads more than three copies of this letter will be granted recovery from incurable diseases and will prosper in all things. In St. Sophia Cathedral and the cloister of St. Michael many will assemble, and when they go out they will call out to the people that it shall gather itself together against the Jews and the Poles."

It was Father Petrov, a priest beloved of the people, who joined the revolution and was banished, who sent out this:

"There is no Christian Czar and no Christian government. Conditions of life are not Christian. The upper classes rule the lower classes. A little group keeps the rest of the population enslaved. This little group has robbed the working people of wealth, power, science, art, and even religion, which they have also subjected; they have left them only ignorance and misery. In the place of pleasure they have given the people drunkenness; in the place of religion, gross superstition; and besides, the work of a convict, a work without rest or reward. That which the upper class have taken either by force or by artifice they have called their sacred property. When the nobility had serfs the latter were very sacred property; at present some of them have taken possession of the land and this they call sacred property. If the rich had been able to take the sky, the air, the sea, or the stars, they would still have called all this their sacred property. They squeeze out heavy rents for the maintenance of their idleness, and when the people, brought nearly to exhaustion by their suffering, outraged in its highest feelings, speaks of rights, demands for its labor, a part of their abundance, the rich classes send against it with cannons and bayonets its own brothers—only dressed up in the uniforms of soldiers and transformed by barrack drill into a machine that kills."

This revolution has already claimed its victims by the hundred thousands. The best and bravest have been butchered and banished, and still ten new patriots spring cheerfully into the arena to take the place of each slaughtered victim. The peasants and the workmen, almost as a man, are against the present order. The Czar, cold, pulseless, dull, sits immovable in the midst of the cataclysm which is shaking his empire. The Czar, the vice-regent of the Almighty, sits upon his throne, calling the church, the army, the noble, the rich, the hired butcher, the criminal and the depraved to murder his helpless children and drive them back to the night and serfdom of the past.

CLARENCE S. DARROW.
*Chicago, Illinois.*

# OUR LITERARY SECTION: BEST BOOKS OF THE HOLIDAY SEASON.

*With Whistler in Venice.* By Otto H. Bacher. Illustrated with reproductions of 26 Whistler etchings; 3 Whistler lithographs; 5 Whistler letters, and 13 etchings and photographs by Mr. Bacher. Cloth. Pp. 289. Price, $4.00 net, postage 35 cents. New York: The Century Company.

ONE OF the most interesting, valuable and thoroughly artistic volumes of the present holiday season is Otto H. Bacher's superb work entitled *With Whistler in Venice.* It is a volume that not only artists and admirers of Whistler will desire to possess, but it will also appeal to all thoughtful persons interested in the art of our age; for here is not merely a charming story of one of the very fruitful periods of Whistler's life, given in a graphic and fascinating manner, but the work is magnificently illustrated with twenty-six striking Whistler etchings, some of which give the pictures in various stages, or as they were modified by Whistler by the addition of objects.

The author was a young artist in Venice when introduced to Whistler. The latter, on seeing his work, expressed deep interest in the same, and a strong friendship grew up between the famous artist and the student, which lasted until the death of Whistler. This friendship early brought Mr. Bacher into such intimate relations with the artist that he perhaps better than any other friend of this period is fitted to tell the story of Whistler's life and work in Venice.

Something of the author's easy and pleasing style may be gathered from the following description of his first introduction to Whistler:

"One day, some time later, as several of us were leaving the Academy of Fine Arts, we saw the American consul, Mr. Grist, and a curious, sailorlike stranger coming down the steps of the iron bridge that crosses the Grand Canal. The latter was short, thin and wiry, with a head that seemed large and out of proportion to the lithe figure. His large, wide-brimmed, soft, brown hat was tilted far back, and suggested a brown halo. It was a background for his curly black hair and singular white lock, high over his right eye, like a fluffy feather carelessly left where it had lodged. A dark sack-coat almost covered an extremely low turned-down collar, while a narcow black ribbon did service as a tie, the long pennant-like ends of which, flapping about, now and then hit his single eye-glass.

"'These are all American boys,' I heard the consul say, and when we reached him, he said, indicating us all, with a motion of his hand: 'Boys, let me introduce you to Mr. Whistler.'

"'Whistler is charmed,' was the greeting to each one, as we shook his hand.

"When my turn came, the consul said, 'Mr. Whistler, this is the boy who etches.'

"'Ah, indeed! Whistler is quite charmed, and will be glad to see your work.'

"He was charming and gracious to us all, now and then uttering his odd, short, piercing 'Ha! Ha!' Later, as I knew him better, I learned that laugh so well that I could readily distinguish whether it was a signal of danger or of peace."

Here is a pen-picture of one of Whistler's visits to the rooms of the artist. It will recall to many readers memories of school days long since vanished:

"One dismal, rainy Sunday many of my fellow-students had gradually congregated in my quarters. Not a bed, chair or corner was unoccupied, and the room was thick with smoke, noise and laughter. The uproar within stifled the fury of the storm and the torrents of rain swashing against the windows. Suddenly one voice, louder than the rest, was heard above the turmoil, crying, 'Some one 's knocking. Come in!' 'Stay out!' yelled another, and with a bang a shoe struck the door, to welcome a supposed companion trying some trick.

"In spite of the uproar, I thought I heard a gentle rap, so I opened the door. There stood Whistler, wet and smiling, asking in a gentle voice, amid a painful stillness:

"'May I come in?'

"And in he came. He accepted the situation charmingly, in the spirit of the fun. He received a warm welcome and dry clothes, and was soon the center of a group of young fellows whom he delighted with his sparkling pleasantries. He liked our surroundings, was charmed with the vistas from our windows, and

NOCTURNE—EARLY STATE.

From "With Whistler in Venice," by Otto H. Bacher. Copyright, 1908, by the Century Company.

asked permission to come and sketch from them, which was eagerly given."

"Whistler," according to our author, "was always scrupulously dressed, ordinarily wearing a sack-coat, white shirt with turned-down collar, and white duck trousers; but on rainy days he donned trousers to match his coat. A brown felt hat completed his costume. In wearing evening dress he always omitted the tie. While one might think that this would give him an unfinished look, it did not appear so badly as it might seem. He often said, 'Only Whistler would do it.'

"He rose early, worked strenuously, and retired late. He seemed to forget the ordinary hours for meals and would often have to be called over and over again, unfinished work frequently being taken in hand just at this time."

"He visited in a social way many houses of Americans living in Venice, and was much desired, for he had a very exceptional charm in his conversation and a wonderful power of description, so wonderful that he left a vivid impression upon the mind. His choice of words was always a marked feature, a characteristic which is admired in his writings. His manners were elegant. He could always adapt himself to any situation and, at the same time, retain his dignity and personality.

"Whistler was a brilliant talker and a great debater. I shall never forget my surprise when I heard him say for the first time: 'Bacher, I am not arguing with you; I am telling you.' I never forgot the lesson. Later I found that he had used this effectively in one of his letters to the London *World*, when he said: 'Seriously, then, my Atlas, an etching does not depend, for its importance, upon its size. I am not arguing with you; I am telling you.' He spoke French fluently, German less readily. His Italian was very good, particularly under excitement, though occasionally a French word slipped in unawares, adding to the picturesqueness. I recall that he considered Poe our greatest poet. His favorite themes were the old Venetian painters."

"He was a prodigious worker, and led a very strenuous life, yet he succeeded in getting an immense amount of fun and good living. Age rested very lightly upon him." The following indicates something of the high esteem in which the artist was held by our author:

"Whistler was a master spirit in 'the science of the Beautiful,' as he defined art. It was the one subject upon which he would allow no jesting. Whatever medium he selected, whether a creation on canvas from memory, a painting from nature in oils, a water-color—pure or a *gouache*—it was fascinating to the full limits of his medium. In pastels, composition and color surprises dominated, remaining in the memory as the down of many-colored butterflies. Lithography was a commercially debased art before Whistler forced the grease-crayon into a higher standard of beauty than it had ever attained before. If mural painting was his task, his tints glowed

ROBERT HICHENS.

Author of "Egypt and Its Monuments." By permission of the Century Company.

as if his brush had been dipped in rainbow hues. In his etchings, he spun web-like lines of exquisite beauty. If an exhibition hall was to be transformed with drapery, he made it like the brilliancy of the sunshine. Apart from his art, if he laid aside his brush to take up the pen, he was no less competent. His influence on the press was always effective."

The pen-picture of Whistler, the man and the artist; the estimate of his work; and the description of the artist and his companions in their lighter moods and hours of recreation, are so graphic as to render the story, even for the general reader, as fascinating as a charming romance; while the wealth of Whistler etchings, the lithographic reproductions and *fac-similes* of letters add materially to its artistic value, the whole making one of the most attractive gift books of the year.

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*Egypt and Its Monuments.* By Robert Hichens. Illustrated with 20 full-page color plates from paintings by Jules Guerin, and many half-tones from photographs. Ornamental cloth, stamped in gold and colors. Pp. 272. Price, $6.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

If you have a dear friend who possesses the imagination of a poet and the eye of an artist, to whom you wish to make a beautiful holiday present, you cannot, we think, find any gift-book which would hold for him greater charm and value than Robert Hichens' magnificent volume, *Egypt and Its Monuments*, illustrated as it is with twenty full-page color plates from paintings made on the ground by the eminent French artist, Jules Guerin, and also with about forty fine full-page half-tones from admirable photographs. The illustrations will acquaint the reader with the external aspects of all the more notable monuments and historic landmarks in this land which is to-day the most interesting cemetery of a once mighty civilization; the land of silence and mystery, the home of the Sphinx and the tomb of the Pharaohs. M. Guerin possesses the real imaginative power so essential to great artists. He has not only seen Egypt as the ordinary man of culture and refinement sees it, but he has felt the spell of the old-time civilization, and feeling that, he has put into his pictures the indefinable something which is actualized before the mental vision of the poet, the artist and the philosopher.

But the art features of this book are the complement rather than the dominating note. From first to last Mr. Hichens holds the most commanding place in the interest of the reader. Few modern masters of prose composition can so enthrall the imagination as does this author. His is the rich fancy of the poet and without the limitations imposed by the laws of versifiction, he is able to splendidly portray the images or dream-pictures as they are called from the recesses of his brain by the witchery of the mysterious past in the presence of the mighty monuments that are the marvel of the ages. Take, for example, this description of the Sphinx:

"It is, I think, one of the most astounding facts in the history of man that a man was able to contain within his mind, to conceive, the conception of the Sphinx. That he could carry it out in the stone is amazing. But how much more amazing it is that before there was the Sphinx he was able to see it with his imagination!

. . . . . .

"He who created it looked beyond Egypt, beyond the life of man. He grasped the conception of Eternity, and realized the nothingness of Time, and he rendered it in stone.

"I can imagine the most determined atheist looking at the Sphinx and, in a flash, not merely believing, but feeling that he had before him proof of the life of the soul beyond the grave, of the life of the soul of Khufu beyond

MOONRISE: THE GREAT PYLON OF EDFU.

From "Egypt and Its Monuments," by Robert Hichens. Copyright, 1908, by the Century Company.

the tomb of his pyramid. Always as you return to the Sphinx you wonder at it more, you adore more strangely its repose, you steep yourself more intimately in the aloof peace that seems to emanate from it as light emanates from the sun. And as you look on it at last perhaps you understand the infinite; you understand where is the bourne to which the finite flows with all its greatness, as the great Nile flows from beyond Victoria Nyanza to the sea."

Again, let us view the Pyramids of Ghizeh through the author's eyes:

"And as the wonder of the Sphinx takes possession of you gradually, so gradually do you learn to feel the majesty of the Pyramids of Ghizeh. Unlike the Step Pyramid of Sakkara, which, even when one is near it, looks like a small mountain, part of the land on which it rests: the Pyramids of Ghizeh look what they are—artificial excresences, invented and carried out by man, expressions of man's greatness. Exquisite as they are as features of the drowsy golden landscape at the setting of the sun, I think they look most wonderful at night, when they are black beneath the stars. On many nights I have sat in the sand at a distance and looked at them, and always, and increasingly, they have stirred my imagination. Their profound calm, their classical simplicity, are greatly emphasized when no detail can be seen, when they are but black shapes towering to the stars. They seem to aspire then like prayers prayed by one who has said, 'God does not need my prayers, but I need them.' In their simplicity they suggest a crowd of thoughts, and of desires. Guy de Maupassant has said that of all the arts architecture is perhaps the most esthetic, the most mysterious, and the most nourished by ideas. How true this is you feel as you look at the Great Pyramid by night. It seems to breathe out mystery. The immense base recalls to you the labyrinth within; the long descent from the tiny slit that gives you entrance, your uncertain steps in its hot, eternal night, your foot falls on the ice-like surfaces of its polished blocks of stone, the crushing weight that seemed to lie on your heart as you stole uncertainly on, summoned almost as by the desert; your sensation of being forever imprisoned, taken and hidden by a monster from Egypt's wonderful light, as you stood in the central chamber, and realized the stone ocean into whose depths, like some intrepid diver, you had dared deliberately to come. And then your eyes travel up the slowly shrinking walls till they reach the dark point which is the top. There you stood with Abou, who spends half his life on the highest stone, hostages of the sun, bathed in light and air that perhaps came to you from the Gold Coast. And you saw men and camels like flies, and Cairo like a gray blur, and the Mokattam hills almost as a higher ridge of the sands. The mosque of Mohammed Ali was like a cup turned over. Far below slept the dead in that graveyard of the Sphinx, with its pale stones, its sand, its palm, its 'Sycamores of the South,' once worshiped and regarded as Hathor's living body. And beyond them on one side were the sleeping waters, with islands small, surely, as delicate Egyptian hands, and on the other the great desert that stretches, so the Bedouins say, on and on 'for a march of a thousand days.'

"That base and that summit—what suggestion and what mystery in their contrast! What sober, eternal beauty in the dark line which unites them, now sharply, yet softly, defined against the night, which is purple as the one garment of the fellah! That line leads the soul irresistibly from earth to the stars."

One is tempted to quote at length, but all quotations inadequately convey the pictures here conjured up or impart the atmosphere that surrounds the reader who in the pages of this volume journeys through Egypt hand in hand with Jules Guerin and Robert Hichens.

We repeat, this is the gift-book *par excellence* for those who care to yield to the entrancing spell of poetry, art, history and the mystic message of the vanished past—a past great as it is mysterious and pregnant with haunting truths that sound the depths of philosophy and have engaged the profoundest thought of sage, philosopher, dreamer and mystic since before Thebes and Karnak were; before the Pyramids challenged Time and the Sphinx first gazed with unseeing eyes over the waste of earth in a vigil destined to stretch for ages ere the wind-strewn sands should entomb the silent watcher.

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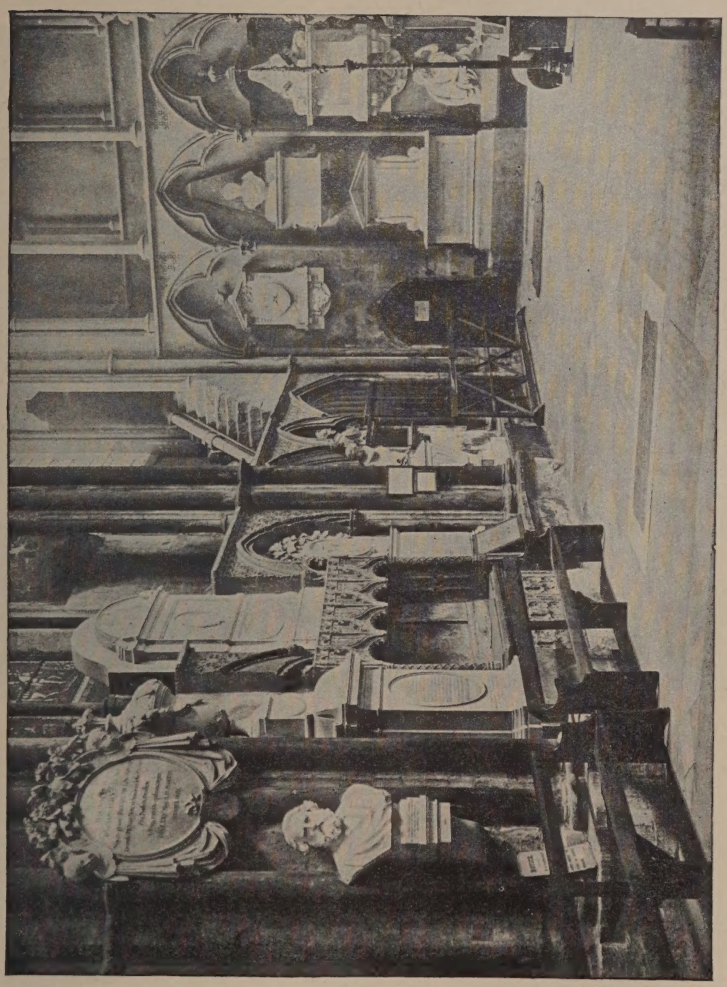
*Untrodden English Ways.* By Henry C. Shelley, author of *Literary By-Paths in Old England*, *John Harvard and His Times*, etc. With four plates in color, thirty-two full-page plates in half-tone, and thirty illustrations in the text from photographs specially taken by the author. Cloth. Pp. 341. Price, $3.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.



POETS' CORNER, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

From "Untrodden English Ways," by Henry C. Shelley. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

A LAND at once so rich in legend, song and story, in historic interest and in picturesque beauty as is England, is full of charm for thoughtful people of imagination and refined taste; while for Anglo-Saxons there is scarcely a nook or corner barren of interest. For Britain, like Greece and Rome, has filled a large place in the story of Western civilization and has splendidly enriched the world by her literature, scientific research, discoveries, inventions and politico-economic ideals.

VIEW ON THE RIVER. *Jakob van Ruisdael.*

From "Through the Gates of the Netherlands," by Mary E. Waller. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

Of late years, owing to the wonderful increase in facilities for rapid transportation and accommodations that have made travel comparatively cheap and free from discomfort, as well as the multitudinous methods for pictorial reproductions, the reading world to its remotest corners has become familiar with the chief points of interest in England. But it remained for Mr. Shelley to acquaint the public with new fields of interest about which the many know little.

In his *Untrodden English Ways* he conducts his readers on a journey replete in charm and rich in information. True, he at times strays into well-trodden pathways, but here as elsewhere his charming presentation makes the subject glow with new interest. To illustrate, we quote a few passages from his chapter entitled "The Poets' Corner":

"From Chaucer to Tennyson! Between those two names, separated by five hundred years, lies the splendid story of English literature as it is summed up in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey. What a shrine for the devout literary pilgrim! Here he may stand beside the dust of that poet who ushered in the dawn of English literature, and while he does so his feet are above the grave of him who was its latter-day glory.

"Between these two, what suns and stars have swum into the firmament of English verse and prose! Not all have had their setting in this proud minster; the greatest of the band sleeps beside his own Avon, and others of the mighty dead are scattered here and there not only over the fair face of that land whose inner life they interpreted but also in the soil of the great Republic of the West. Here, however, are laid to rest, or have memorial, the chief of those who have raised the stately fame of English literature; here, carved in stone, are

the names of those who have left their impress most deeply upon the English-speaking race.

"Those who laid Chaucer in his grave in this south transept of the Abbey were the true though unconscious founders of the Poets' Corner. They buried wiser than they knew. Standing, as he does, the earliest commanding figure in English literature, how seemly it was that Chaucer should be the first to consecrate this part of the national Valhalla as the resting place of the poets.

"Yet it appears to have been merely an accident which led to the burial within these walls of him who told the Canterbury Tales. In other words, it was not because he was a poet that Chaucer found his resting place beside the dust of kings, but because, for a brief season, he was one of the officials of the Abbey. Although he had enjoyed the favor of three Kings, although John of Gaunt had been his constant patron, although he had been entrusted with several important diplomatic missions, Chaucer's old age was overshadowed with poverty. It was at that period of his life that he held for a short time the office of clerk of the works at Westminster, and it is to that fact, and also to his having breathed his last in an old house in the monastery garden, that his interment within the Abbey is to be attributed.

. . . . . .

"'In the poetical quarter,' wrote Addison in his famous essay on the Abbey, 'I found that there were poets who had no monuments, and monuments which had no poets.' Shakespeare is an example of the last statement; Beaumont of the first—for he lies under a nameless stone. But from Shakespeare's time onwards, monument or no monument, it came to be recognized that in this south transept was the fitting sepulchre of the nation's chief singers and if circumstances did not always allow of their actual burial here, it was still possible to record their fame by storied urn or sculptured bust. And so we have the glorious Poets' Corner of to-day. It is true there are some names missing from the scroll of fame kept within this narrow space, and the absence of several of those names may give the pilgrim pause. There is Pope, for example—why has he no memorial here? Because he desired none. It was his wish to be buried by the side of his mother in Twickenham Church, and his epitaph in that building, written by himself, records that it is 'For one that would not be buried in Westminster Abbey.' But the absentees are not numerous, and he who is well-read in all the verse suggested by the names on these walls is to be envied his knowledge of English poetry."

HELEN KELLER.

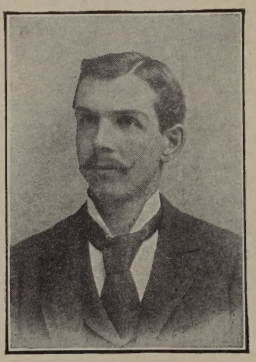
From "The World I Live In." Copyright, 1908, by the Century Company.

Thus, though there are some pages like the chapter on "The Poets' Corner," given to very well-known haunts, this work for the most part is concerned with interesting and picturesque parts of England that have been too much neglected by travelers. One of the chapters of interest to persons of widely differing tastes is on "Bunhill Fields," a famous Nonconformist cemetery where lie buried John Bunyan, Daniel Defoe, Isaac Watts, William Blake, and other men eminent in the literary

and religious history of England. Of the two most famous men who are buried in this cemetery, Mr. Shelley says:

"By common consent the two books which, next to the Bible, have been most widely read by English-speaking people are *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe*.

"Of the first Coleridge declared that he knew no book he could so safely recommend 'as teaching and enforcing the whole saving truth'; Swift found in one of its chapters better entertainment and information than in long discourses on the will and intellect; Southey eulogized it as 'a clear stream of current English'; Lord Kames found its style akin to that of Homer with its 'proper mixture of the dramatic and narrative'; and Macaulay concluded his judgment of its author with this oft-cited tribute: 'We are not afraid to say that, though there were many clever men in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century, there were only two great creative minds. One of these minds produced the *Paradise Lost* and the other *Pilgrim's Progress.*'"



AMOS G. WARNER.

Author of "American Charities."

By permission of T. Y. Crowell & Company.

"Nor has *Robinson Crusoe* failed to win equal praise. Dr. Johnson placed it first among the three books he wished longer; Rousseau hailed it as the most complete 'treatise on natural education'; Lamb declared it 'delightful to all ranks and classes,' equally at home in the kitchen and the libraries of the wealthiest and the most learned; Leslie Stephen credited its author with the gift of a tongue 'to which no one could listen without believing every word that he uttered'; and Sir Walter Scott sums up the judgment of all by declaring that 'there exists no book, either of instruction or entertainment, in the English language, which has been more generally read, and more universally admired.'"

John Bunyan was buried at Bunhill Fields owing to the fact that he died in London, whither he had gone on business. En route to the city he had been overtaken by a drenching rain, and though he preached Sunday as was his wont, he was soon taken seriously ill and died. Of his death and burial our author observes:

"He was able to preach on the Sunday after his arrival, but on the Tuesday following he was seized with a violent fever, and ten days later he breathed his last, his final utterance being, 'Take me, for I come to Thee.' And then his friends recalled that in his last sermon he had said: 'Dost thou see a soul that has the image of God in him? Love him, love him: say, "*This* man and I must go to heaven one day"; serve one another, do good for one another; and if any wrong you, pray to God to right you, and love the brotherhood.'

. . . . . .

"Many of the better-off dissenters of London must have contended for the honor of acting host to the lovable Bedford preacher. On his last visit that privilege fell to the lot of one John Strudwick, a grocer in whose house ready hospitality had been given him often before. Mr. Strudwick possessed a vault in Bunhill Fields, where he had the mournful satisfaction of laying the dust of the immortal dreamer. The monument, which was restored by public subscription in 1862, sustains a recumbent figure of the Bedford preacher and bears the simple inscription: 'John Bunyan, Author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *ob.* 31st August, 1688, *æt.* 60.'"

Of the other famous author whose mortal remains rest here, Mr. Shelley says:

"Forty-three years were to elapse ere the author of *Robinson Crusoe* came to join the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the silent companionship of Bunhill Fields. Unlike in their lives and characters, Bunyan and Defoe had nothing in common in death. Pitiful, indeed, is the contrast between the final earthly hours of these two. Such fame and prosperity as Defoe won by *Robinson Crusoe* came to him late in life, for he was nearly sixty when he penned that classic; but for all that the closing year or two of his existence held nothing of the comfort of wealth or the happiness of renown."

One is tempted to quote at length from this work, as every chapter abounds in subjects of deep interest, presented in a most beguiling manner, but the above selections will serve to illustrate the author's happy style.

The work contains twenty chapters, bearing the following titles: "At the Edge of the Land," "Fair Devon," "Bath and Its Baths,"

"John Keble's Hursley," "Oatlands Park," "Poets' Corner," "Royalty in Wax," "Bunhill Fields," "Fred Walker's Cookham," "By Famous Graves," "Concerning Dick Turpin," "Beaconsfield," "The Norfolk Broads," "In the Lincolnshire Fens,." "Witney and Minster Lovel," "Three Memorable Pulpits," "Five Famous Schools," "Water Worship in Derbyshire," "Warkworth and Its Hermitage," and "A Highland Noble's Home."

There are four color plates and forty half-tone pictures printed in sepia from excellent photographs taken by the author, together with numerous pen-and-ink sketches which appear in the text, the whole making one of the most beautiful holiday volumes of the year.

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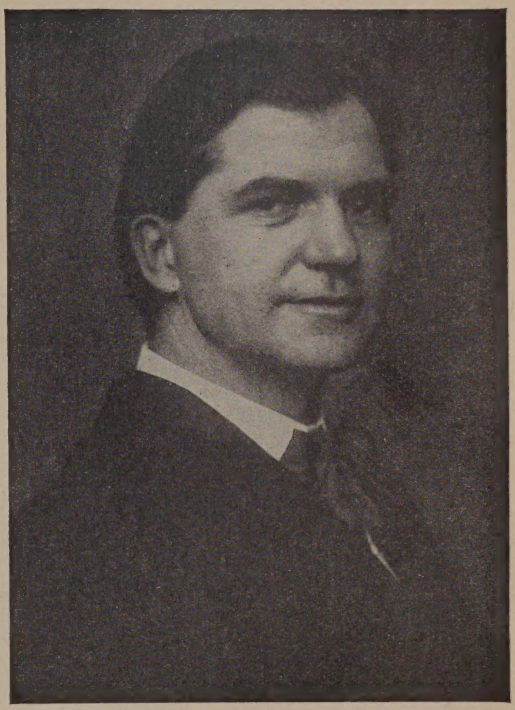
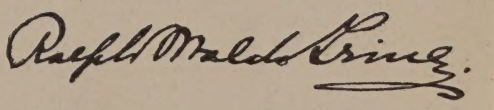
*Through the Gates of the Netherlands.* By Mary E. Waller. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 337. Price, $1.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

One of the most delightful of the holiday books of travel is Miss Waller's *Through the Gates of the Netherlands.* It is a thoroughly enjoyable record, half-story, half traveler's diary, of some memorable months spent in Holland and The Netherlands. The author writes interestingly and easily of the people and their customs, of famous buildings and places of historic interest, and especially of the Dutch painters and their work. She personally visited many of the scenes immortalized in Dutch masterpieces and sought out the sources of inspiration of many of the masters. She gives the following interesting hint in regard to what effect his early environment may have had on the work of Rembrandt, the miller's son:

"That he was a miller's son, this we know. With this fact in mind let any one, if he have opportunity, enter one of the huge windmills for the grinding of grain in any province of the Netherlands. Let him note the effect of the light striking into the dim, high interior from the wide doorway. Notice the shaft of sunshine which, entering by some narrow aperture high up near the second story, falls athwart the curious half-light and renders the atmosphere, charged with flour-dust, luminous. The light is intensified itself by the narrow opening, and intensifies the illumined shadow on beam and rafter. Let him mount the long ladder to the second story, and as he descends, note the luminosity of the interior as seen from above. He will, seeing this, realize for the first time, that an impressionable small boy, a miller's son, some three hundred years ago, with an artist-soul just ready to germinate within him,





Author of "On the Open Road." By permission of T. Y. Crowell & Company.

must have been much in his father's mill, and the sensitive brain-films have unconsciously received impressions of light and its properties which were developed later in his art with such an intense power of permanence that we of to-day can but marvel.

"The truth of this was brought home to me one day as I stood within the great, dim interior of a grain mill on one of the islands of Zeeland. I saw about me, almost, it seemed to me, clairvoyantly for the moment, an early source of Rembrandt's psychology of light; for it is that. Other artists deal with its physiology; Rembrandt *alone* with the soul of it. Therein lies his apartness."

To New Englanders no town of Holland should hold such interest as quaint old Leyden, where in the Church of St. Peter, John Robinson lies buried; and yet, as Miss Waller points out, no memorial erected by the descendants of the Pilgrims marks a spot that should be sacred to every loyal son and daughter of New England. Most readers will, I am sure, agree with her in the suggestion that some permanent monument should be erected in this church to the memory of the little band who sailed in the Mayflower, and that it should bear on its face some fitting words by an American author; and surely, none more beautiful and inspiring could be found than this couplet by Lanier which Miss Waller quotes:

"Freedom lives, and Right shall stand;
Blood of Faith is in the land."

The book is beautifully illustrated with numerous full-page pictures in sepia, most of them reproductions of famous masterpieces by Dutch painters. The volume would make an ideal holiday gift. AMY C. RICH.

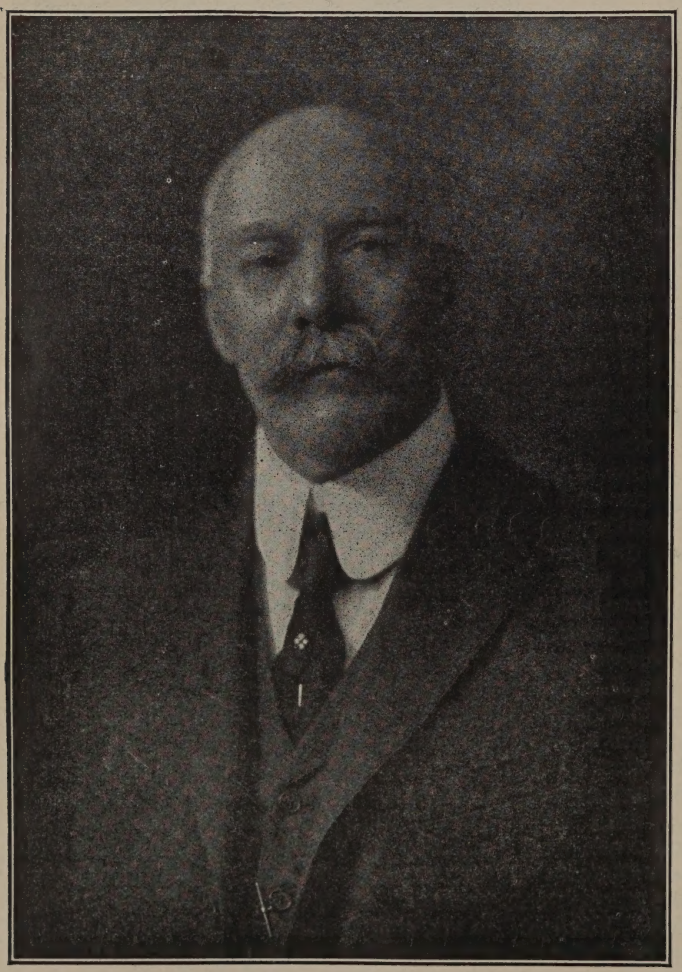
*The World I Live In.* By Helen Keller. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 195. Price, $1.20 net, postage 9 cents. New York: The Century Company.

THIS unique autobiography has a double value. As literature it is deserving of a permanent place, the style being direct, clear and forcible and marked by a rare beauty of diction; while as a record of the mental and physical impressions which life makes upon one to whom what we are accustomed to regard as the two main channels of knowledge have been closed, it is of extraordinary interest to the student of psychology as well as to the general reader.

Miss Keller writes most charmingly and with much intuitional insight and depth of feeling of the world which has been opened up to her through the avenues of touch and smell which latter she terms "the fallen angel," declaring that this sense is worthy of much more consideration and respect than is usually accorded it.

Of the greatest interest, perhaps, are the chapters on "The Dream World" and "Dreams and Reality," in which we catch a glimpse of the beautiful world of fancy which opens before the mind when the physical senses are slumbering. As illustrative not only of the author's style but also of her poetic insight, we quote the following passage from the chapter of "Dreams and Reality":

"Once in a dream I held



ORISON SWETT MARDEN.

Author of "He Can Who Thinks He Can." By permission of T. Y. Crowell & Company.

in my hand a pearl. I have no memory-vision of a real pearl. The one I saw in my dreams must, therefore, have been a creation of my imagination. It was a smooth, exquisitely moulded crystal. As I gazed into its shimmering deeps, my soul was flooded with an ecstasy of tenderness, and I was filled with wonder as one who should for the first time look into the cool, sweet heart of a rose. My pearl was dew and fire, the velvety green of moss, the soft whiteness of lilies, and the distilled hues and sweetness of a thousand roses. It seemed to me, the soul of beauty was dissolved in its crystal bosom. This beauteous vision strengthens my conviction that the world which the mind builds up out of countless subtle experiences and suggestions is fairer than the world of the senses. The splendor of the sunset my friends gaze at across the purpling hills is wonderful. But the sunset of the inner vision brings purer delight because it is the worshipful blending of all the beauty that we have known and desired."

BOTH BOY AND MAN RESTED THEIR HANDS GENTLY ON THE WAVY BLACK HAIR OF THE FAITHFUL DOG.

[*Page* 266.

From "Three of a Kind," by Richard Burton. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

To the ordinary man or woman in possession of all their senses, it is indeed a source of wonder that to the darkened life of the child bereft of sight, hearing and speech, it should have been possible to bring the light of knowledge. But intellectual attainments alone could never have produced a volume like the present. It is almost as if the writer possessed some marvelous sixth sense which enables her to apprehend spiritual truths beyond the ken of the majority.

AMY C. RICH.

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*American Charities.* By Amos G. Warner. Cloth. Pp. 510. Price, $2.00 net. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS valuable handbook was prepared fourteen years ago and at once became a standard work on the subject. The demand for it has been continuous, but the tables and data that are so important a part of such a work have become out of date, while many new facts call for a complete revision of the work. This important labor was undertaken by Mary R. Coolidge, an old pupil and colleague of Mr. Warner and a writer of prominence on questions relating to sociology, charity and philanthropy. The volume has been completely revised and all data and tables brought down as nearly as possible to date, while the fine spirit that marked the original work has been maintained.

The book is divided into four parts, treating of the subject historically and theoretically, the dependent classes, administration and finan-

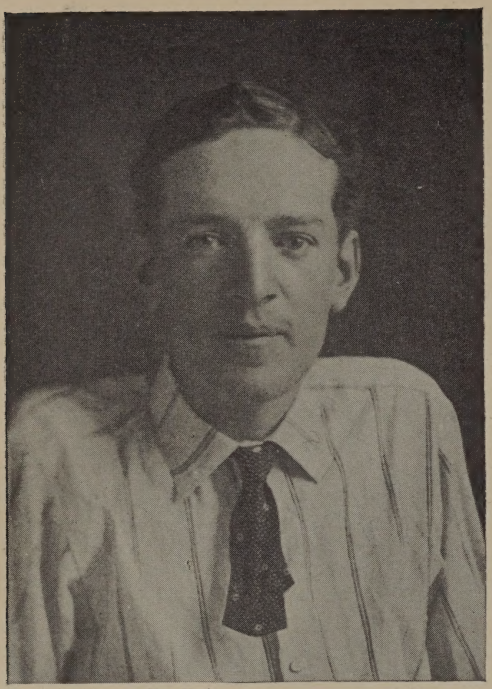

Photo. by Marceau, New York.

UPTON SINCLAIR,

Author of "The Money-Changers."

ciering, and the supervision, organization and betterments of charities. It is a very complete work and the tables will prove suggestive and helpful to students of social problems.

We incline to believe we are rapidly entering a revolutionary epoch in which the master-concern of society will be the surrounding of every citizen with conditions that will immediately minify other evils that follow in the wake of poverty. As a rule we have found those engaged in organized charities too frequently seem to regard their work as an end aimed at rather than merely as a palliative measure necessary until more fundamentally just conditions can be inaugurated. This attitude we believe to be distinctly subversive of the best interests of civilization, as it tends to make charity work demoralizing to those who support it. They seem to regard the evil as a necessary one and to think that when they have contributed to organized charity they are quit of responsibility. The great work of the twentieth century will be to complete the work of the eighteenth century that inaugurated the democratic era, by giving to men and women industrial freedom to complement political freedom; and when that just social order is established, the evils that are due to poverty and want will be reduced to a minimum.

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*On the Open Road.* By Ralph Waldo Trine. Ornamental boards, stamped in gold and colors. Pp. 66. Price, 50 cents net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

This little work is in our judgment by far the best thing that has come from the pen of Mr. Trine, and that is saying much. It is a treasury of inspiring, optimistic, sane and practical truths that by ministering to the inner man will revivify and strengthen life in all its ramifications; for there is no gainsaying the great truth that thought shapes life and we are largely what we think. The volume is a little work of lay sermons of hope and helpfulness.

After several appropriate quotations, Mr. Trine opens his work with "A Creed of the Open Road," and the different paragraphs of this creed are made the texts for the helpful sermons that follow. Perhaps we cannot better acquaint the reader with the value of the work than by giving the following paragraphs from this "Creed of the Open Road":

"To live to our highest in all things that pertain to us, and to lend a hand as best we can to all others for this same end.

"To aid in righting the wrongs that cross our path by pointing the wrong-doer to a better way, and thus aid him in becoming a power for good.

. . . . . .

"To love the fields and the wild flowers, the stars, the far-open sea, the soft, warm earth, and to live much with them alone; but to love struggling and weary men and women and every pulsing, living creature better.

. . . . . .

"To do our duty as we see it, regardless of the opinions of others—seeming gain or loss, temporary blame or praise.

. . . . . .

"To play the part of neither fool nor knave by attempting to judge another, but to give that same time to living more worthily ourselves.

. . . . . .

"To love and to hold due reverence for all people and all things, but to stand in awe or fear of nothing save our own wrong-doing.

"To recognize the good lying at the heart of all people, of all things, waiting for expression all in its own good way and time.

. . . . . .

"To know that work, occupation, something definite and useful to do, is one of the established conditions of happiness in life.

"To realize always clearly that thoughts are forces, that like creates like and like attracts like, and that to determine one's thinking therefore is to determine his life.

. . . . . .

"To know that the ever-conscious realization of the essential oneness of each life with the Divine Life is the highest of all knowledge, and that to open ourselves as opportune channels for the Divine Power to work in and through us is the open door to the highest attainment, and to the best there is in life.

"In brief—to be honest, to be fearless, to be just, joyous, kind. This will make our part in life's great and as yet not fully understood play one of greatest glory, and we need then stand in fear of nothing—life nor death; for death is life. Or rather, it is the quick transition to life in another form; the putting off of the old coat and the putting on of the new; a passing not from light to darkness, but from light to light according as we have lived here; a taking up of life in another form where we leave it off here; a part in life not to be shunned or dreaded or feared, but to be welcomed with a glad and ready smile when it comes *in its own* good way and time."

The book from first to last is richly worth the reading, and closes with the following exquisite little poem from one of Edwin Markham's volumes of verse:

"Teach me, Father, how to go
Softly as the grasses grow;
Hush my soul to meet the shock
Of the wild world as a rock;
But my spirit, propt with power,
Make as simple as a flower.
Let the dry heart fill its cup,
Like a poppy looking up;
Let life lightly wear her crown,
Like a poppy looking down,
When its heart is filled with dew,
And its life begins anew.

"Teach me, Father, how to be
Kind and patient as a tree.
Joyfully the crickets croon
Under shady oak at noon;
Beetle, on his misson bent,
Tarries in that cooling tent.
Let me, also, cheer a spot,
Hidden field or garden grot—
Place where passing souls can rest
On the way and be their best."

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*He Can Who Thinks He Can.* By Orison Swett Marden. Cloth. Pp. 250. Price, $1.00 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

This volume contains eighteen of the strongest and most inspiring editorials that originally appeared in *Success Magazine*. It is written in the popular style that appeals to the general reader who does not wish to dig deeply, and especially will it interest the young, as it abounds in incidents, anecdotes and illustrations that help to impress the author's thought and that are of real value because of their inspiringly suggestive lessons. The following table of leading chapters fairly indicates the general character of the subject matter: "He Can Who Thinks He Can," "Getting Aroused," "Education by Absorption," "Freedom at Any Cost," "What the World Owes to Dreamers," "The Spirit in Which You Work," "Responsibility Develops Power," "An Overmastering Purpose," "Stand for Something," "Originality," "Does the World Owe You a Living?" and "Getting Away from Poverty."

The book will do good and is a valuable volume to place in the hands of the young.

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*Sons of the Puritans.* A Group of Brief Biographies. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 244. Price, $1.50 net. Boston: The American Unitarian Association.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of well-written biographies of truly worthy lives on the minds of the young during the plastic years when the brain is quick to receive and hold ideals and vivid impressions. Even the old are susceptible to the influencing spell of biography if the writer possesses the imaginative power of the poet or artist, which enables him to make his subject appear as a living entity before the reader's mental vision. For this reason it is always a pleasure to recommend books that treat of the lives of those who have placed ideals of duty and right, or the larger interests of society, before personal ambition, desires, or selfish ends.

In *Sons of the Puritans* we have such a volume. Here are several brief biographical sketches written by a number of eminently capable writers and presenting the lives of a number of men representative of sturdy manhood and high ideals. They were not, it is true, reformers or way-showers of progress; not men who elected to be champions of unpopular causes and to "stand with God upon the weaker side" when conventional society was arrayed against the unpopular cause; no

men like Otis, Adams and Hancock in the earlier day, or Garrison, Sumner, Whittier, Lowell or Parker half a century ago. But for all that, they were men who rose above the sordid ideal of present-day commercialism, and therefore their lives are an inspiration to the reader. This is especially the case with Phillips Brooks, and Senator Hoar, the two most distinguished men of the group.

The aim, scope and purpose of this book are admirably epitomized by Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, who has prepared the introduction to the volume, in these lines:

"The eleven men whose careers are described in this book were all efficient servants of the public welfare. They were successful men of affairs, but each of them owed his efficiency to a certain moral idealism which is a part of the Puritan inheritance. In their various callings and professions these men were dominated by ideals of private honor and public serviceableness which made their careers different from those of men who seek selfish ends. Their conception of life and its uses was derived from impulses and traditionary feelings in the blood, which are the distinctive, though not the exclusive, characteristics of men of the Puritan descent.

. . . . . .

"They were as diverse in temperament as in vocation. Governor Wolcott was the embodiment of chivalric charm, and Dr. Wyman of genial wisdom and ceaseless activity. Colonel Russell was quick in decision and alert in motion; Judge Gray was deliberate and majestic. Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Eliot, though men of deep feeling, were reserved and comparatively silent in company, while Senator Hoar and Governor Russell and Mr. Baldwin were expansive in speech and demonstrative in manner. General Barlow, while steadfast for the right, was not naturally sanguine or expectant of good; while Phillips Brooks overflowed with optimism, believing in the latent good in all mankind and rejoicing with buoyant confidence in the purposes of God.

. . . . . .

"All of these men lived simply after the old New England fashion. In every relation of life they rang true. With all the force of their Puritan forebears they hated the things that are mean and base and unclean, and with a steady enthusiasm they loved the things that are true and lovely and of good report. They were accustomed to speak their minds plainly and to go to their ends by the shortest and most sunny road. They possessed the manly reasonableness and the high-minded devotion which intelligent Americans demand in the leaders they trust and honor.

. . . . . .

"They were men who believed that this universe is ruled by a loving God and that the best way to love God is to love and serve one's fellow-men. They believed that 'no man liveth unto himself alone' and that we are 'all members one of another,' and they tried to make those convictions practically effective in the land they loved."

This book is a volume that it would be well for fathers to place in the hands of their children. Works like this should be in every private as well as public library.

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*Some Memories.* By Robert Collyer. Cloth. Pp. 248. Price, $1.25 net. Boston: The American Unitarian Association.

More than a quarter of a century ago it was our good fortune to listen to the preaching of Robert Collyer in the Church of the Messiah on many Sunday mornings, and we shall never forget the inspiration and uplift received from those discourses. It was therefore with special interest that we opened this volume in which the grand old prophet of God and of an ennobled humanity gives his personal memories of the first half-century of his life; the story of those things that live most vividly in his mind after he has passed the boundary of fourscore years.

In this volume Dr. Collyer in his simple and charmingly direct style sweeps the vista of fifty years of life, from the days when he first takes cognizance of things in the humble home of his blacksmith father in Yorkshire, to the restoration of his beautiful church after the great Chicago fire. The home to which his first memories cling is thus described:

"So they would tell me how they carried me in their arms over the moors when I was a month old and went at once to keeping house. And there I find myself when I begin 'to learn the use of I and me' in a cottage of two rooms and an attic, and the windows looking right into the sun's eye over the valley and westward to the moors, and before the cottage a bit of greensward with a rose-bush in the center which bears a great wealth of roses (I held one to my face the other Sunday, and the perfume spanned the chasm for me of more than seventy years) and a plum-tree that gave me a good deal of trouble in those days because the fruit

in the summer never began to make good the promise of the blossom in the spring.

"Sir David Brewster brought a crystal to a meeting of *savans* which held in its substance a landscape taken æons ago by the sun. The picture was clear while you kept it in the dark, but began to fade exposed to the light. So the picture of my first home is a photograph, and steals out sharp and clear through the mystery of remembrance. For now I go indoors where there are three and then five children sitting about a bright open fire. The walls of the living room seem to be white as snow; and there is a bureau of mahogany that shines like a dim mirror through much polishing with what my mother called 'elbow grease' over beeswax and turpentine, and chairs for the company—but we sit on stools—a tall clock which was always too fast for me at bedtime and too slow at mealtimes, some pottery of the fine old willow pattern in a rack over the bureau (held sacred for Christmas and the village feast which fell in summer), and pictures Rubens could not have painted to save him. There was also clean linen and soft calico to wear next the body and to sleep in, and once a week—when we were old enough—a good, sound scrubbing in a tub with yellow soap that got into your eyes, and rough harden towel to dry us down. The wise man says in the Bible: 'Who hath red eyes? Who hath contention? Who hath strife?' I can truly answer that we had all these on the Saturday night when we were turned into that tub."

Commencing with this charming reminiscence of early days, we follow the author through the years that follow—years of stress and struggle, of shadow and sunshine, of sorrow and joy, as he labors with hand and with brain. As he wrought well at the forge, so later we find him carrying forward a noble work in the pulpit, reaching the heart and touching the finer side of life with a message of glad tidings preached with that earnestness and sincerity that has ever marked his utterances, and an eloquence that at times, as we well remember, was most impressive.

This is the story of a well-spent life, a life rich in the joy that comes only to those who ceaselessly strive to make this old world better and happier and life more worth the while.

The book abounds in interesting anecdotes and incidents that relate to eminent or well-known men and women, but perhaps the most entertaining pages are found in the closing chapters, in which we have a vivid pen-picture of the great Chicago fire and the aftermath. In this fire Dr. Collyer lost his church and home, while almost his entire congregation were also rendered houseless. But after the night came the glorious dawn. The affliction of Chicago gave the nation the opportunity to show how much of love and sympathy dwells in the heart of man, and very touching are the lines descriptive of how the nation and the motherland over-sea came to the rescue of the stricken city. Dr. Collyer and his church were particularly fortunate. One Boston man promptly subscribed his entire salary for the next year, remitting a quarter in advance, and the Unitarian Association, with headquarters in Boston, raised seventy thousand dollars in New England toward the new Chicago church. The story of the rebuilding of the church, its dedication by Dr. Furness, and the taking up of the old pastorate by Dr. Collyer with a heart full of thankfulness and joy, constitutes the closing pages of the work and a fitting rounding out of his fifty years of useful labor.

This is a volume that cannot fail to be interesting and helpful to all who read it, while to the host of friends of Dr. Collyer it will be a very precious story told by one whose life has radiated sunshine, helpfulness and good cheer.

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*Outlines of Economics.* By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D. Assisted by Professors Adams, Lorenz and Young. Cloth. Pp. 700. Price, $2.00 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

One of the most sane, practical and up-to-date general works on political economy that has appeared is *Outlines of Economics*, by Professor Richard T. Ely. This work in a briefer and less well-digested form appeared some years ago, but it has now been thoroughly and carefully revised and greatly enlarged. In the revision and enlargement the author has had the assistance of Professors Thomas S. Adams and Max O. Lorenz of the University of Wisconsin, and Professor Allyn A. Young of the Leland Stanford, Jr., University.

The work contains seven hundred closely-printed pages, so admirably classified that any desired subject can be readily found. The treatment is on the whole critical and authoritative, and a broad, tolerant, truth-loving spirit pervades the work which contrasts most agreeably with many books dealing with what was long called the "dismal science." In a few instances, it is true, there seems to be wanting something of the impartial spirit that

characterizes the volume as a whole, and at times there is a singular narrowness of intellectual outlook, such as one finds where prejudice influences reason. This is very marked in the discussion of the land question, in so far as it relates to the philosophy enunciated by Henry George. The chapter on Socialism is remarkably clear and fair. Take, for example, the following:

"Socialists seek the establishment of industrial democracy through the instrumentality of the state. Our political organization is to become also an economic industrial organization. Socialism contemplates an expansion of the business functions of government until the more important businesses are absorbed. Private property in profit-producing capital and rent-producing land is to be abolished. Socialists make no war upon capital; what they object to is the private capitalist. They desire to socialize capital and to abolish capitalists as a distinct class. Their ideal, then, is not, as is supposed by the uninformed, an equal division of existing wealth, but a change in the fundamental conditions governing the acquisition of incomes.

"Socialists usually say that labor creates all wealth. No rational Socialist means thereby to deny that land and capital are factors of production, but as these are passive factors, they hold that their owners ought not to receive a share of the product unless they personally are useful members of the community. Labor is the active factor, and all production is carried on for the sake of man. Land and capital are simply the tools of man. Socialists admit that the owners of these tools must receive a return for them when industry is organized as it is now; hence they desire that these tools should become public property. They wish to make of universal application the command of the Apostle Paul, 'If a man will not work, neither let him eat.'"

The volume contains thirty-six chapters, in which such subjects as the following are discussed at length: "The Characteristics of the Present Economic System," "The Evolution of Economic Society," "The Economic Development of the United States," "Consumption," "Production," "Business Organization," "Value and Price," "Monopoly," "Money," "Credit and Banking," "International Trade," "Protection and Free Trade" "Distribution as an Economic Problem," "The Personal Distribution of Wealth," "The Rent of Land," "The Wages of Labor," "Labor Problems," "Interest," "Profits," "Necessity of State Activity," "Transportation," "Insurance," "Economic Activities of Municipalities," "Socialism," "Agricultural Problems," "Public Expenditures," "Public Revenues from Loans and Government Ownership," "Public Revenues: Federal, State and Local Taxes," and "History of Economic Thought."

Without being able to agree at all times with the author, we unhesitatingly recommend this work to students of political economy, not only because of its clear and up-to-date presentation of the vital problems it considers, but because, barring the occasional exhibition of partial presentation and special pleading, due, we think, to the bias of prejudice, it is a work broad and admirable in spirit.

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*The Age of Mental Virility.* By W. A. Dorland. Cloth. Pp. 228. Price, $1.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

Dr. Dorland in this work has shown very conclusively that Dr. Osler's claim in regard to the major achievements for human progress, in action, in science, in art and in literature, have been won by men and women under forty, is inaccurate. True, musicians and men of genius whose greatness is expressed more on the emotional than the intellectual plane, often yield their greatest works at an early age; but this is not the rule in the case of great intellectual achievements.

The author enters upon his work without prejudice and only bent on ascertaining the truth. He took four hundred lives of famous men in all lines of intellectual and emotional achievement and carefully analyzed them, with the result that he found the acme of mental achievement lies not before forty, but between forty and sixty years. He shows how frequently precocity is attended by symptoms that presage early degeneration, and how seldom the precocious child becomes the really great man.

In the seven chapters constituting the work the author considers: "The World's Chief Workers and Thinkers," "The Period of Mental Activity," "Unusual Mental Activity in the Young," "The Acme and Duration of Mental Activity," "What the World Might Have Missed," "Genius and Insanity," and "The Brain of Genius."

There are several pages of highly interesting tables at the close of the volume. All in all, it

is one of the most stimulating little works of the season.

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*The International Studio.* Volume Thirty-Five. Cloth. Price, $3.00 net. New York: The John Lane Company.

VOLUME Thirty-Five of *The International Studio*, comprising the July, August, September and October, 1908, numbers of *The International Studio*, is one of the most attractive art works of the autumn; a volume not only indispensable to students of art in its various phases, but interesting to all lovers of the beautiful and persons who wish to possess for their libraries the work that best reflects the art progress of our time. *The Studio* has no peer as an art publication. It is the handbook and guide *par excellence* of the progressive art of the day.

The present volume contains twenty-five color plates and more than thirteen hundred illustrations, many of them of striking beauty. It is a pleasure to recommend this work to art lovers.

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*The Lure of the City.* By David James Burrell, D.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 284. Price, $1.00 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

*The Lure of the City* is a work of twenty-three chapters devoted, as the title suggests, to the city with its lure and charm, its temptations and opportunities, with special reference to the youth who journeys thither from the calm and peaceful country home. The author is a distinguished orthodox clergyman and the book is written from the orthodox view-point. There are many opinions expressed, born of the author's theological bias, with which we are not in accord, but barring this, the volume impresses us as a book of real value and merit. It is marked by a high moral spirit that makes for character development and spiritual growth, and it is rich in incidents and illustrations that will broaden the culture of the general reader while giving his thought an upward impulse. Among the leading chapters are the following: "The Call of the City," "The Poor Boy's Chance," "Books and Reading," "Dreams," "The Pace That Kills," "Practising the Presence of God," "Your Money or Your Life," and "Opportunity."

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*From Quiet Valleys.* By Thomas S. Jones, Jr. Boards. Printed on deckle-edged paper. Pp. 65. Price, $1.00. Clinton, New York: George William Browning.

IN THE Sahara-like waste of modern verse, it is a real delight to come across a volume containing real poetry. We have some excellent rhymesters and many writers who seem to imagine that poetry calls for neither imagination, rhythm nor reason; but few present-day verse-makers in America are entitled to be called poets.

In *From Quiet Valleys* Mr. Thomas S. Jones, Jr., has given us some genuine poetry. True there are here no Miltonic flights, and the splendid imagination of a Markham is lacking in these lines; and yet this author's verses evince true imaginative together with a proper respect for the laws of versification and the musical and rhythmic qualities that when accompanied by imaginative power speak of the presence of the poet.

The book, as the title suggests, deals with the quieter moods of nature and personal experience. Here are some typical little gems that illustrate the character of Mr. Jones' verse:

A DESERTED VILLAGE.

"It stands upon the edge of yesterday,
Remote, forgotten in the years since sped,
Its ghostly houses all untenanted,
Its moss-grown streets fallen to rank decay;
Sometimes a vagrant sheep may idly stray
Adown its lonely lanes, but never tread
Of human step—none save the simple dead,
Who sleep behind the hill the hours away.

"For this I think—that in the first of Spring,
Or 'neath the wonder of the Summer's moon,
When all things speak of Youth's remembering,
When all is fair because the time is June—
They come again and wander to and fro,
Those quaint, dear people of the long ago!"

REALIZATION.

"As one who journeys on a golden quest,
The road behind, the dreary miles outdone,
Only a step beyond the haven won,
The sought-for prize of all the loveliest;
Forgotten then the hours of vain unrest,
The lonely search has ended with the sun,
A new life for the old is just begun,
A life unlimited, the real, the best.

"So I have come before the little gate;
The road was long and rocky was the way,
Yet these but led unto the perfect day,
I know at last, although the hour is late—
And oh, the stretch of country and the green,
The laughing hills and all the flowers between!"

I KNOW A QUIET VALE.

"I know a quiet vale where faint winds blow
The silver poplar-branches all awry,

And ne 'er another sound comes drifting by
Save where the stream's cool waters softly flow,
Wild roses riot there and violets throw
Their perfume recklessly, the while on high
Great snowy clouds pillow the smiling sky
And cast frail shadows on the grass below.

"All is the same, the summer stillness dreams
In idleness across the sunny leas,
Until for very drowsiness it seems
The wind has gone to sleep within the trees—
Yet we once laughed at what the years might bring,
And now I am alone, remembering."

THE LITTLE GHOSTS.

"Where are they gone, and do you know
If they come back at fall o' dew,
The little ghosts of long ago,
That long ago were you?

"And all the songs that ne 'er were sung,
And all the dreams that ne 'er came true,
Like little children dying young—
Do they come back to you?"

The volume will appeal to lovers of nature and the simple home-like lays that are truly poetic.

*Abraham Lincoln: The Boy and the Man.* By James Morgan. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 435. Price, $1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

OF THE many excellent lives of Lincoln that have appeared, this is, we think, the best one for the young as well as for the general reader. It is a volume not too critical for those who desire popular literature, and yet so accurate and comprehensive as to bring the reader into vital touch with the man Lincoln in a trustworthy manner. Indeed, the author has been so imbued with his theme that his pages glow with an enthusiasm that is contagious—an enthusiasm that enables him to vivify his character, making him as boy, youth, man and President, the living embodiment of our common life at its best—the upward-moving, toiling, struggling life that is great because it is divine in origin and the child of eternity rather than the creature of a day. No youth can read its pages, following the poor and ignorant lad through his pathetic struggle with grim fate, hounded by pinching poverty and dogged by ignorance, without appreciating as never before the worth of education and the possibilities that lie within the reach of one who has the will to achieve great things in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

Mr. Morgan has carefully consulted the data of the great authoritative biographers of the martyred President. His work is therefore authoritative in character, while he has wisely chosen those things in the life-story of Lincoln that are best worth remembering and that will be suggestively helpful to others, and he has presented them in a simple, direct and pleasing manner. The whole is strong in its appeal to the imagination. It is a book we can heartily recommend to our readers.

*How to Get a Position and How to Keep It.* By S. Roland Hall. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 140. Price, 50 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

MANY valuable suggestions are found in this little volume. No young man can make a mistake in owning a copy and giving it a careful perusal. The publisher says truly:

"It is a sound, sensible book. Mr. Hall, in his connection with the Correspondence School, has had much experience in getting positions for young men. He would have the young man drop all foolish notions about the getting and holding of a position. Hard work alone makes good. He gives much practical advice on letters of application; personal application; what is good and what is bad form; keeping a position and winning advancement." ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Little Letters to Boys Grown Tall*, or *The Secret of Succeeding.* By Uncle Ned. Cloth. Pp. 284. Chicago: The Abbey Press.

THIS book contains chapters on education, choosing a vocation, reading, observation, training, habit, personal neatness, spending, courtesy, social relations, morality, religion, marriage and other important themes. It is not dull, prosy sermonizing, but bright, sparkling, forceful letter-writing, just the kind that ought to captivate, instruct and inspire the boys to whom it is addressed.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Three of a Kind.* By Richard Burton. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 267. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is a thoroughly delightful book, and though evidently written especially for young people, it is safe to say that few grown persons who read the first chapter will be content to lay it down until they have finished the book so human and true is this fascinating tale of life, and so wholesome and sane is its atmosphere. We know that in saying this we run the risk of calling down the censure of certain very

good people who would hold that because the old German clings to his beer, the book is unfit for the young; and yet this is but a natural if not necessary incident that forms a part of a picture wonderfully true to life, and from first to last the idealism or moral atmosphere of the volume is fine. Many books that prate much of morality and conventionally speaking are highly proper, are vicious in their atmosphere and influence on the mind. This book is wholesome in its atmosphere and the lessons it subtly and unobtrusively impresses are of the very best.

The story deals with the life of three friends: an old German musician, a newsboy who is an orphan, and a wonderfully intelligent and lovable little dog. The first three chapters deal with these friends and how they come to know each other and become one family. The succeeding pages are concerned with the intimate life of the trio, with its lights and shadows, its stirring incidents, the happy recreation hours and the time of stress and gloom, all told in a manner so fascinating that the interest deepens with every page and the heart of the reader goes out in turn to each of the three in a compelling manner. The closing chapter describes a memorable Christmas gathering in the musician's rooms, which will appeal with irresistible power to the heart side of every normal boy and girl—ay, and of every man and woman who reads the book.

This volume will be an especially appropriate Christmas gift for a boy of from twelve to sixteen years of age.

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*The Better Treasure.* By Mary Raymond Shipman Andrews. Illustrated by H. M. Bunker. Cloth. Pp. 73. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is one of the most attractive, interesting and appropriate Christmas gift-books for children that has appeared this season. It is beautifully gotten up, each page carrying marginal illustrations in sepia tint. It has also an excellent frontispiece.

The story deals with the redemption of a man who had gone wrong in youth. He had finally become discouraged and had returned to the scenes of his childhood with the intention of drowning himself. Here he finds an opportunity to relieve his millionaire cousin of three thousand dollars, a sum that would enable him to go to China and take a lucrative position and start afresh in life. The money is in the possession of a clergyman, and the would-be thief secretes himself in the barn, intending to secure the bag of treasure while the minister is unharnessing his horse. He is saved from his crime by the entrance of the little children of the clergyman into the barn, whither they have come impelled by a belief in the old legend that on Christmas Eve at midnight the dumb beasts speak. Their prayer to the old horse touches the heart of the despairing man and he assumes the *rôle* of the speaking horse. Later the clergyman arrives. A battle ensues in the heart of the man, but the Christ spirit at last prevails.

It is a beautiful Christmas sermon and a story that will please both young and old.

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*The Red City.* By S. Weir Mitchell. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 400. Price, $1.50. New York: The Century Company.

IT WILL not be necessary to inform those who enjoyed *Hugh Wynne* that *The Red City* is a strong romance that is richly worth the reading. All of Dr. Mitchell's novels are well thought out; his characters are living men and women; there is also always an abundance of action, and the author's style is finished and pleasing.

In this new novel the hero is a French Royalist who flees from his native land and enters the employ of Hugh Wynne. He falls in love with a beautiful and lovable young Quakeress. Living in Philadelphia during the administration of Washington, the hero naturally comes in personal contact with many notables of the day, such as Jefferson, Hamilton and Randolph.

Even considered as a novel, we do not think *The Red City* is equal to *Hugh Wynne*, and we could heartily wish that the author could have risen above his strong Hamiltonian and aristocratic bias, which in this instance has prevented him from being as satisfactory as an historian as he is as a romancer. A man may draw pen-pictures of a statesman that will be true in all respects in so far as incidents and narrated facts are concerned, and yet give a wholly incorrect impression of the man portrayed. The things not said and the greatness of mind, the nobility of soul not touched upon or even hinted at, which lift the man in question above any eccentricities or personal or tribal limitations in view, not being noted, the portrayal, though true in what it says, is false as a whole; and we cannot escape the conclusion that Dr. Mitchell's picture of Jefferson as given in this story is open to precisely this

criticism. It is extremely unfortunate that the statesman who in greater degree than any other of the fathers, with the possible exception of Benjamin Franklin, represented the twentieth-century spirit, the man whose foresight, grasp and wisdom were only equaled by his faith in the people and his devotion to the ideal of democracy, should have become the butt of attack for the intellectuals of the day and succeeding years, who came largely from the aristocratic and reactionary propertied class and who naturally sided with the reactionary Hamilton whose admiration for the English monarchy was only matched by his distrust of popular government. And it is doubly regrettable that at this late date writers of the ability of Dr. Mitchell should voice the reactionary and undemocratic spirit in picturing the great progressive statesman of Washington's cabinet.

Again, the absence of the judicial spirit so necessary to the historian is very conspicuous in the author when he comes to deal with the French Revolution. The same intense prejudice that marked the Hamiltonian coterie of the elder day is present even at this late time in Dr. Mitchell's book. In the earlier day such prejudice was not surprising. In the first place, the statesmen were too near the conflict to be judicial, and they did not possess a knowledge of all the facts involved, necessary to a just conclusion. Such excuses, however, cannot be made for a twentieth-century writer.

These things constitute, in our judgment, the great weakness in an otherwise excellent story. As a romance of life and love during the second administration of Washington, it is a notable and interesting book.

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*Friendship Village.* By Zona Gale. Cloth. Pp. 323. Price, $1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

As THE name indicates, this story is the simple annals of a little village. There is here little that is exciting, and he who is seeking strong dramatic scenes, deep philosophical speculations or fiction dealing with the great problems of the hour will not care to spend his time perusing *Friendship Village.* But for those whose brains are tired with the stress of our all too strenuous life and who seek a restful volume marked by delicacy of thought and fine discrimination; a book that will affect them as a beautiful roadway in the country in spring, that is bordered with violets, buttercups and daisies; a sweet, simple tale full of contrasting bright and pathetic touches, instinct with human interest and pregnant with suggestive truths, this volume will prove inviting. It is a charmingly told tale of the all too rare simple life. Though lacking somewhat in the peculiar quaintness and indefinable charm of *Cranford,* the story reminds one more of that justly popular book than any other well-known work of fiction, and for many doubtless *Friendship Village* will appear more true and lifelike and hold a greater charm than the more famous *Cranford.*

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*Amabel Channice.* By Anne Douglas Sedgwick. Cloth. Pp. 256. Price, $1.50. New York: The Century Company.

MISS SEDGWICK is, we believe, an American by birth, although she has long lived in England and her novels deal with English society life. She is a writer of unusual insight and skill in character portrayal. Unfortunately, it seems to us, her stories are always in a minor key, depicting tragic phases of life and morbid psychological conditions.

The present novel is the life-story of a woman who married when a mere girl a man of the world, much her senior, and whom she soon finds she cannot love. She meets a young artist and for a time is madly infatuated with him, only to find when it is too late that he is in all things the antithesis of what she had imagined him to be. She goes to her brother, who assures her that her husband must be made to take her back, that no disgrace must be allowed to attach to their name. Strangely enough, as it appears to her, her husband assents, only making the stipulation that she shall live on his country estate in a remote part of England. Then comes the birth of her son, but her husband still refuses to divorce her, and declares that the boy shall be brought up as his own son. From time to time he pays her an occasional visit, and his attitude is apparently that of the greatest tenderness and chivalry toward her. She is filled with bitter remorse for her fatal error and grows to idolize her husband for what she believes to be his consideration for and goodness toward her. The climax of the story comes when she finds out that all these years he has been living the life of a libertine, and has only assumed the attitude he has toward her in order that he may have her large fortune, which she has gladly given up to him in her gratitude, to squander on his mistresses. Broken and crushed, she goes to her son and tells him the story of her

life. The latter's unselfish devotion to her and loving comprehension of what she has suffered adds a touch of brightness to a story that is in other respects extremely pathetic.

AMY C. RICH.

*The Letters of Jennie Allen to Her Friend Miss Musgrove.* By Grace Donworth. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 291. Price, $1.50. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

THIS volume gives the simple annals of a simple, unlettered family in the form of a series of letters by a young woman whose lack of education is made up by goodness of heart. Very quaint and semi-humorous are the letters, while they are so full of intimate facts relating to the hopes, joys and love of Jennie, her family, neighbors and the stranger within the gates, that the reader's interest is sustained, notwithstanding the fact that one soon becomes surfeited on the semi-humorous letters when the author's gift in this respect falls below that of the most brilliant writers.

Something of the character of the letters may be gathered from the following extract in which the writer has some wise words to say on Christmas:

"I got your bundle of work all right and I will get all done in time so you can send them away for Christmas. There 's an awful lot of common sense in that bundle and very little foolishness. I think about 5 per cent. of foolishness is about right for Christmas gifts. You leave that out and it seems too much like bisness. But Christmas is carried to sech an excess by some foks that feel they must swap pressants with everybody they know, no matter if it do n't leave enough to pay their bills that it is a curce instead of a blessing, leaving unlimbered evils afollering in its train. This form of it is more deadly in its results than the fourth of july. The fourth commonly finishes up its victims to once eather one way or another but the aggregated form of Christmassing brings on a warpation of your sence of honesty along with fizzical weariness leading sometimes to the grave after years of a cute suffering and doctor's bills. They do n't alwers know what fetched it on, and I 've heard more than one lay it to the jenuerry thaw that they wa n't feeling quite so spruce as they was along the first of the winter.

"At sech moments my eyes is more than likely to wander to some foolish hat-pin or weak-minded and unbecoming collarette that she dident have the privilege of picking out herself and the remark forms itself inside me, 'It 's a case of a cute Christmassitis.'"

The reunion of Jason with his wife and child, and the happy outcome of the love episodes, including that of the writer of the letters, are pleasant features of the story which, while from a humorous view-point it is far inferior to the Susan Clegg books by Anne Warner, yet in some respects is more pleasing than are those stories.

*The War in the Air.* By H. G. Wells. Illustrated by Eric Pape. Cloth. Pp. 395. Price, $1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THERE is probably no novelist of the present day whose imagination when depicting the civilization and scientific discoveries of the future is as fertile as that of Mr. H. G. Wells. In his latest volume, *The War in the Air*, the author has anticipated the achievements of science along many lines, but especially in the field of aerial navigation; and he has accomplished the difficult feat of holding the reader's unbroken interest in a story in which the slender thread of a love romance appears only at the rarest intervals, and in which the hero, if such he may be called, is a young Cockney, shrewd but ignorant, a type of hundreds of thousands of lower-class Englishmen.

This young man, Bert Smallways by name, is inadvertently caught up and carried off in a balloon which contains the plans of an airship which has just been perfected by an Englishman. He is dropped down in the aerial experiment station of the German Empire, just as that country is about to launch a fleet of airships against the United States. The Germans, believing that he is the English inventor, carry him off with them on their flight across the Atlantic. When they at length discover who he really is, his position becomes exceedingly uncomfortable. He is, however, thus enabled to witness the great battles fought in the air, the total destruction of New York and other American cities, and has many exciting adventures and hairbreadth escapes.

The knowledge of the fact that Germany has released her fleet of airships leads the other nations, all of whom have been secretly perfecting similar engines of destruction, to enter into the conflict, and universal war ensues. The special peril comes from Asia, which sends aerial destroyers of unusual efficiency and in great numbers all over the world. In

the wake of war follows the withdrawal of all gold from circulation, thus rendering all paper money valueless. The people die by millions from starvation. Then comes the Purple Plague; and at the close of the story, some thirty years after the beginning of the war, we see the whole world once more in a state of semi-barbarism.

The story is exceedingly well written and there are many humorous touches in the descriptions of Bert Smallways and his strange experiences; while the horrors of war have probably never been more forcibly brought home than in the accounts of the destruction of New York city, the battles fought in the air between the opposing fleets of airships, and the desolation and suffering which followed in the wake of this universal war of extermination.

AMY C. RICH.

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*I and My True Love.* By H. A. M. Keays. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 353. Price, $1.50. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

IT IS a pity that so excellent a novel should be handicapped by so inane a title as *I and My True Love.* In this story Mr. Keays has given us a stirring and lifelike romance of present-day American society life. The characters are admirably drawn and are typical. There are some highly dramatic scenes, and the human element is very strong at all times. It is a double romance, and in it the play of human emotions and varying moods is brought out by one who knows his characters and possesses the power to present them as they are found to-day in our metropolitan life.

The romance shadows forth the life of a beautiful woman who as a girl falls in love with a literary man poor in this world's goods. They are married. For a time all goes well, in spite of their poverty. A little girl comes into the home and is Christened Christine. The young wife, however, wishes the husband to remain the lover in his attitude of perpetual adorer, but the stern demands of life, the bread-and-butter question, compel him to devote much of his time to his work. Then comes on the scene a fashionable and fascinating young man of wealth who had been a college mate of the husband. He falls in love with the wife, and ere the husband realizes the danger he has gained psychological control over the woman and induces her to run away with him. She is quickly disillusioned but for some years she lives in splendid misery after she has secured a divorce and wedded the rich man. The second husband dies, leaving her wealthy and free. Still she is not happy. Nineteen years after her flight from the first husband, the father of her daughter sends Christine to her for a prolonged visit. During this period the father has become famous as one of the most popular playwrights of the age. The romance of the father and mother is the prelude to the story of Christine and her two lovers, Benny Faber and Governor Gregory. In this second romance the Governor, a man of the world, with a past, but also a man of wealth and distinction in society, for a time dazzles and gains control over Christine, in spite of the combined efforts of her father and mother. The effort of these two to save their daughter from an unhappy marriage reunites them in the end.

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*Long Odds.* By Harold Bindloss. Illustrated. Cloth, Pp. 401. Price, $1.50. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

THIS is an exciting story dealing with the adventures of a quixotic young Englishman, who, in fulfilment of a promise made to a dying man, goes into the heart of the slave-trading region on the West Coast of Africa, to rescue a negro woman and a half-dozen negro boys.

Ormsgill, the hero, is engaged to an ambitious young English woman who has small sympathy with his plans, but before he starts on his hazardous undertaking he attracts the interested attention of a beautiful and high-spirited girl, half-Irish and half-Portuguese, whose father is a man of considerable authority in the part of Africa whither Ormsgill is bound.

The book is filled with hairbreadth escapes and deeds of daring, and it also gives some vivid pictures of the way in which the negroes on the West Coast are maltreated by the so-called dominant races. It also affords us occasional glimpses of the horrors of the slave trade.

The story, while not being particularly well written, moves with a certain swing and dash that will hold the reader's interest. The love-story, which ends happily, is subordinated to the story of the adventures of Ormsgill and his companions on their perilous quest.

The book is, unfortunately, marred by numerous typographical errors which might easily have been avoided by more careful proof-reading.

AMY C. RICH.

*Three Years Behind the Guns.* By L. G. T. Profusely illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 293. Price, $1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is a vivid chronicle by a youth who ran away from his home in San Francisco and enlisted in the United States navy. Seldom have we read a book of this character so clear, strong, fresh, breezy and entertaining The author evinces considerable literary ability and the book, while appealing especially to the young, will be read with interest by any person who enjoys a vivid description of life on the ocean, especially if he has a deep interest in our navy.

*The Enchanted Hat.* By Harold Macgrath. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 219. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

*The Enchanted Hat* is an illustrated work containing four of Mr. Macgrath's popular short stories: *The Enchanted Hat, The Wrong Coat, A Night's Enchantment,* and *No Cinderella.* Each tale is a little love romance told in the light, airy, whimsical manner that marks the writings of Mr. Macgrath. All of the stories are artificial and the element of improbability is rarely absent. Yet in these tales there is present that same engaging quality that made *The Man on the Box* and *Hearts and Masks* so popular.

*Pomp and Circumstance.* By Dorothea Gerard. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 361. Price, $1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

THIS novel, though somewhat conventional in character, is well written and will hold the general novel reader's interest from the opening page. The story opens in a fashonable home in Vienna, the home of an Englishman who has married a Hungarian beauty. The husband has for many years been the head of an English bank located in Vienna. The wife was inordinately ambitious. After marrying her husband, she soon lost all interest in him, while he continued to idolize her. She made heavy demands on him at all times for money, first for herself and later for herself and her two daughters, who were brought up surrounded by every luxury. At the time of the opening of the story the husband, having expenses far greater than he can meet, has taken trust funds for speculation. He has lost everything and returns home shortly before the guests leave who have been attending a magnificent ball given by the wife in honor of her daughters. The elder daughter prevents the father from committing suicide just as he is on the eve of blowing out his brains, and induces him to fly with her, much to the indignation of the high-spirited mother, who, while perfectly willing for the father to become a fugitive, does not wish the daughter to leave home. In London, under assumed names, the fugitives eke out a living by teaching German and Hungarian. In the capacity of teacher the young woman, who is remarkably beautiful, captures the heart of a young diplomat who has taken up the study of Hungarian, believing that Hungary will soon be separated from Austria and hoping for an excellent diplomatic position. The girl, however, refuses to marry him, and refuses to tell him why, although admitting that she loves him. From this point to the end the story becomes quite exciting. The passing of the father from the scenes of life serves to bring the lovers together. There are many other characters and some very strong dramatic situations. Altogether the book will appeal to the general novel reader as one of the best romances of the autumn.

*Colonel Greatheart.* By H. C. Bailey. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 472. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

MUCH better than the average present-day historical novel is this stirring tale of the days of the opening struggle between King Charles and the Parliament.

It is a story of love and ambition and intrigue; of thrilling deeds of valor on the fields of battle, and of tempestuous wooing in the hours when the two armies were resting from the conflict.

The hero, Colonel Stowe, stands out in as sharp contrast to the crafty and self-seeking men of both parties by whom he is surrounded as does Joan Normandy, the pure-souled, high-spirited daughter of a Puritan minister, to Lucinda Weston, the passionate, wilful and fascinating daughter of Sir Godfrey Weston, in whom ambition and the desires of the flesh are constantly warring against her nobler impulses, ever making her false to her better self, until at the last she atones with her life for her disloyalty to the man whom at heart she has ever loved.

There are many minor characters in the story, all of them well drawn and some of them masterpieces in their way, as, for instance, Cornet Jehoida Tompkins of the army of the

Puritans, and Mathieu-Marc-Luc and Alcibiade, the French servants of Colonel Stowe.

The book also gives illuminating glimpses of Fairfax, Ireton and Cromwell, and of the weak and vacillating King, the dashing Prince Rupert, and of the fawning, flattering, short-sighted courtiers upon whose counsels the King relied at a time when life and throne depended upon wise, statesmanlike action.

AMY C. RICH.

*Corrie Who?* By Maximilian Foster. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 483. Price, $1.50. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

THIS is a fairly well-written mystery story, but it is much too long and would gain greatly in strength if cut down at least one-third. The awkward title is also a handicap to the volume, tending to discourage rather than attract the possible reader.

The story deals with the efforts of a young girl, known as Corrie Robinson, to find her parents. Ever since she can remember she has lived as companion with an extremely disagreeable old woman who appears to be possessed of a large fortune. She discourages the girl in all efforts to find out who her parents were and throws out dark hints which are intended to deter Corrie from pursuing her investigations further. She persists, however, and in the end the sun breaks through the clouds and all comes out happily for Corrie and her lover.

The secret of Corrie's parentage is well hidden until the closing chapters are reached. Mrs. Pinchin, the ugly old woman with whom the heroine has always lived, is perhaps the best-drawn character in the story, which, as stated above, would be much strengthened by condensation. AMY C. RICH.

# "SOCIALISTS AT WORK."*

## A BOOK-STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

ONE OF the greatest drawbacks to the movement for fundamental justice and politico-economic advance is the want of a conquering faith on the part of a large proportion of the sincere reformers. The profound inertia of the people; the tendency of the unthinking mass to parrot the misleading and sophistical phrases which are deftly put into their mouths by the hirelings of privilege, who through the press, on the stump and rostrum and not infrequently in the pulpit are indulging in a pseudo-optimism that apologizes for fundamental injustice and reactionary ideals destructive to free government and the steady advance of a true civilization; and lastly, the readiness with which the people take up with selfish charlatans, politicians who are the secret tools of the enemy, serve to discourage a large number of those who bravely but almost hopelessly battle for a better social order.

And yet to students of history and human advance, no less than to those who possess an unshakable faith in the invincibility of moral idealism in its war against egoistic materialism, this discouragement is unwarranted. As nations approach any great moral, social or political crisis, there invariably comes the darkest hour that precedes the dawn; the time when alarmed and aroused reaction and wrong becomes determined, arrogant and merciless, employing at once the subtle and the brutal methods to further entrench themselves and to crush out the growing opposition. But this action serves ever to arouse the better element among a people and awakens numbers who have hitherto slept, with the result that the forces of truth, justice and progress are largely reinforced.

Nothing is more noticeable than the doubting spirit of a large number of the English statesmen and Liberals during the early days of the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament. When Eliot was thrown into the Tower the great majority of those who had

*"Socialists at Work." By Robert Hunter. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 374. Price, $1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

evinced courage up to a certain point now became timid and faithless. Pym and Hampden however, seized the torch and carried it aloft, inspiring and enthusing the faltering and ultimately so crystallizing thought that the success of Cromwell and the Ironsides was rendered possible. What was true of this struggle was true in several instances later in the history of England, as also in the dark hours that immediately preceded the Declaration of Independence and in the years that preceded our Civil War.

Men are too apt to allow the arrogant materialism that flourishes in high places to blind them to the forces that are ever digging the grave of that which exists for self and ignores the law of solidarity.

While, however, there is to-day, as always, a large number of reformers who belong to the doubting Thomas class and are liable to prove more of a detriment than an aid to a great cause, there is also a goodly band—a band that is constantly augmenting in numbers, of those who are under the compulsion of moral idealism. They are men and women of living faith who are urged on by an irresistible yearning to realize for humanity the dream of the sages, prophets and way-showers of civilization in every age. And these chosen ones are day by day and week by week changing the thought of the world. They are working an intellectual and moral reformation that must ever precede the physical manifestation of a better day. They are in truth the Savonarolas and the Colets, the Luthers and the Zwinglis, the Eliots and Pyms and Hampdens, the Franklins and Jeffersons and Adamses, the Garrisons and Phillipses and Lincolns, of the new time; and the work they are doing is ripening to fruition far more rapidly than the reactionary worshipers of Mammon imagine.

These thoughts are suggested by recent conversations with and letters from friends of social progress throughout the United States, and also by the perusal of a number of really vital social, political and economic works that have of late been pouring from the presses. The books in question are for the most part bugle calls to the conscience of the sleeping nation, and the result of their influence is readily discernible in every sphere of life.

He who will compare conditions a quarter of a century ago with those to-day will appreciate the fact that we are now in the opening scenes of a mighty politico-social reformation; that the hour has struck and the forces of reaction and of progress are rapidly ranging themselves in opposing camps, dominated by egoism and by altruism. On the one side are the upholders of class government; on the other side, in various divisions and battalions, are the forces that are battling for popular rule and a wider meed of economic justice and freedom than the world has ever known. Hundreds of thousands of men who a few years ago were, intellectually speaking, sleeping, are to-day awake and learning for the first time the true meaning of the teachings of Jesus and all of the world's moral leaders who have preached the gospel of brotherhood and have striven to impress the meaning of the law of solidarity upon the brain of the world.

II.

It is very noticeable that the great movements looking for the establishment of pure democracy and that have for their master object the complementing of political emancipation with economic emancipation, are being led largely by young men and women. Many of these are college graduates; some are the children of wealth; many are self-made; but all are actuated by that moral idealism, that living faith, that devotion to truth and justice, that has never yet failed when confronting entrenched wrong.

Among the very effective writers and workers in the social-democratic movement in America, Robert Hunter holds a prominent place. He is a college man and was for a long time a leading settlement worker. After an intimate study of conditions among the poor, gained from actual association with them, and a comparison of facts thus obtained with conditions prevalent in the upper world, he began a systematic study of the problem in a philosophic way, with history and human experience as lamps to assist his quest for a solution to the age-long problem. His study led him into the camp of the Socialists, where he has naturally become a leader; while his splendid grasp of the facts involved, his broad education born of a thorough knowledge of economic and historical facts, together with a literary style marked by directness and grace, have enabled him to reach and arrest the attention of tens of thousands of persons who have hitherto been careless in regard to conditions that should be of vital concern to every patriotic American.

III.

It was our pleasure some time since to give an extended notice of Robert Hunter's invaluable volume entitled *Poverty*. This work has been complemented by another notable book which bears the title of *Socialists at Work*. *Poverty* was essentially an unmasking of a terrible condition that obtains in America to-day. The present work is the drawing aside of the curtain on another picture. If *Poverty* left the reader with a feeling of depression, *Socialists at Work* will tend to inspire sentiments precisely the reverse.

"Almost unknown to the world outside of labor," says our author in an admirable preface, "a movement wide as the universe grows and prospers. Its vitality is incredible, and its humanitarian ideals come to those who labor as drink to parched throats. Its creed and program call forth a passionate adherence, its converts serve it with a daily devotion that knows no limit of sacrifice, and in the face of persecution, misrepresentation, and even martyrdom, they remain loyal and true. In Russia its missionaries are exiled, imprisoned, and massacred, but the progress of the movement is only quickened by persecution, proving once again that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. In Germany and elsewhere it was forced into the night, its leaders were impoverished and hunted through Europe; but underground the movement grew faster than ever. In England it was ignored, defeated, it was thought, by a conspiracy of silence, when suddenly the nation awoke to the fact that the whole underworld was aflame; and now lords, politicians and newspapers, consternated and appalled, are rallying for a frontal attack. From Russia, across Europe and America to Japan, from Canada to Argentina, and from Norway and Finland to South Africa and Australia, it crosses frontiers, breaking through the barriers of language, nationality and religion, as it spreads from factory to factory, from mill to mill, and from mine to mine, touching as it goes with the religion of life the millions of the underworld.

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"Strive as I may, I cannot convey to the idle and privileged the full revolutionary portent of this new movement; and strive as I may, I cannot adequately convey to the weary and heavy-laden the grandeur of its thought and the noble promise of its message."

The leading apologists for the capitalistic class, including the President of the United States, have frequently of late striven to attach odium to the Socialists as seeking to promote class distinction in America. On this point Mr. Hunter well observes that:

"There is much misunderstanding about the use of the term 'class struggle.' Socialists do not advocate the class struggle. They recognize that it is inevitable under the present system, and they strive to abolish it. The first International began its preamble by saying, 'The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class-rule.' 'The domination of one class,' says Jean Jaurès, 'is an attempt to degrade humanity. Socialism, which will abolish all primacy of class, elevates humanity to its highest level.' Liebknecht says, 'Social democracy, while it fights the class state, will, by abolishing the present form of production, abolish the class war itself.'

The work contains extended chapters dealing with "The German Social Democracy," the Italian and French Socialist parties, the British and Belgian Labor parties, "The Program of Socialism," "Socialism and Social Reform," "Socialism in the Parliaments," "Socialism in Art and Literature," and "The International." A supplementary chapter discusses "The Movement in Other Countries."

Mr. Hunter possesses in a degree rarely equaled the power of graphically portraying movements and men so that the reader sees and feels much of what the writer saw and felt, while at the same time he succeeds in marshaling a number of facts germane to his subject. This will be appreciated when we peruse the following brief paragraphs in which Mr. Hunter introduces his description of notable Socialist gatherings he attended in Europe.

"It is rather startling," observes our author in introducing his account of the German Social Democracy as he witnessed it assembling on the eve of the congress of the party, "to one whose observation of Socialist movements has been confined almost entirely to the United States, to enter one of the largest and most beautiful halls in the world—a hall seating 10,000 persons—and find it packed to the point of suffocation with delegates, members and friends of the Social Democratic party of Germany. I speak of entering; as a matter of fact it took me two hours to enter. Relying

upon my experience at home to guide me, I went half an hour late. When I came near the hall, I saw a huge throng of people, surely not less than three or four thousand, standing before the doors. I congratulated myself upon not being later, and hurriedly elbowed my way through the crowd in order to be as near the entrance as possible when the doors should be opened. But before I had gone far I discovered that the hall was already overcrowded, and that we were shut out.

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"It was an impressive sight. They were workingmen—to a man. And they were of that type of workingman one too rarely sees outside of Germany. They were not pale, anæmic, and undersized, such as one sees in the East End of London or in the factory districts of the United States. It seemed as if they had escaped somehow the perfected system of labor-exploitation which exists with us. They looked as if they were getting a loaf or two of bread the better of the struggle with capitalism. They were serious-minded, ruddy-faced, muscular; one could see that they had saved from the exploitation of the factory enough physical and mental strength to live like men during their leisure hours; and my belief is that physically and mentally they can hold their own in the essentials with any other class in Germany. These were my observations shoulder to shoulder with the mass outside. After a time most of those outside went away, and when somewhat later a few of those inside came out, I slipped in.

"Inside other things impressed me. I was squeezed so tight among those immediately about me that I could not see them, and I contented myself with looking across a sea of faces such as I have rarely seen massed in one place. Clear and resonant over this sea came the voice of Bebel. A few months ago I saw in New York a convention of American citizens standing on chairs, and for twenty minutes waving their hats and arms, quite as if they had lost their senses, in order to show their appreciation of a candidate for office. They were malcontents, they were in fear lest their liberties should be lost them, and they wanted a Moses to save them; this, they thought, was he. Here in Mannheim I see an old man talking to his sons. He has watched the movement grow up from its childhood. For nearly half a century he has served it with faithfulness and power. He has worked his entire life for this thing; yes, more, he has overworked; and not seldom has he been vexed, wearied and out of heart. In this service he has grown gray, and furrowed, and great. To-day he is the ablest man in the Reichstag, and one of the most powerful debaters in the world. Every man in this hall knows his worth, knows his greatness, and loves him; but instead of grovel and hysteria they give him the good round of applause of fellowship and affection. It lasts perhaps fifty seconds, and then they stop *to listen to what he has to say.*

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"Such was the first general gathering, the night before the regular opening of the congress of the Social Democratic party of Germany."

In speaking of the party in Germany, Mr. Hunter gives many important facts, of which the following will be of special interest to the general reader:

"The Social Democratic party, again unlike our parties, has a definite membership, numbering at the present time 530,000 out of the 3,250,000 persons who at the last election voted its ticket.

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"The German party is the oldest and largest Socialist organization in Europe. It represents the thought of a very large proportion of the workingmen of the entire nation. . . . It polls a million more votes than any other party in Germany.

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"The party carries on a propaganda of incredible dimensions. Its journals reach no less than 1,049,707 subscribers. There are 65 daily papers, and about 12 weekly and monthly journals. A comic paper, *Der Wahre Jacob*, alone has a circulation of 230,000, and *Die Gleichheit*, a journal for working-women, has over 60,000 regular subscribers. Its organ in Berlin, *Vorwarts*, has a circulation of 120,000."

Some idea of the steady growth of the Socialist party in the German Empire can be gained from the following figures taken from a table given by the author, embracing all the election returns from 1871 to 1907. In 1871 the party polled 124,655 votes. Ten years later, in 1881, the vote had risen to 311,961. In 1891 the vote was 1,427,298. In 1903 it had risen to 3,010,771; and four years later, in 1907, it was 3,258,968.

Turning from Germany to Italy, our author gives us a vivid pen-picture of a Socialist convention in the Eternal City, together with

some account of distinguished Socialists of Italy. Space prevents our quoting more than a few fragmentary paragraphs from Mr. Hunter's study of the Italian Socialist party, but from the following it will be seen that the movement in Italy reflects the general temper and character of the Latin peoples; that, unlike Germany, its chief strength comes from the middle class and the intellectuals; and also that Socialism in the Peninsula claims among its strongest adherents many of the most illustrious thinkers of the Italy of to-day.

"In the Eternal City, in the new and handsome *Casa del Popolo*, the Socialists' own meeting-hall, the congress of the Italian Socialist party was in session. Every one was alive with excitement, as it had been rumored that the party would be split into a thousand fragments. The Reformists, led by their able and forceful Turati; the Sydnicalists, led by their brilliant, emotional and impractical Labriola; and the Integralists, led by the impressive and not always consistent Ferri—all were there, and lost no time in giving battle.

"It seemed only natural in Rome to be witnessing a battle of giants, a turbulent, hero-worshiping populace broken into factions, and the fate of one of the greatest and noblest nations in the world resting upon the outcome. At any rate, as I sat three days in that hall, this appeared to be not far from the actual situation. With all the lovable qualities; with a fine and sincere admiration for power and greatness; with quick and agile intelligence; with childlike frankness and honesty; with idealism and splendid emotion, quick to resent, quick to forgive, these men sat together for three days backing their leaders like boys with fighting cocks—apparently deciding nothing of importance except not to split, but discussing almost everything in the wide world of interest. It was a thousand times more engaging than the German congress. It was comic, tragic, lyric and absorbing to watch. At times it was as impressive as cannonry, and as brilliant as fireworks; but in the end a thing of wonder and bewilderment.

"The middle-class character of the Italian gathering astonished me most. In almost every other country the Socialist movement is mainly proletarian. In Germany there are few men in the movement not of the working class. In the Italian assembly there were evidently few who had ever done manual work, and most of the delegates were well, and many even fashionably, dressed. Not only are the leaders, Ferri, Labriola and Turati, what they call on the continent 'intellectuals,' but so also were many of the delegates from the unions, coöperative societies, and other workingmen's organizations. This is peculiar to the Italian movement. In probably no other country except Russia are there so many Socialists among the scholars, scientists and eminent writers. Lombroso, one of the most noted scientists in Europe, and easily the foremost criminologist, is a member of the party. As adherents and sympathizers it counts, among others, De Amicis, the most widely read of the Italian novelists; Ferrero, a social writer of great influence; Graf, Guerrini and Pascoli, among the most talented of the poets; Sanarelli, the well-known scientist and discoverer of the yellow-fever germ; Chiaruggi, a leading embryologist; and Cattelli, the physicist. Fogazzaro is sympathetic, and Gabriel D'Annunzio stood as a candidate of the party at a recent election. . . . It was shown that from 20 to 30 per cent. of the members were industrial workers; from 15 to 20 per cent. rural workers, and between 50 and 60 per cent. professional men, merchants, students and small proprietors.

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"During the first five years of this century the growth has been striking, and in 1906 it numbered 1,250 sections, with over 41,000 members. As in the German movement, all of the members pay dues and subscribe to the program and tactics of the party. So large a number of pledged men makes therefore a creditable showing, and indeed, with the exception of Denmark, Belgium and Germany, the organized movement is one of the strongest in Europe. It differs from the German party in one important feature. The unions of the peasants and industrial workers, the coöperative societies, and the other purely economic organizations are affiliated directly with the party. Founded, as they have been, largely by the party leaders, they have in almost all cases become branches of the political movements.

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"Some idea of the popularity of the Italian movement can be gathered from a study of its electoral strength. The suffrage in Italy is restricted by a literacy test, so that only a small proportion of the workers have the right to vote.

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"The restricted suffrage, excluding from

the ballot more than 4,000,000 workingmen, prevents one from obtaining the true measure of the Socialists' strength. But of those who vote, Socialism has the support of one out of five; that is to say, that out of the 1,593,000 votes cast at the last election 320,000 persons voted for the candidates of the Socialist party. The electoral strength of the party has grown with each election."

Of some of the distinctive features of the French Socialist Congress the author observes:

"The German congress was an impressive gathering of intelligent and wide-awake men. The Italian congress was full of excitement and pyrotechnics. The French congress, held at Limoges, in the heart of the great potteries, was impressive, interesting, and also not without its fireworks. The delegates thought with a thoroughness not inferior to that of the Germans, and debated with a vivacity and charm not exceeded by the Italians. They were men from the workshops, men from the study, men from the 'sanctums' of the great journals; and there were men of international reputation in science, economics, and politics. The congress was therefore not so exclusively working-class as the German, nor so middle-class as the Italian. Those who were intellectuals took their inspiration from the people, and those who had come from the work-shops were as capable as the intellectuals of thought and of leadership.

"The movement in France is superb. It has all the necessary qualities and elements of a great party."

After an extended description of the long and oftentimes bitter internal dissensions of the French Socialists, and also their hard battle to gain a firm foothold, Mr. Hunter thus describes the dawn of victory that finally broke in 1893, after the leaders had learned wisdom, and the mighty sweep of events had helped the cause:

"The elections of 1893 proved a striking victory for the Socialists. Forty deputies were elected to Parliament upon a collectivist program, and the vote was four times larger than that of 1889, amounting in actual numbers to nearly half a million. The Guesdists and all the other groups had elected their strongest men. This unexpected victory led to a kindly feeling that had not before existed between the various sections, and in order to make their influence as powerful as possible, they organized a united Socialist group in the chamber. The work done during the session of 1893–1898 was most effective. The principles and program of Socialism were for the first time placed before the entire country with clearness and power. Guesde took every opportune moment to explain the fundamental doctrines of Socialism. He developed Marx's view concerning the evolution of modern capitalism, and showed how inevitable it was that Socialism should follow. He also forced upon the chamber a consideration of the eight-hour day, and, in connection with a municipal pharmacy which the Socialists were endeavoring to establish at Roubaix, he expounded the whole Socialist program for municipal reform. Jaurès, Vaillant, and the other members of the group developed other phases of the Socialist position. For the first time a just conception of Socialism penetrated into every corner of France. Printed in the official journal, these Socialist addresses were reprinted in the columns of all newspapers and journals. Collectivism was decidedly to the front, and every editor in France began to discuss the growing power and influence of the new movement."

Here is an admirable picture of Jaurès, the master orator of France and one of the leading Socialist statesmen of the world:

"During this session Jaurès was the leader of the parliamentary group. As everything in the early years of the movement centered around the personality of Guesde, so everything during the last fourteen years in France has centered around the personality of Jaurès. He is without question one of the most powerful personalities in the International movement, and one of the most popular in France. He is still in the prime of life, barely forty-eight years old, although he began his parliamentary career over twenty years ago. He is of middle-class parents and was graduated with honors from the *Ecole Normal Supérieure.* Immediately after graduation he was made professor of philosophy, and his studies led him into the field of Socialist thought. The surging life about him, and his natural sympathy with the masses, contributed to a growing discontent with the quiet of the university, so remote from the field of action. In 1885 Jaurès stood as candidate for Parliament, and was elected. He immediately became one of the leaders of the radical group, and although he did not announce himself as a Socialist, he was at that time entirely sympathetic. Upon his defeat in the elections of 1889 he returned to the university again as professor of philosophy. While there he prepared two studies

for his doctor's degree, one of which was upon "Origins of German Socialism." In 1893 he announced himself as a Socialist candidate, and was elected by an enormous majority. He, Millerand, Viviani and others then formed the independent Socialist party.

"Jaurès is a man of extraordinary capacity for work. He has a powerful physique that knows no fatigue. It is doubtful if he has an equal as an orator, and his abilities as a debater are hardly less remarkable. It is intolerable to him to follow, and while he is modest and reasonable, his exceptional mental and physical power enables, indeed forces him, to occupy a leading part in parliamentary battles. The number of debates in which Jaurès is engaged is incredible, and alone they would occupy the entire time of most men. But he is also a student, and his researches into the history of the French revolution are said to be exhaustive, especially in their examination of original documents. At the same time he is editor of a daily paper, *L' Humanité*, and there is hardly an issue that does not contain a leading article by him. But even these various occupations do not seem to exhaust the energies of Jaurès, and few men in the Socialist movement carry on throughout the country a campaign of propaganda equal to his. During elections and in other times of excitement he seems able to preach to the whole of France the philosophy of Socialism. He conducts what we should call a whirlwind campaign in Parliament, in the journals, in drawing-rooms, in the streets, and among strikers. In the strike that broke out in Carmoux, he led the splendid campaign of the strikers, and moved the sympathies of all France by his vivid portrayal of their conditions."

The chapter dealing with the British Labor party is one of the most suggestive discussions in the work. In it he pictures the rise, the dissensions, the splits and the slow progress of the Socialists in Great Britain; also the origin of the famous Fabian Society, a society of intellectuals, holding that the workingmen are the most timid and conservative class in the Empire, and consequently in order to make any progress in radical Socialistic thought, the master appeal should be made to the scholars and to the more liberal members of the aristocracy. The Fabians adopted unique tactics in waging their warfare and advancing their propaganda. Here are characteristic examples of their methods:

"They were meeting in some of the most aristocratic rooms in London. 'Our favorite sport,' Bernard Shaw says, 'was inviting politicians and economists to lecture to us, and then falling upon them with all our erudition and debating skill, and making them wish they had never been born.' A well-known member of Parliament, who was lured into their web on one of those occasions, afterward wrote a furious article, entitled 'Butchered to Make a Fabian Holiday.'

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"Instead of limiting their activity to Socialist circles the members joined as many liberal and radical associations as possible. By constantly moving resolutions they did excellent work in education, and created a general impression of a widespread Socialist sentiment. Graham Wallas formed in London the Metropolitan Radical Federation, representing workingmen's clubs, having a total membership of 25,000, and under his direction they adopted a program which embodied nearly all the Fabian proposals. By persistently attending all political meetings and besieging with questions nearly every liberal candidate, they finally developed a group of progressives in the Liberal party who were willing to accept most of the immediate program of the Socialists."

The total membership of the trades unions and Socialist societies in Great Britain in 1900–01 was 375,931. In 1907–08 the membership had risen to 1,071,940. In England the Marxian Socialists have made a poor showing, the British being favorable to the practical step-by-step method of advance rather than the straight Socialist struggle for the simultaneous success of the entire program.

One of the most interesting chapters deals with "Socialism in Art and Literature," and the ignorant Americans whose information is chiefly gleaned from reactionary American daily newspapers and who have learned to parrot in an unintelligent way the falsehoods and misrepresentations of the editors of the money-controlled dailies, may well blush for shame at the pitiful spectacle they have long made of themselves when denouncing Socialism as the expression of ignorance and the idle demand of impractical visionaries. It is a great, positive, clearly-defined and preëminently practical system of politico-economics, based on justice and the ideal of human brotherhood, and it numbers among its outspoken advocates many of the master minds in almost every civilized land.

Mr. Hunter has performed an important and much-needed work in giving a popular and fascinating panoramic view of one of the most momentous and significant politico-economic movements in the history of social evolution. It is a work calculated to remove many false impressions while adding immensely to the information of the general reader.

B. O. Flower.

# "THE MONEY-CHANGERS."*

## A Book-Study.

By B. O. Flower.

I.

UPTON SINCLAIR is first of all an historian or chronicler of society as it is; an analyst whose one master thought is to hold the mirror up before civilization in its varying phases in such a way that they who have eyes and ears cannot fail to behold as in a vivid panorama just what is going on at the present. That he possesses a strong and vivid imagination, an imagination that is the hall-mark of genius, no one can doubt who has read *Manassas* or *The Jungle;* yet his forte is not in invention, but rather in the power of visualization which enables him to seize upon and portray scenes, events, plans and purposes as vividly as if he had not only actually witnessed them but had been a participant in them.

When *The Jungle* appeared, critics and the general readers alike declared it to be a powerful piece of imaginative work, but with general unanimity it was declared to be a slander on the great beef companies whose master spirits had long posed as safe and sane and eminently respectable leaders in the business world. The author was roundly denounced because it was claimed that his work might be taken seriously by the people and thus do great harm because it misrepresented the beef magnates. Those who, like Mr. Sinclair, had personally investigated the beef trust's infamous doings, as well as the army of its employés, knew *The Jungle* to be first of all history; knew that it was a closely-woven web of actual facts susceptible of proof. True, it was a remarkable piece of imaginative work, because in it the author had so vividly portrayed in a concrete way the double infamy of one of the most immoral and conscienceless monopolies known to history; had shown its essential criminality as shadowed forth in its feeding the people with filthy, drugged and oftentimes diseased and tainted meat, and its inhumanity to its employés, in such a compelling way that it was vividly brought home to the consciousness of the millions. Mr. Sinclair had constructed a novel by weaving together a vast array of demonstrable facts, as was clearly proved after President Roosevelt, who expected to utterly discredit the so-called "muck-raker," sent his commission to investigate the facts, and that commission substantiated the awful truths presented in the book.

II.

In Mr. Sinclair's latest novel, *The Money-Changers*, we have another sectional view of the modern social inferno produced by the feudalism of privileged wealth, which is rising on the ruins of the Republic established by the fathers. The scenes have been shifted from the stock-yards of Chicago to the great metropolis, but here again we have history rather than fiction. All the great or important facts of this book are, we are informed, either historically accurate or a reproduction of facts similar to those narrated in the book.

As a novel, *The Money-Changers* is a better book than *The Metropolis*, but it is far inferior to either *Manassas*, Mr. Sinclair's first important work of fiction, or to *The Jungle*. In reading *The Metropolis*, which is or should be part one of Mr. Sinclair's picture of metropolitan social and business life, one feels that he is perusing a story prepared hastily, not in

*"The Money-Changers." By Upton Sinclair. Cloth. Pp. 316. Price, $1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

regard to the facts treated but rather their method of presentation. It is too sketchy, too much the modern pen-picture of the newspaper reporter or journalist. It lacks the delicate touches and the detail that make a work take vital hold of the reader and live in his imagination. *Manassas* and *The Jungle* have in no small degree these elements that are necessary to a work that is to live as literature. *The Metropolis* is conspicuously weak in this particular, and to a less degree the same fact is apparent in *The Money-Changers*. Had the author spent a year more on these two works, he might have given the world a romance great as Zola's *Paris* or *Rome*, a work that would have taken a permanent place in the literature of the New World. Few of our present-day novelists possess the powerful imaginative insight, the artistic or poetic power of visualization, in the degree enjoyed by Mr. Sinclair. Few novelists can take the material facts of present-day life and weave them into a story more convincing and true in fact, detail and spirit. Hence it is the more regrettable that with this splendid gift, the author should not take the necessary time, even though at great personal sacrifice, to make his novels great masterpieces which would live in literature and at the same time drive home the terrible facts with which he deals in such a way as to awaken a nation, as did the author in *The Jungle*, and as did Dickens and Charles Reade in their great works.

In making this criticism, however, we do not wish to convey the idea that *The Metropolis* and *The Money-Changers* are books of no special interest or value. Both are highly interesting stories written in the bright, clear-cut and entertaining style of the modern journalist, and both give remarkably vivid sectional views of metropolitan life, especially that part which in so sinister a way is influencing the moral ideals of the people while parasite-like feeding on their sustenance through the protection or shelter of a recreant government and opinion-forming influences which it already largely controls.

III.

*The Money-Changers* is a novel that all persons interested in the nation's weal, and especially those who are laboring under the one-time popular delusion that the lords of the money and the market, or the business world which operates in Wall street are safe, sane, moral or respectable citizens, should read. For in this volume we are taken into the inner chamber of the high financiers. We see the Morgans, the Ryans, the Rockefellers, the Harrimans, the Rogerses and their confederates plying their nefarious trade, plotting and plundering in secret after they have deliberately deceived the public. In short, we behold the moral criminality of Wall street as one sees it who is one of the inner circle of the "malefactors of great wealth," to use Mr. Roosevelt's favorite term.

This, however, is but one picture here presented. Mr. Sinclair has displayed much artistic ability in the effective contrasts he introduces. Thus, from the splendid offices of the Wall-street magnates, he takes us to the great steel works operated by some of these same magnates, whose fabulous wealth is being squandered in all kinds of extravagances and oftentimes in revolting excesses and moral crimes. In the steel works we are brought face to face with the terrible conditions of the wage-slaves who make the steel, the pitiful state of the workers; and while here we suddenly witness one of those frightfully tragic deaths so common among the workers, where a man is mangled and slain because the masters of the works are not willing to make the protection of life of greater concern than the garnering of a few more dollars into their already over-swollen treasure vaults. The death here described is a vivid picture of one of a score or more similar deaths the facts of which the author himself personally investigated some time since—deaths that were needless and that at one fell stroke robbed wife and children of husband, parent and support. And the young man who witnesses it turns with sick heart from the scene to New York. Arriving in the metropolis, he finds the parties in whose service he is engaged to be in Newport; hence he joins them, and here again we have a startling contrast. The portrayal of the toilers in the great mills, whose families are barely able to eke out a miserable existence and whose children are frequently compelled to help in the labor of sustaining the family, while the lives of the workers are sacrificed with little concern, is placed in juxtaposition to a vivid pen-picture of the ultra-rich beneficiaries whose wives and daughters are squandering the wealth that would make thousands of workers independent, self-respecting and full of hope, in a hollow round of frivolity that ends in *ennui* or something much worse.

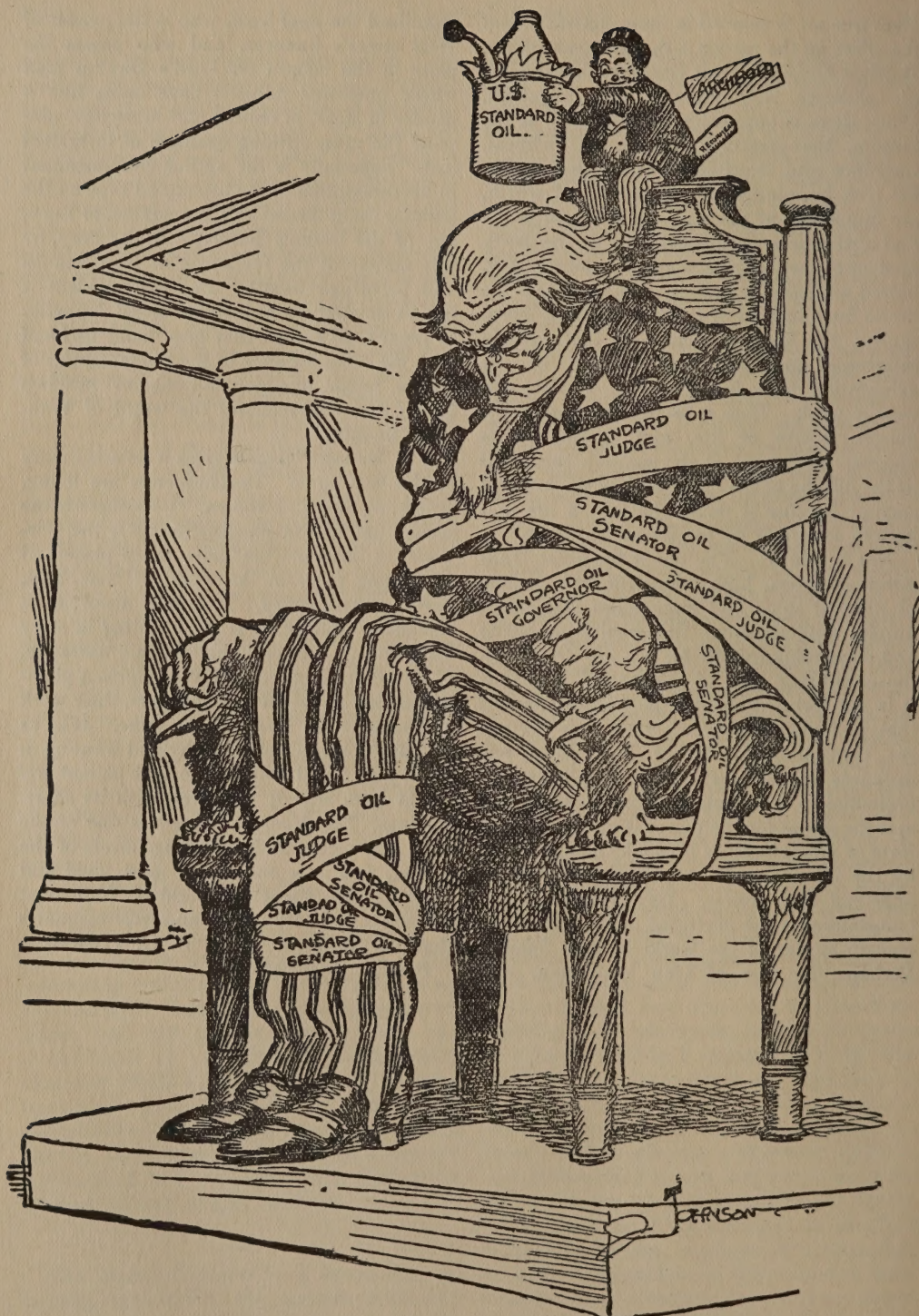
Here true art is evinced in these contrasts, and the effect on the reader is thought-compelling. It drives home the great vital fact that the law of solidarity is immutable and relentless. While there is oppression and injustice at the bottom, the greatness of life, its richness, fragrance and fruitfulness in all that makes for true happiness, development and worth, are impossible at the top. In their places we find restlessness, unsatisfied longing, the development of the baser passions of jealousy, envy, hatred and ignoble desires. Then there is the hectic flush instead of the rose blush of moral sanity; the feverish excitement that ends in bitterness and weariness, instead of the exhiliration that follows noble service and worthy work. Here is money-worship as the master motive of life, and egoism at its apogee; an inferno at the summit, the result of the inferno at the base; society shallow and corrupt because it defies the law of life and growth as taught by the Great Nazarene.

Nor is this all. The life of the great Wall-street gamblers, high financiers and masters of watered stock and monopolies that extort untold millions from the wealth-producing and consuming multitude, is a life "based on the crumbling rock of self-desire," and thus it is not fortified against the master passions that pull men downward when they become the controlling factors of life. In a few instances animal passions are completely subordinated to the mania for accumulating gold and the desire for the power it gives; but this form of moral insanity is usually companioned by the dominance of gross animal passions, appetites and desires. Very vivid and circumstantial is the portrayal of the lust of the woman-hunter of the world of high finance. Perhaps the case of Dan Waterman, who organized the steel trust, who is the master of Wall street's finances, and who passes the plate in the church on Lord's Day—a man whose unearned millions have made him a master in state, in church and in society, presents the most striking example of unbridled lust. Especially is the author circumstantial in his description of the attempted rape on the palatial yacht owned by the magnate, of Lucy, one of the leading characters in the story, by this master of the feudalism of high finance and privileged wealth. But this incident is not an isolated example of the moral depravity in regard to women that goes hand in hand with the utter defiance of the fundamentals of justice, honor, integrity and old-time business virtue that characterizes the world of Wall-street finance.

*The Money-Changers* gives a detailed story of the late panic. Its characters are living, struggling men and women. Its scenes are the scenes not of the imagination, but the portrayal of incidents that have taken place and are taking place in the world of New York *parvenue* aristocracy. It is more history than romance. Indeed, it is the blending in story form and in a remarkably graphic narrative, of a chain of facts so that one obtains a panoramic view of the money-changers, their work and some of the results of the same. It is, as we have observed, too sketchy and wanting in finish and detail which time and patient toil would have added; but even with its shortcomings, *The Money-Changers* is one of the most convincing and absorbing novels of the season, and it is one of the most vivid and accurate pictures of the world of Wall-street financiers and corporation and trust magnates that has appeared.

B. O. Flower.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*




Johnson, in Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE SHAME OF THE NATION.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND WHAT IT SIGNIFIES.

ROCKEFELLER, Harriman and Roosevelt are happy. Carnegie, Morgan, Armour and Baer are delighted. The "malefactors of great wealth," the Wall-street communism of gamblers and high financiers are rejoicing as are the reactionary forces that have for years been consolidating and uniting with the bosses and the corrupt privilege-seeking element to stay the tide of democratic advance in the great Republic. With ten dollars at their command to where the Democrats had one dollar; with every great public opinion-forming organ and influence that could be controlled by corporations or corrupt wealth working for the election of Mr. Taft or coldly supporting Mr. Bryan; with the rich malefactors pouring money into the Republican Congressional Committee's coffers as well as the treasury of the National Committee; while Mr. Roosevelt was beating his tom-toms and striving to divert the attention of the over-credulous voters from the activity in favor of his candidate of the privilege-seeking cormorants from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and while Mr. Hearst in the rear was stabbing at the only candidate that could possibly be elected who boldly stood for the people's rule against the rule of corrupt machines operated by privileged wealth, it is not surprising that Mr. Taft should have been elected, though it is regrettable that the majorities were so decisive.

The defeat of Mr. Bryan will, we believe, hasten the great battle between the merciless and conscienceless oligarchy of privileged wealth and the people, but it will render the possibility of the people's triumph in a peaceable manner far less probable than if the great Commoner had been elected. It was the realization of this fact and the conviction that the most important of all issues for immediate settlement was whether the people should rule or whether the oligarchy of privileged wealth operating through corrupt bosses and machines should continue to be the master of the nation, that led us to so earnestly support Mr. Bryan. We do not for a moment despair of the future. We believe that we have entered a revolutionary epoch, a battle between the people and privilege, not unlike that inaugurated by the democratic era, and one that shall complement the great victory of political independence by giving to industry economic independence; but we believe that the hope for an evolutionary or peaceful triumph is far less bright to-day than it would have been had Mr. Bryan been elected. For now the repressive and despotic measures already inaugurated during recent years will be pushed forward under every conceivable plausible guise and pretence. A systematic effort will be made to increase the army, to bulwark plutocracy at every turn, and to nullify as far as possible actual popular rule. This will be part of the terrible price that the American people will pay for allowing the plutocracy and the reactionists to win the great battle that has just been fought in the Republic.

The victory of plutocracy marks a crucial period in the history of the Republic—a period not unlike that witnessed on the night when Charles Sumner made his memorable speech—the night of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act. From now on it will be a battle to the finish between fundamental democracy and class-rule masquerading under a thin guise of republican form but operated by a ruling class in the service of privileged wealth.

Never has it been so important as at the present hour for all the friends of economic justice, of fundamental democracy and free institutions or the ideals of the Declaration of Independence, to unite on a common ground and wage unceasing warfare against reaction, despotism and class-rule.

The opposition is strong. Its majority is large. This, however, is going to prove an element of weakness, and the imperative duty devolving on the friends of just and free government at this crisis is to unite, manifesting breadth of spirit and tolerance toward all within their own lines, while concentrating their every effort against the enemies of democracy, the upholders of class-rule and reaction.

We repeat, we do not despair of the future,

but it will require much more persistent, determined and wise action on the part of those who appreciate the priceless worth of free institutions and yet who fully appreciate the importance of securing and maintaining free and just conditions through the evolutionary or civilized method rather than through the arbitrament of force.

## THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY AND THE CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION.

### How Organized Greed Has Paralyzed the Voice of the Church While Corrupting Government.

ON SEVERAL occasions we have pointed out the fact that one of the most deadly effects of the giant trusts whose throne is in the metropolis and which are governing the nation while robbing the people, is the deadening of the religious conscience of the nation. We have pointed out how Mr. Rockefeller, by his shrewdness in giving to the Chicago University, Brown University and other Baptist schools and organizations large sums of money, had succeeded in silencing to a very great extent the voice of a church which next to the Methodist was long the most fearless and alert in combatting corrupt and evil conditions that from time to time sought to fasten themselves on the social and political organisms.

Mr. Rockefeller's success, however, was by no means confined to the Baptists. Perhaps the gratifying results that attended his gifts to his own denomination led him to broaden his labors which, while ostensibly philanthropic, he was shrewd enough to understand were the most efficient possible remedies for silencing the voice that might otherwise render impossible a *régime* of moral iniquity which threatened the integrity of free institutions while levying a princely tribute on the wealth-creators of the land. Certain it is that Wellesley Methodist College was smiled upon by the great oil magnate, and the American Board of Foreign Missions, a Congregational institution, received a princely contribution. The Congregationalists were a comparatively small body but, like the Unitarians, they were intellectually very strong and their organization had been marked by aggressive moral courage. It is true that an element in the church that represented the aggressive moral and religious sentiment of the organization made a brave fight against accepting the bribe, but they were overpowered by the materialistic hordes that worship Mammon and appear to largely dominate in the government of church and college.

Then there came to light the fact that the Disciples of Christ, another religious body very strong in the Middle West and very aggressive in battling against unjust conditions, had been bribed by a modest contribution to their missionary board. Here again a battle was fought by the conscience element, but here again the forces of moral death won.

But Mr. Rockefeller was not alone in his systematic attempt to bribe the churches and religious colleges of the land. Other master spirits in the active control of the Standard Oil Company were scarcely less industrious. Mr. Archbold, of most unsavory fame, and H. H. Rogers were conspicuously active. The former made the great Methodist institution, the Syracuse University, a special point of attack. Here in Chancellor Day he found a man after his own heart, the Chancellor quickly becoming one of the most subservient special pleaders for the great trusts to be found in the land.

It is not, however, necessary to go into details of this systematic raid on church and college made by men who knew full well that if they could make the religious organizations heavily obligated to them through the acceptance of tainted gold, they would effectively silence the religious press and the pulpit. No men in the United States are more acute judges of human character than are the men who by shrewd, devious and often lawless and criminal methods have built up the most powerful mercantile organization known to modern times.

One of the chief concerns of Mr. Rockefeller and his able lieutenants has for years been a study of the mastery of men; how to bring others under their power; how to make formidable enemies either willing advocates or powerless to effect harm. And they knew that if they gave a fraction of the wealth they had robbed the people of, for the silencing of

church and school, the money would be well invested. Indeed, it would be a better investment than any other that could be made, unless it be that used to paralyze the strong arm of justice in city, state and nation, by gaining indirectly the control of the government and placing their henchmen in seats of power. It is true that in the case of the churches and schools the guilty recipients of the ill-gotten spoils denied that the receiving of the plunder would in any way influence the action of the pulpit, the press or the great educators. They strove to make the public believe that after taking tens or hundreds of thousands, or even millions of dollars as gifts from Messrs. Rockefeller, Archbold, Rogers, etc., they would be just as ready to expose the corrupt practices of the great engines of extortion that Mr. Rockefeller and his associates had built up on the ruins of men's patient industry by secret rebates and other lawless and corrupt practices, as if they had received no benefits from the master spirits of the trust. The absurdity of this position was, however, apparent to all thinking men, and the master spirits of the Standard Oil Company were never for a moment deceived by the claim. Moreover, it was significant that hand in hand with this claim went various apologies for the chief of the great law-defying corporation and his lieutenants; while not a few clergymen and others whose schools and churches had been benefited by the Standard Oil's tainted gold, became outspoken champions of the robber trust. Such, for example, was Chancellor Day.

It remained, however, for the past campaign to illustrate in an appalling manner the moral degradation to which the pulpit and religious press had fallen by reason of the systematic bribery practiced during recent years by the chiefs of the Standard Oil Company and other great corporations which constitute the feudalism of privileged wealth. The publication of the Standard Oil correspondence, implicating United States Senators, Congressmen, judges and governors, in such a way as to show them as henchmen of the trust, working to further the interests of the great monopoly and to secure the elevation to positions of power and vantage of the handy-men of the interests, has been the culminating evidential proof of a case conclusive in almost every charge, that has long since been made out and presented before the bar of public opinion.

And how have the pulpit, the religious press and the representatives of the great educational institutions that have been enriched by monopoly plunder or that hope for such enrichment, acted in the presence of the appalling revelations of systematic practice of governmental debauchery by an organization representing insatiable greed or gold lust? Has the pulpit thundered against the unmasked criminal who has struck a deadly blow at the vitals of free and just government? Has the religious press raised its voice in ringing words calculated to awaken and electrify a drugged and sleeping moral consciousness, as did of old the prophets in the presence of iniquity in high places? Have the great educators sounded the note of warning and striven to arouse the conscience of the army of young men within and without the university halls who will be the custodians of the national life and ideals of to-morrow? No. So few have been the voices raised from the sentry-boxes of morality and ethical advance that it is almost as though silence reigned all along the moral watch-towers of the nation. This silence has been a most eloquent testimony to the wisdom of the trust managers in their course of systematic bribery. We believe that nothing in the history of our Republic has been so debasing to the moral idealism of the people as the acceptance of the bribes of tainted gold by the church and the religious institutions and organizations.

### A Great Secular Journal on the Debasement of Government by the Standard Oil.

Happily for the cause of morality, some of the great secular dailies are not yet muzzled. The Springfield *Republican*, the ablest, most carefully edited and on the whole the best daily paper in America, admirably commented on one of the latest revelations of Standard Oil governmental corruption in an extended editorial published on October 26th. So timely and worthy of preservation is this protest in the interest of morality that we quote it in full:

"William R. Hearst read some more Standard Oil letters at political meetings in New York Saturday night. One was from John D. Archbold to Governor William A. Stone of Pennsylvania, dated December 5, 1902, asking for the appointment to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court of Judge Morrison of McKeen. Mr. Archbold said:

"'Judge Morrison's character for ability and integrity needs no word at my hands, but

aside from these great considerations, his familiarity with all that pertains to the great industries of oil and gas in the important relation they bear to the interests of the western part of the state, make him especially desirable as a member of the court from that section.'

"The appointment was made and Judge Morrison is now on the Pennsylvania bench, having among his qualifications for the place 'familiarity with all that pertains to the great industries of oil and gas.'

"Earlier than this it appears that Governor Stone filled another vacancy on the Pennsylvania supreme bench at Mr. Archbold's suggestion—Judge John Henderson of Meadville being appointed to succeed Judge Green. Mr. Archbold, under date of September 5, 1900, wrote Governor Stone that such an appointment would give him 'intense personal satisfaction.'

"Then follows a batch of letters touching John P. Elkin, then attorney-general of Pennsylvania, now a judge of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The first (from Archbold to Elkin) incloses a letter of introduction from William Rockefeller to H. McKay Twombly. It is dated September 28, 1899. Another, under date of March 15, 1900, incloses a certificate of deposit to the favor of Elkin for $5,000, 'in fulfilment of our understanding.' Another, under date of February 5, 1900, incloses a certificate of deposit for $10,000 to Elkin's favor, 'in accordance with the request in your telegram of to-day.' What the relations between the Pennsylvania attorney-general and Archbold or the Standard Oil Company were may possibly be inferred from the following letter from the latter to the former under date of May 9, 1901:

"'I inclose copy of a measure pending, I am not sure whether in the House or Senate. Being an act to amend an existing statute, as stated. For reasons which seem to us potent, we would greatly like to have this proposed amendment killed. Wo n't you kindly tell me about it and advise me what you think the chances are?'

"These are sickening disclosures, and in line with what have before come out affecting other public officials. The Standard Oil monopoly is here revealed as in practical control of the government of Pennsylvania, naming the judges to be appointed and the bills to be enacted or killed, and having apparently in its employ the chief law officer of the state. Other letters in this published Archbold correspondence have shown the company as reaching out with the 'broad and greasy hand of boodle' to control newspapers, the law-making bodies of states and the nation, the judiciary and the executive authority—a mighty engine for governmental corruption to the end of placing the people of the United States under still greater tribute than that which was being exacted to make John D. Rockefeller 300 and 400 times a millionaire and his associates proportionately rich beyond the dreams of avarice, and powerful beyond the fancies of the most vaulting ambition. Is it possible that such work as this shall escape a day of reckoning at the hands of an outraged and plundered nation?"

### How the Standard Oil Trust Has Debauched the Press.

Side by side with the seduction of the church and the college, and the prostitution of the government by the Standard Oil, has gone the systematic debauchery of the press. A number of the Archbold letters which Mr. Hearst recently gave to the public clearly prove this fact, even had proof been wanting, and in this connection it should be observed that while the Standard Oil Company is the most masterful and perfectly organized and the most wealthy and powerful of all the predatory bands that make up the feudalism of privileged wealth that is destroying our Republic, it is not alone in its infamy. Its practices have been extensively and systematically copied by other corporations. Though it occupies an evil eminence and is the most sinister of the enemies of the people and of just and free government, it is by no means alone in its efforts to drug the nation while seizing all avenues of power or popular redress. But because it is a pioneer and the chief offender, and because the accumulated evidence against it is of so conclusive a character, it naturally receives more attention than its imitators. In speaking of the exposures of the corruption of the press by this great trust, the Springfield *Republican* of November 2d said editorially:

"More stolen Standard Oil letters were read at a public meeting by William R. Hearst Saturday night. The batch read a week ago exposed the efforts made by the oil concern to name the judges and control the courts of Pennsylvania. Those now read expose an apparently widespread effort to control the public press of the country in the interests of

this great predatory organization of wealth. As much as this was indicated in the Foraker letters where it appeared that the oil concern was willing to lend a large sum of money to a would-be buyer of a leading Ohio journal. It is quite as strikingly shown in these later Archbold letters, one of which incloses a $3,000 certificate of deposit to the editor of the *Manufacturers' Record* of Baltimore, 'covering a years' subscription,' although the advertised price of the paper is only four dollars a year. Still another records a willingness of the Standard Oil Company, through Archbold, 'to continue the subscription of $5,000' to the *Southern Farm* magazine 'for another year,' with an expression of confidence that 'the influence of your publications throughout the South is of the most helpful character.' Helpful of what, do you suppose?

"It remained for the Standard's congressional spy, the contemptible Sibley of Pennsylvania, to suggest a readier, cheaper and more sweeping scheme of newspaper corruption than that of handing around single $3,000 and $5,000 yearly subscriptions to individual newspapers and trade journals. He wrote from Washington on March 7, 1905:

"'An efficient literary bureau is needed, not for a day or a crisis, but a permanent and healthy control of the Associated Press and kindred avenues. It will cost money but will be the cheapest in the end, and can be made self-supporting.'

"'Healthy control' is particularly good. But how about 'self-supporting'? Was it the Sibley plan to bring the Associated Press around finally into paying the Standard Oil Company for the 'news' it was to supply for the misinformation of the people of the United States?

"Bribery of newspapers, control of the judiciary, corruption of the law-making power, and debauchery of the administration of the law, apparently wherever they could be effected, all this has been brought to the doors of 26 Broadway by documentary evidence of the oil trust's own manufacture, which is rendered none the less damning by the fact that the medium of revelation was a poor, miserable sneak thief. What a disclosure of capitalistic conspiracy to pervert government itself and blind the eyes of the people through the organs of public opinion for the plundering of a nation by a dozen individuals! Have these individuals meantime so far morally perverted themselves that they cannot see the wickedness of these doings? What says John D. Rockefeller? And if he has nothing to say, what say the political and moral scientists of Yale and Chicago universities and other institutions of learning under the endowment of these tainted millions?"

## JUDGE LINDSEY'S TRIUMPH OVER THE BOSSES AND CORRUPTIONISTS OF BOTH PARTIES.

THE MAGNIFICENT victory of Judge Ben B. Lindsey in Denver on the third of November is one of the most gratifying triumphs for good government that has been won in recent years, and it is pregnant with a significant lesson which patriotic men and women should take to heart.

Judge Lindsey held resolutely to his oath of office and refused to make peace with the corruptionists of either party. His record as judge of the juvenile court stands in proud eminence among the practical advance movements of modern, wise and philanthropic statesmanship, while as judge of another court he refused to discriminate in favor of wrong-doers because the latter happened to have powerful political and wealthy business backers. Accordingly, the political bosses and the corruptionists who in recent years have made the name of Denver and of Colorado a by-word and a reproach, decreed his political death. Both the Republican and Democratic parties refused to renominate him, and each selected a candidate for the office he had so nobly filled. The Judge's friends, who, it is needless to say, were the friends of decent government and human progress, induced him to run independently. He fought a gallant battle, meeting the bitter opposition of the corrupt machines of both the old parties. United States Senator Patterson, be it said to his great credit, threw the influence of his two great papers, the *Rocky Mountain Daily News* and the Denver *Times*, in favor of Judge Lindsey, who was triumphantly elected by a plurality of thirteen thousand votes, the most

notable victory of the kind in the history of the state.

Here is a fact of great importance for earnest, patriotic men and women to consider. No great reformer or reform program can hope to be carried to victory if nominally supported by political bosses and corrupt party machines. This has been the fatal weakness of the Democratic party under the leadership of Mr. Bryan. The political bosses and the manipulators of party machines knew that Mr. Bryan could not be seduced. Hence they heartily desired his defeat and wrought to that end, while nominally supporting him. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands of earnest men who would have gladly supported him if the Democratic party had not been carrying the dead weight of Tammany and other corrupt political machines and bosses, together with a large plutocratic or reactionary element, failed to enter the ranks and work for his victory because they were not willing to battle side by side with the Murphys, the Taggarts, the Sullivans, the Speers, the Baileys, the Ryans, the Belmonts and the Parkers. On the other hand, no party can succeed which is the creature or which is supposed to be the creature of one man who the many believe places personal desires before the highest weal of the nation. This was the fatal weakness of Mr. Hearst's party. It had a splendid program, but it was completely dominated by one man and it manifested a degree of intolerance of free speech at its convention that was as entirely repugnant to the American ideal as it is inimical to the spirit of democracy.

## THE TRIUMPHAL MARCH OF COÖPERATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

WE ARE in receipt of the report of the Fortieth Annual Congress of the Coöperative Union of Great Britain, which eloquently reminds us that another milestone has been reached and another magnificent story added to the stately edifice that the coöperators of Great Britain are erecting—an edifice that is already an economic beacon for the slowly awakening world.

While to the philosophic student of human progress, the question of profits in dollars and cents is insignificant in comparison with some other things, it is important, and as a forcible illustration to arrest the attention of a world engrossed in money-getting it is possibly more effective than the achievements that make for moral and mental development and the true happiness of the people. Therefore it is interesting to note the fact that during the past year the number of British coöperators has been increased by the addition of 101,331 members, making the total membership at present 2,434,085.

The business showed the phenomenal increase for the past business year of £7,783,942, or about $38,919,710; while the profits were £12,003,341, or over sixty million dollars. The increase over last year was £1,028,346, or about $5,141,730.

In his inaugural address, Councillor T. W. Allen, president of the congress, laid great stress on the larger aspects of the movement represented by the Coöperative Union of Great Britain, thus emphasizing the important point to which Mr. Grey gave his most serious attention in his address of last year.

The ideal of the coöperators is the practical realization of the dream of human brotherhood based on freedom and justice; and the fact that the coöperators are securing to their members the profits that heretofore have gone into the pockets of the exploiters is something that appeals to the common sense and wisdom of all workers who dare and care to think for themselves. In speaking of the financial showing of the past year Mr. Allen observed:

"The figures tabulated for this congress show an unparalleled record in all sections. In our business department we have reached an annual total of £105,717,699. This gigantic business is done on sound democratic principles. Every unit is interested in its success and has a voice in its management. We have now 2,434,085 members, mostly bread-winners and heads of families. Making every allowance we estimate that 8,500,000 persons, or one-fifth of the British population, is being fed and clothed mainly through the medium of our 1,566 registered coöperative societies and their numerous branches. Our share capital —largely the accumulation of bonus on purchases—has reached £32,055,229 and our loan capital totals £9,870,198. For security in the day of depression we have reserve funds

amounting to £3,858,346, and to crown all we are distributing profits to our members at the rate of £12,003,341 per year."

Something of the economic ideals of this large army of intelligent English workers may be gained from Mr. Allen's observations in the following lines:

"The problem of the workless and breadless presses and must be solved. We dare not leave it unsettled. To do so would betray national insanity. The fiercest cry of our people is not for food, but for work with which to win it, and who dares be deaf to a cry like that? None will dispute that unemployment is a permanent factor in the life of every community whose industrial system is based on competition. Such a system, which enfeebles our energy and bemeans our nature, heaps up unlimited wealth on the one hand and unemployment on the other, makes civilization a mockery to many. It is not merely that some are unduly rich and others poor, but that the gulf grows ever wider. Between feudal baron and serf there was some social tie, but between the employés and many a limited liability company, whose shareholders are only concerned with profits, there is less reciprocality than between master and slave.

. . . . . .

"As coöperators, we proclaim our belief that the 'right to work' is a primary and natural right of man. To the politicians in power we say that, while we agree every trade produces not only its own employment but its own unemployment, and that any measure dealing with the question shall recognize that those who profit by unemployment shall pay for the evils which it entails, we also say it is the immediate duty of the state to see that men are not kept, for any cause, without the work which provides them with the means of living. And to politicians out of power, whose remedy for social woe is tariff reform, we say, 'We do not believe you.' As coöperators, we have ever stood for commercial freedom. It is a liberty which, having struggled for and obtained, we mean to keep. We stand for the right of the people to enjoy the blessings of Free Trade already won and to have all other barriers burnt away that hinder free access to the means of subsistence that honest industry offers. No body of men is better able to understand what controlled markets and controlled supplies in the hands of irresponsibles would mean to this country. A movement that has paid £5,000,000 in 'Sugar Tax' can say there are some things they can understand, having hammered them out on the anvil of experience. There must be no chance given for gambling in the food supplies of our people, and to advocate Tariff Reform as a remedy for unemployment is dishonest. Protectionists do not want work for all. Work for all would ruin their profits. Tariff Reform would profit the few but for the many it would be a calamity. If the 'fiscal fright' is to come we shall be on the side of the many, believing that a Free Trade policy is a great constructive program for the development of industry in the interests of the multitude which works and the multitude which buys."

In touching upon the educational and social ideals, Mr. Allen observes:

"When a good wage and employment are secured, then the real task of all social reform will begin. Only when man has a sufficiency of daily bread will he realize that man does not live by bread alone. The store and the workshop are but a means to an end. The real end of material gain is to prepare a way to develop the love for better things, both material and moral. Our business is to get men not in poverty to want—earnestly desire—the higher comforts, the refinements, the mental pleasures of life. This movement cares for our condition; it cares also for our life. It saves us money and gives it protection; it also seeks to give us knowledge. Our ideals are themselves the most valuable of all our assets, and it is only by a fond cherishing of these that we shall keep our place in the vanguard of the world. It is no useless expenditure to build up the best ideal—not merely the ideal of a slight improvement in present conditions, but the ultimate ideal of all—the perfecting of manhood. On this account we rejoice in the revival of educational work now manifest. We are rediscovering that coöperation is a ship and all that board her must belong to the crew. She is no ship for passengers, although some have come on deck and labeled our principles as so much luggage 'not wanted on the voyage.' Our first educational work is with these. We must make them acquainted with the true character of coöperation and the work it seeks to accomplish. A movement that opens its doors to all comers will neglect at its peril the claims of its members to education. Membership no more makes a coöperator than sitting in a library makes a scholar. There must be training. The fact that last year we spent £93,435 on lectures, libraries, scholarships, reading-rooms,

festivals, publications, etc., is all to the good and money well spent; but there is room and a demand for enlargement.

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"In spite of health and housing acts, slumdom reigns. From the beginning coöperators have recognized that without healthy homes we cannot have a healthy people, and that the fulness of the hospital ward would not exist but for the garret. It is all to our credit that we have spent £10,000,000 in housing 50,000 of our members, and our work proceeds. The English Wholesale has set aside £250,000 for immediate use, and distributive societies are active all over the country. The Coöperative Permanent Building Society—one of the special organizations of the movement and a thoroughly democratic institution—is doing excellent work housing the people, and is worthy the support of all societies with capital to invest. So also is the Tenants' Co-partnership movement, which is taking a firm hold of the public, as well as the coöperative mine, to an astonishing degree, and bids fair to be one of the most effective instruments for dealing with the most perplexing question of our time. . . . The success of 'First Garden City,' at Letchworth, has opened up a new vista for the coöperator and the nation. Such movements are bringing back that love of home and fatherland which is fast disappearing, and the way has been opened for forming an entirely coöperative garden city and coöperative garden suburbs. We learn with unmixed pleasure that the C. W. S. directors are favorable to removing their factories into the country, and other productive societies may be like minded. At least, the matter has been brought within the realm of discussion, even if the initial difficulty has not been overcome. In Mr. Rogers' phrase, 'A movement which in itself is a step toward economic order, with its vast resources, its unique and closely-knit organization, its centralized experience and accumulated knowledge of industrial possibilities, could plan and carry out the creation of a co-operative city and community' with a success that would be at once an example and a model.

"Since civilization began, wealth has been sought in two main directions. There is the wealth that can be made possible for all who are industrious, moral and economical, which comes from fruitful fields cultivated in peace, from flocks and herds and orchards, and from legitimate commerce; and there is the wealth from unjust sources connected with cruelty, selfishness and crime, the wealth which is unblessed and breeds oppression of the poor—the garnering of conquered cities, the spoils of vanquished nations. The latter source has had its day, and every lover of humanity will rejoice that our swords are being turned into spades and plowshares for the purpose of tilling the soil."

This message voices the spirit of twentieth-century civilization. It is something that should be carefully considered by every earnest-minded American.

At the English congress was a greater number of delegates from Continental Europe than at any previous congress. Indeed, the cause of coöperation is making splendid progress in many lands of Continental Europe.

## COÖPERATION IN EUROPE.

IN A VERY thoughtful paper delivered by the distinguished Swiss economist and coöperative leader, Dr. Hans Muller, before the Fortieth Annual Congress of the Coöperative Union of Great Britain, the rapid and healthy growth of coöperation on the continent of Europe was forcibly dwelt upon.

Dr. Muller showed that in Denmark in 1896 there were but 310 distributive coöperative societies, but this number had risen in 1906 to more than 1,200 such societies.

In Sweden, from 1897 to 1906 not less than 3,162 coöperative societies of different kinds were registered; while during the past seven years more than 1,016 coöperative societies have been formed in Finland.

In Roumania there are to-day more than 2,000 credit associations among the peasants who ten years ago were almost unacquainted with coöperative institutions.

In Hungary there were probably not more than 20 stores in 1898, but to-day there are more than 800 societies in the coöperative federation and 1,653 credit associations.

In Switzerland from 1900 to 1907, 2,138 coöperative societies have been founded.

In Holland more than a thousand new coöperative societies have been formed since 1897.

In Germany, at the end of 1906, there were 25,714 coöperative societies of different kinds.

Dr. Muller, after making some observations in regard to the remarkable growth in recent years of the coöperative movement in Europe, adds:

"But not only the number of societies is increasing, there is also a strong tendency manifested towards federation. In nearly every country several important unions are to be found, which very often are federated again. The most remarkable formation in this respect is certainly the German Federation of Agricultural Coöperative Societies, having its headquarters in Darmstadt, and consisting of 41 unions, containing 17,500 societies, uniting nearly one and one-half millions of agriculturists, among whom are small peasants and great landlords."

## THE DEAD HAND OF PHARISAIC CONVENTIONALISM AND THE NEW MORAL DEMAND OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY CIVILIZATION.

SINCE before the Great Nazarene trod the plains of Galilee and shocked and scandalized the Pharisaic conventionalists in the church and society of his day by turning the search-light on the hypocritical accusers and refusing to condemn the woman, to the present hour, church and society have been sweeping and merciless in their condemnation of the woman who for any cause barters her honor, while the same church and society smiles upon the man who shares the woman's body and shame, if he is discreet, if he ostensibly conforms to moral standards and is liberal in his support of the church.

Here are some facts to be considered—facts that the awakened twentieth-century conscience will demand with ever-increasing insistence shall be considered. There are in this nation hundreds and perhaps thousands of lives every year needlessly sacrificed in mines, mills, factories and on railways, for the want of proper protection or arrangements to guard against fatal accidents, which are not provided simply because it would lessen dividends on watered stock. Again, every year the factories, mills and mines are sapping the physical and moral vitality of thousands of children and preparing them for a maturity in which both body and moral fiber will be too weak to resist any great pressure from without. Yet the church as a whole and society remain indifferent to the slaughter of lives of those who are the prop and support of wives and children, and thus the protectors of mothers and daughters, and to a great extent they are indifferent to the crime of child-slavery.

Nor is this all. Mr. Sinclair in his latest novel, *The Money-Changers*, draws some vivid pictures of Wall-street magnates who are moral lepers; whose unclean record is well known. He shows how one of the most notorious of these men passed the plate of a Sunday and was a pillar of the church. Some time since a friend of ours, a brilliant journalist of New York city, was talking of the case of one of the great trust magnates. He said, "He is building a magnificent church and I think has contributed liberally to some of the religious schools of his denomination. Now he has gone to Europe. He had three mistresses in New York and was living such a rapid life that the doctor persuaded the wife to get him away in order to save his life."

Yet to-day as of old the attitude of the church is well summed up in the cry of "Stone the woman and let the man go free." To-day we find the same indifference as of old on the part of smug conventionalism in church and society to the fundamentally immoral and unjust economic conditions which are the most fruitful cause of uninvited poverty and of unchastity in woman. We express horror at the essential tragedy of a woman's fall from the position of moral integrity, while we are supremely indifferent to the causes that drive her, after a fearful soul battle, to take the step, and which also weaken her physical and moral fiber in a slavery virtually impossible under a just social order.

Happily, though the church to a great extent and conventional society as a whole, refuse to be great enough to be aggressive in the war against fundamental injustice, immorality and vice-breeding conditions, a mighty

awakening is going on throughout the rank and file of the people, and in this new moral renaissance hundreds of clergymen have already enlisted. A moral awakening is upon us that will strike at the root causes of uninvited poverty and vice. The great thing most needed to-day is the awakening of the conscience of the people to the fundamental causes that are making for moral degradation, poverty and misery, and to do this it will often be necessary to scandalize the conventional Pharisees, even as did the Great Nazarene of old.

In this issue the Rev. Roland D. Sawyer, a well-known Congregational clergyman of Massachusetts, contributes a stern and tragic paper entitled "The Widow's Christmas," that is well calculated to make easy-going men and women stop and think.

The new conscience that is awakening in the hearts of millions of the most earnest and high-minded men and women of Christendom does not in the least undervalue the priceless jewel of purity. Rather it realizes, as does not the conventional religious world, that tolerates among its pillars moral lepers and the beneficiaries of injustice and morally criminal economic conditions which foster needless slaughter of the workers, that grind down the wages of women and that put little children in factories and mills, that true morality and full-orbed development of man, woman and child can only obtain under economic conditions that are fundamentally just—conditions that make the Golden Rule of Christ the master rule of life, even as the rule of gold is to-day the dominating rule in the commercial world.

## MEMORIAL SERVICES IN MEMORY OF PROFESSOR PARSONS IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL.

ON SUNDAY, October twenty-fifth, a notable memorial service was held in the People's Church in the city of Washington, to express love, and appreciation for the noble life-work of Professor Parsons. The leading speakers were the Rev. Alexander Kent, pastor of the church, Professor Thomas Elmer Will, A.M., formerly president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, and the Hon. George H. Shibley, president of the National Federation for People's Rule. The Rev. Alexander Kent in the course of his remarks paid this just tribute to our great leader's memory:

"There are few men who will be more missed by those interested in social problems than Professor Parsons, few whose places will be harder to fill. There were few men whose ability was so completely devoted to the common good. The things that most interested him were the things that most concern or affect the common welfare. The problem of human betterment was always uppermost in his thought. He was continually at work tracing the evils from which men suffer to their source, and showing how they might be avoided or at least greatly lessened. He was a constant opponent of that individualism which pits men against each other in the struggle for existence, and an earnest advocate of that individuality that fits men for useful membership in the social body, and so draws them together in mutual fellowship and service. Professor Parsons realized that the problem of civilization is the problem of living together in mutual helpfulness, in friendly and harmonious relations. For the steady trend of population is to the cities; and this not only because people are gregarious and crave the social life, but because the conditions created by our present system of land-holding, and by our growing wants and multiplied inventions, drive people to the city in search of remunerative employment. Hence, Professor Parsons saw that the problem of the city is the problem of civilization. In his book, *The City for the People*, he calls attention to the fact that, relative to poulation, there are more than ten times as many people living in the cities to-day as there were one hundred years ago. He also pointed out the fact that the productive power of the individual farmer has been so greatly increased by machinery that, relatively, fewer and fewer men are needed to supply the food demands of the country.

"The present trouble is that with the concentration of population there has gone the concentration of wealth, so that more than half of the people own practically nothing, and one-eighth of the people own more than seven-eights of the wealth of the country. How to

overcome this tendency and cause a diffusion of wealth, power, intelligence, culture and conscience is the problem of the twentieth century. Professor Parsons' hope was in a more perfect democracy or self-government, not only in political but in industrial affairs; private monopoly in politics and industry being, in his thought, the central and most threatening evil of our time.

"An earnest and consistent advocate of self-government, he held that it is the basic principle of our institutional jurisprudence, and that the management by the people of their own affairs is one of the most effective means of their education and elevation. The freest institutions, he contended, are those that carry self-government nearest to perfection. But, unfortunately, the law does not always apply this principle. It recognizes it, in good measure, in respect to nation and state, but not in regard to cities. They have only such power as the legislatures of their states choose to give them. Professor Parsons held that the cities should be as free and independent in the management of their own affairs as the states, limited only by the law that requires supreme regard for the common good. He stood for self-government in industrial affairs as well as in political. An industrial democracy he thought quite as essential to justice and liberty as a political democracy. Oppression by an aristocracy of industrial monopolists he thought quite as bad as oppression by an aristocracy of political monopolists, while the educating and elevating effect of managing their own industrial affairs is often more conspicuously evident. He realized, however, that we cannot expect a large measure of industrial self-government under existing ownerships, but he held that it may be obtained through public-ownership, in the case of monopolies, and in other cases through the development of co-partnership and voluntary coöperation.

"But to have public-ownership of monopolies he held that we must first have public-ownership of the government. The people must rule. The first requisite, therefore, is Direct-Legislation, or the Initiative and Referendum, with which he would have civil service, proportional representation, preferential voting, equal suffrage, efficient corrupt practice acts, and the popular recall. He was careful to point out that government-ownership of industry is not public-ownership unless the people own the government. Owning the government, they can shape their political and industrial affairs as they think the common good requires. To push these and other reforms, those who desire to see them effected must push the campaign of education. In this lies the final hope, for at bottom it is a new intelligence and a new ideal that are to bring the better conditions. Individual development forces a change in the laws; then better institutions help to develop a nobler manhood. By such interaction civilization is built up. To present, illustrate and demonstrate such ideas was the business of Professor Parsons' life. And this he did in a way to win the confidence, the respect and the esteem of all who knew him."

Professor Thomas E. Will spoke somewhat at length, referring feelingly to his intimate acquaintance and association with Professor Parsons during fifteen years, beginning in Boston in the winter of 1893–94. He spoke of his reply to Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* as a pamphlet which helped in turning the whole current of his thought; of his association in the Kansas State Agricultural College during the years 1897–99, when Professor Will was president of that institution and Professor Parsons filled the chairs of history and political science. He dwelt on Professor Parsons' wonderful power as a teacher; his ability to make dark things light and rough places plain, to inspire, arouse and enthuse the pupils and fill them with an ardor for truth for its own sake and for humanity's sake; on his versatility, which enabled him to master new themes, such as psychology, and handle them with the same skill and power apparently with which he handled themes to which he had devoted years of special study. He spoke of his delightful social qualities; of the warmth of his friendship; of his absolute devotion to his conception of the highest well-being of the whole people; of the clearness of his conception of the economic and political conditions which must conserve such well-being; and of the political character of the methods whereby he sought the goal. He spoke earnestly in favor of the proposal to bring out a memorial edition of Professor Parsons' important works, a proposal which is outlined elsewhere in this issue of THE ARENA.

Hon. George H. Shibley's tribute was in part as follows:

"Professor Frank Parsons was one of the great men of our age, and those of us who personally knew him or have listened to his speeches or read his writings are fortunate.

For nine years it has been my privilege to personally know him, and each year he became dearer to me.

"Professor Parsons is one of a number of political reformers who in recent years have passed from the physical life. Ernest Crosby, Henry D. Lloyd, Governor Altgeld, Jerry Simpson and others have quite recently gone before. Each was especially strong in some phase of the reform work.

"The qualities in Professor Parsons that stood out most conspicuously were his unselfish devotion to the public weal, the remarkable fairness with which he viewed things, his intellectual keenness, artistic temperament and skill, wide knowledge and a fine sense of humor, all combined with an energy and a kindliness that was delightful.

"His unselfish devotion to the welfare of the world was marvelous, and he was liberal with those with whom he worked. He gave but little thought to financial matters, keeping constantly in mind the public welfare.

"The remarkable fairness with which he weighed all questions was noticed by all thoughtful people. At the conclusion of the work of the Municipal Ownership Commission, of which he was a member, its chairman, Mr. Ingalls, frankly said that he had found him one of the fairest men on the commission.

"His strong mental powers are seen in his writings. Close analysis and far-reaching generalizations and logical conclusions are equally prominent.

"As a public speaker he was accomplished. As a companion or one of a group of friends he was entertaining and spirited. He took pains to exert himself. Whenever he came to Washington his society was sought after by his many friends. At the time of his last visit every moment he could spare was divided among his old-time friends until past midnight, except on the evening of his public debate on municipal-ownership.

"During recent years, he and Mr. Ralph Albertson, Mr. B. O. Flower and Dr. C. F. Taylor were real brothers. They worked together and thoughtfully helped each other.

"To me, according to my beliefs, Professor Parsons, the loving, thoughtful energetic soul, is safe and well. While I greatly miss him and realize that the cause will miss him, there is no tinge of hopeless sorrow. The Maker and Sustainer of the universe is all-loving as well as all-wise."

## PROPOSED MEMORIAL EDITION OF PROFESSOR PARSONS' WORKS.

WE HEARTILY agree with Mr. Ralph Albertson, Professor Parsons' literary executor, that this great champion of fundamental democracy and social justice deserves a fitting memorial, and that the most appropriate monument that could possibly be erected to his memory would be a carefully-edited edition of his master works, brought out in a worthy manner in volumes uniform in size and appearance; an edition somewhat similar to the memorial edition of the works of Henry George.

While we do not doubt but that the sale of such an edition would more than pay the necessary outlay, it cannot be undertaken without the money being advanced or pledges in subscriptions being obtained that would cover the principal cost; for those who appreciate the invaluable worth of this great work to the cause of human progress are almost to a man making every sacrifice possible in their work for the cause, and therefore have not the necessary funds at their command.

Before speaking of the two methods that have been suggested to render possible this memorial edition, we wish to briefly touch upon some of the works that are vitally important to the cause of popular and just government.

*The Story of New Zealand* is a book that is not only a fascinating historical survey of the most progressive and in many respects most democratic state in the world, but it luminously dwells on the great popular or democratic innovations that transformed New Zealand and gave to her people happiness and comparative prosperity and contentment in place of commercial paralysis, increasing poverty and conditions that were favoring the augmentation of wealth in the hands of the few and the ever-increasing poverty of the many, such as mark all lands where class interests predominate. This history was never plated

and the edition, we understand, is practically exhausted. There are some things in this volume that specially bore on passing events and which could wisely be omitted, while a complementary chapter, prepared by some eminent and competent writer of New Zealand, should be added, to bring the history of economic, political and social legislation down to the present hour. This could easily be done and the work thus edited and amended would be an invaluable handbook for all reformers—a book that in the libraries would accomplish a vast amount of good and one that would be an inspiration and guide to thousands of young men about to enter public life.

*The City for the People* was a pioneer volume on municipal government and contains a vast amount of matter invaluable for municipal workers who have the best interests of the community at heart. Professor Parsons had collected a vast amount of important recent data that could be used in bringing the volume down to date, making it one of the best, if not the best work on twentieth-century municipal government extant.

*The Railways, the Trusts and the People* is a work that without question is the ablest and most masterly contribution that has yet appeared on the question of the railways, from the pen of one who held no brief for privileged wealth. Professor Parsons spent several years in securing the data for this monumental work. He traveled throughout the Republic and made two trips to Europe, one of which extended over several months, during which he devoted almost the entire time to exhaustive investigation of the railways of the Old World. Of the importance of this work it is not necessary to speak, in view of the fact that the railroad question is bound to be one of the paramount issues during the next few years.

Professor Parsons' work on *Direct-Legislation* was a pioneer volume and one of the strongest and clearest arguments in favor of popular rule. This work, if properly edited and brought to date, would also be an invaluable handbook for friends of popular government.

*The Philosophy of Law*, an extremely important unpublished volume which the Professor finished only a few days before his death, is in Mr. Albertson's opinion the most important of Professor Parsons' works.

Though these are the most notable, there are other very important works that should be included in this edition, among which should be a volume of shorter essays, including some of the most important papers contributed to THE ARENA and other leading publications during the past twenty years—such papers as "The Philosophy of Mutualism," "The Power of the Ideal," "The Vocation Bureau," etc.

Space forbids further notice of the works, but sufficient has been said to show the incalculable value of such an edition to the cause of social justice and fundamental democracy.

Two methods have been suggested for rendering possible the bringing out of this work:

(1) In the first place, it has been proposed that a subscription be opened and that all persons willing to help in giving posterity a fitting memorial to Professor Parsons which should also be a work of inestimable value to American democracy and social progress, shall send in pledges for the set of volumes, which will be payable on receipt of each volume as published, the cost of the volumes not to exceed $1.50 each. This would not be a burden to any one and every subscriber will receive full value for what he paid, while he will be helping to render possible the publication of a work which we believe is more needed than anything else that could be brought at the present crucial period.

Readers of THE ARENA, we appeal to you, as you love your country, as you wish to see the cause of pure, just and free government triumph, and the land preserved a glorious heritage to your children, to help, even though it be at a personal sacrifice, by sending in your subscription at once. It is not often that one has the opportunity to do so much at so little an outlay for the cause of human progress, and we urge each reader to act and act at once, by communicating with Mr. Albertson as below.

(2) The second plan that has been proposed is as follows: There are among the friends of Professor Parsons, men who knew his worth and the value of his writings, many persons who could advance the amount required to publish this edition without seriously inconveniencing themselves. If one, two or three of these persons would advance the necessary funds under the arrangement that they are to be paid in full, with, say six per cent. interest on their investment, from the first books sold, the problem could be quickly solved while there could, we think, be little risk in such an undertaking. It is more than probable that the various libraries throughout the country would alone take almost enough of these books to pay the first cost; while there

would certainly be a great number of others who would wish the volumes for their libraries. Moreover, all the questions upon which he wrote are subjects that are now more and more filling the public mind, and there is an increasing demand for authoritative works on all the subjects which he so luminously treated. Thus, there should be a steady demand for these works for several years to come. The man who would thus step to the front would deserve well of the Republic and he would be furthering one of the noblest causes that patriotism, humanity and love of the race ever sought to further.

All communications relating to this subject should be addressed to Mr. Ralph Albertson, care of THE ARENA, No. 5 Park Square, Boston, Massachusetts.

## EDWIN D. MEAD'S TRIBUTE TO PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS

EDWIN D. MEAD, formerly editor of *The New England Magazine* and one of the leading publicists of New England, as well as a world figure in the battle for international arbitration, recently paid a most just and well-deserved tribute to the late Professor Frank Parsons in a communication to the Chicago *Public*, from which we make the following extracts:

"If the span of life is to be measured by extent of service rather than by number of years, then Professor Frank Parsons, who has just died in Boston, was a veteran indeed.

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"With Boston he had been more or less closely associated for twenty years, and for the greater part of that time, here had been the center of his activities. Now he was teaching political science for a period in Kansas, now scouring Switzerland for the latest fact upon the Initiative and Referendum, now making laborious research or pushing hot propaganda, at a hundred points near and remote, in the interest of better economy, better laws, better cities, better public service, or a better chance for the unprivileged man. But Boston was headquarters, and to Boston he ever came back, for at least fifteen years being a noteworthy figure in our reform movements and organizations.

"He was long a regular lecturer in the Boston University Law School. But he was much more active as a speaker out of the school than in it; and his literary work was far more extensive, important and influential than his platform work. He lived for many years in the simple boarding-house in St. James avenue, where he died; and his big, sunny room at the back of the house was a veritable beehive of intellectual industry.

"The amount of work which this quiet scholar managed to do there in these years was something extraordinary. Indeed it was an amount too great for the time. He would have done more if he had done less. He did not know well how to play, and he did not know when to stop work; and it was too often midnight when the wearied hand laid down the pen.

"He had too little humor—though more than some divined. His devoted days needed more relief. He never seemed a strong man; but if he were not robust in body, he had unremitting patience and persistence and an inflexible purpose, and his concentration brought large results. Never was man more guileless, or more free from any thought of worldly success, of gain or popularity. His concentration was all upon political and social facts which he felt his countrymen were careless about and needed to be careful about and to be better informed about.

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"Every earnest scholar respected him; the plain people, and especially the struggling poor, recognized and loved him as their friend; and now, when so many of his sometime 'heresies' have become orthodox, it is clear to see how well balanced and just he was on the main points, how docile always, and how quick to point out the weak places in his own contentions, the places to which careful effort must be given if they were to be made strong.

"*The New Political Economy, The City for the People, Direct-Legislation, The Story of New Zealand, The Heart of the Railroad Problem, The Railways, the Trusts and the People*—these titles taken almost at random from the titles of a dozen books poured out along with multitudes of magazine articles in a dozen years, show something of the range of his literary and reform activities; and there was no book to which he put his hand which was a

careless book, none into which there did not go immense reading and study, earnest thought and a great consecration. Two or three books were in course of preparation side by side upon his desk at the time he died.

"His last dominant interest was in the 'Vocation Bureau,' of which much has lately been said, which he conceived and organized, and which he fully discussed in articles in the last two numbers of THE ARENA. In this important and neglected field he was a pioneer, and much must result here from his provocative and constructive thought. The immense amount of service which he gave to this work was representative, like his long work in the Breadwinners' School at the North End in Boston, of the self-sacrifice and zeal of his life-long efforts for the 'under dog' and for the young.

. . . . . .

"He will not soon be forgotten in Boston nor in the country. We can none of us afford to forget easily the lesson of a scholar's life so simple and unselfish, so untiring and devoted, so public-spirited and truly heroic.

"One of our political economists who does not like reformers too well, has written an ironical essay, provoked by sundry contemporary social struggles, upon 'The Foolish Attempt to Make the World Over.' It was in that 'foolish' attempt that Professor Parsons was engaged his whole life long. He was one of 'God's fools,' if we may echo the phrase of Maarten Maartens.

"He was a 'worker together with God' in the long and painful process of transforming human society on this old earth of ours into some sort of reflection and bailiwick of the kingdom of God. That is the best thing that can be said of a man when he passes on from this sphere of labor; and it can be said with rare warrant of Frank Parsons."

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY ROBERT E. BISBEE, A.M.,
Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

### Switzerland.

THE REFERENDUM works strangely at times. For example, last July the Swiss prohibited the manufacture and sale of absinthe throughout Switzerland, and this has resulted in an unprecedented "boom" in the beverage. The prohibitive law does not come into effect until July, 1910. The referendum, curiously enough, was a great advertisement for absinthe. Orders from France have increased 35 per cent. since July. In spite of the fact that within two years absinthe factories will be closed, several manufacturers are enlarging their premises and accepting long contracts. In some of the cantons of Switzerland a method resembling the referendum has been in practice since the sixteenth century. The present form was adopted in the canton of St. Gallen in 1830. In 1848, in spite of conservative opposition, the referendum was incorporated in the Swiss federal constitution, and in 1874 its application was extended. In all the cantons, except Frieburg, the referendum is now established.

### England.

THE English railroads are facing a great strike, brought on partly by combination of all but one of the great railways to resist the demands of their employés for higher pay and shorter hours. The unions are now arranging for an early *referendum* vote on the question and there is no doubt that the vote will be in the affirmative. The unions ask wage increase averaging about 25 per cent. The railroads say they cannot advance wages without ruining their business. From a railway standpoint, England is already over-developed. Profits have been reduced to a minimum and no hope exists, as in America, of creating new business; the island long ago reached its maximum of productiveness both in freight and passenger traffic.

If a strike is ordered it will affect nearly 500,000 railroad men and, counting the allied trades, the number of men thrown out of employment would soon reach 1,500,000. With more than a million out of work as a result of the cotton-mill lockouts and a still larger num-

ber idle as the result of the general business depression, the railroad situation is so threatening that it will probably be made a subject of Parliamentary debate when the House convenes the middle of October.

### Ohio.

THE *Farmer*, of Cleveland, in its issue of September 26th gives this well-written review of the Initiative and Referendum situation in Ohio:

"The Direct-Legislation League of Ohio is vigorously keeping up the fight for government by the people. It has prepared a new constitutional amendment which will be introduced in the next general assembly, and has sent a copy of it to every candidate accompanied by by a pledge which he is requested to sign. If he signs and returns it, then the League will work for his election, regardless of party lines. If he refuses, the League will work for his defeat if any opposing candidate is favorably inclined; if no candidate in the district is favorable, the League has nothing to work for, and will let it alone. The proposed amendment is similar to the one that was introduced last winter. It provides for the submission of any act of the legislature to the people if ten per cent. of the electors of the state petition for it, and in case of any bill defeated by the legislature, a five-per-cent. petition will call for its submission to the voters. In either case, a majority of the votes cast upon the measure will make it a law, or defeat it. All interests that are afraid of popular government—'by the people'—are combining to defeat the referendum movement. A new organization called 'The Ohio Representative Government League' has been formed. The report says it was organized by 'representative business men of the state.' This means, no doubt, representatives of the great corporate interests, as these interests have always fought the Direct-Legislation principle. This organization is demanding and laboring for the submission of a constitutional amendment to prohibit any candidate for the legislature from making any pledge whatever. It claims that the promise of voters to support a candidate who makes a pledge, or oppose him if he refuses, is a bribe. The absurdity of this claim should certainly undermine the organization and render its efforts futile. The pledging of candidates to support, advocate, defend or oppose certain measures or policies has always been a vital element of our American governmental system. To deprive the people of the right to ascertain the attitude of candidates on important measures or policies, and have them define that attitude, would be the most serious blow to true representative government that has ever been given. It would even destroy political platforms for every candidate pledges his fealty to every plank of the platform upon which he is nominated. Carry this out in every detail and candidates would have to be nominated without any pledges whatever, and they would go to the legislature as representatives of their own individual opinions and principles. The time has come, in this country, when political questions are of far less importance than economic matters of direct and vital interest to the people. The people must cease to elect men merely to represent party and partisan affairs. They must elect them to enact laws for their common welfare, for their every-day interests. If a political platform does not embrace a proposition which the people demand and desire, they must have the right to combine and seek the endorsement of candidates, and the candidate must have the right to pledge his support for any measure which he is assured is demanded by the people. The Direct-Legislation League is working for the people. The Ohio Representative Government League is working for special interests. Farmers will know which to support."

THE PLATFORM of the Columbus convention on which Judge Harmon was nominated for the Governorship of Ohio asserts belief in the efficacy of the Initiative and Referendum as the cure for the "supposed ills" of democracy.

THE FIGHT for an Initiative and Referendum law at the next session of the state legislature is being vigorously pushed in Cincinnati.

PLANS will be completed Monday night by the executive board of the Initiative and Referendum League for a labor congress, probably to be held at Workmen's hall, October 9th, at which all of the labor unions of the city will be lined up in the fight. Individual unions are now electing delegates to represent them at the congress.

### Mayor Johnson's Defeat.

AS THE ARENA goes to press the report comes that, after several years' trial of a three-cent street-railroad fare, Cleveland has now by a majority referendum vote of 951 decided

to discontinue the franchise of the Municipal Traction Company. The outcome may be that the railroad property will revert to the original owners and the old five-cent fare will be reëstablished.

The history of this very interesting attempt to obtain cheap transportation is given by the New York *World* in substance as follows: "For seven years Mayor Johnson, long a resident of New York and once head of the Brooklyn street-car lines, fought to give the people of Cleveland three-cent fare. After one of the bitterest struggles in the history of city politics he forced the Cleveland Electric Railway Company, which operated all the traction lines, to accept his terms. Three-cent fare was established, and the flattering acclaim of the country was accorded to the mayor.

"And now he may see all the fruits of his labor destroyed at one blow by the fickle public that seems to have tired of three-cent fares. The special election is necessary, for the three-cent road cannot sell its stock, because its franchise may be invalidated at any time by the taxpayers' suits that have been filed against it, and it must raise money to take up $2,000,000 of the bonded debt which matures in a few months. More important than that, the Municipal Traction Company has found that three-cent fares are not as profitable as was expected. The monthly statements of the traction company have revealed a deficit instead of the expected surplus, despite the fact fewer cars have been operated and everything possible has been done to cut down expenses. Within another month, however, the experiment of three-cent fares may be no more. And Mayor Johnson will be a fallen idol, for his promises of seven years will have come to naught.

"Throughout the long fight for the three-cent fare the mayor has supplied large sums to bring about its establishment, and he has also placed his large personal credit at the disposal of the company which fought its way into Cleveland and finally took possession of the big traction system. How much money he has spent no one except Mayor Johnson himself can guess. The figures are said to have passed into millions.

"He also gave the greater part of his time to the fight at the expense of his private business interests, which embrace the traction lines in many cities. He led the fight body and soul, day and night, for seven long years. During the last few years, especially the last twelve months, he has aged rapidly. His once handsome face is now deeply lined, and, despite his efforts to conceal it, his strength is ebbing. While not broken, his health is badly impaired from the long strain of seven years of continual warfare.

"In this fight he has had to oppose the entire business community of Cleveland, which was naturally in sympathy with the Cleveland Electric Railway Company."

The referendum vote was taken October 22d. What the result of Mayor Johnson's defeat will be the future alone will develop.

### City Charters.

THE Referendum League in a circular letter addressed to the voters of Buffalo calls attention to the fact that at the election on November 3d the citizens will have an opportunity to pass upon the following question:

"Shall the city of Buffalo ask the legislature of the state of New York for a new and simplified charter providing for the largest possible measures of home rule, to be submitted to the people of Buffalo, and to the common council before taking effect?"

IN THEIR meeting Sunday, October 4th, the delegates to the Boston Central Labor Union considered the proposition to change the city charter. They took up this question at the suggestion of J. F. Kennedy, who represents labor on the finance commission, and, after some discussion, they voted to refer the matter to the executive board. This board met immediately after the general meeting and decided to request the finance commission to make public all its recommendations for changes in ample time for a public discussion and that all changes be submitted to a referendum vote of the citizens.

THE Initiative and Referendum is given to the voters of Haverhill, Massachusetts, and also the right to remove any member of the government who does not hold true to the pledges of his office by a petition signed by 25 per cent. of the voters. The new charter will go into effect at the beginning of the municipal year, January 1, 1909.

According to the provisions of the amendment to the city charter, 2,367 signatures of electors are sufficient to invoke the referendum. The city comptroller will check up the names and if the petition is found sufficient, a special election will be ordered by the council.

## Notes.

After January 1, 1909, delegates to the American Federation of Labor conventions will be elected by the referendum.

By a referendum vote the Poster Artists' Association of America has decided to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. The union has passed its tenth anniversary and has locals in every important labor center of the country.

The New Hampshire State Convention held in Concord, September 25th, adopted this resolution as a part of its platform.

"We demand the abolition of the lobby and the free pass; revision of tax law; increase in railroad taxes; election of railroad commissioners by the people; direct primaries; publication of campaign contributions; employers' liability law; enforcement of labor laws; Initiative and Referendum; general local option and equal school facilities."

The Referendum League has submitted to all the candidates for the assembly and state senate in Erie county a list of questions relating to referendum bills introduced in the legislature since 1903 but killed in committee. The league is asking the candidates whether they will favor these bills or not at the coming session and requests a reply by October 15th, otherwise their silence will be construed as opposition to the measures.

Oberlin and Ohio Wesleyan have adopted for debate: "*Resolved*, That the state of Ohio should adopt the Initiative and Referendum."

The Initiative and Referendum was the main plank in the platform of William W. Allen, the Independence League candidate for governor of Minnesota.

The Democratic party in Massachusetts favors referendum in its platform.

The Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs at its annual convention held in Colorado Springs, September 23d, passed resloutions favoring a direct-primary law and constitutional amendments permitting the Initiative and Referendum.

The Atlanta *Journal* of September 26th affirms that, "The working of the majority rule in primaries with the provision that in the event no candidate receives a majority the two leading candidates shall make a second race, has worked well in the recent city election and has confirmed itself in popular favor."

A peculiar situation has developed in the state of Washington in regard to the election of United States Senators. G. F. Cotterill has been nominated by the Democrats in the direct primary and the Republicans have nominated W. L. Jones in the same way. In reply to the suggestion on the part of Mr. Cotterill that the choice between the two be referred to the whole people Mr. Jones gives reasons for his refusal as follows: "While I think I am as sincerely in favor of the selection of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people as you are, I cannot see my way clear to accept the proposition you submit in your letter under present conditions. I will not go into details, except merely to suggest that to take the course you mention now would be to disregard the law passed by the last legislature, which I am not disposed to do. Candidates of both parties have pledged themselves under that law, and I would not feel justified in taking any course inconsistent with those pledges. The legislature has prescribed the method of procedure, which indirectly accomplishes what the people desire in the way of selecting a candidate for the United States Senate, and until a constitutional method can be provided by law for the direct selection of Senators by the people it seems to me that the present law is about the best way that can be provided."

From Atlanta, Georgia, comes the demand from the people for a larger share in the election of several important officials. Says the Atlanta *Georgian*, September 15th: "In unmistakable language the people of Atlanta have spoken their desire to elect certain city officials by popular vote. These officials are the recorder, the superintendent of the water-works (by which is meant the general manager of the water-works), city electrician, building inspector, city warden, clerk of council, city marshal and city comptroller.

"This vote is simply an expression of the feeling of the people, but the obligation upon council and the legislature to heed it is so strong it may not be disregarded. Council must now in turn take cognizance of this matter, passing resolutions and submitting a petition to the general assembly asking for the necessary charter amendment to carry out this expression of the people's will.

"This action marks the trend of the times. It shows that the people want to hold the power of filling offices direct, and not through any small delegated body. It was shown

when the selection of judges and solicitors was taken from the hands of the general assembly and placed with the electorate. It is shown in the constantly growing demand for the direct election of United States Senators by the people.

"The phrase, 'Shall the people rule?' is coming to have something more than an empty meaning. The people mean to rule from the highest to the lowest public offices."

THE MEETING of the State Congregational Association, held at New Rockford, North Dakota, adjourned after a well-attended business meeting and conference. About the most important matter acted upon was an endorsement of the proposed amendment for the Initiative and Referendum according to the Ueland bill. The question was discussed and the future legislation bearing on the prohibition question, which might be brought up under such a voters' privilege was carefully considered. It was favored on the grounds that legislation contended for by the Prohibition party cannot be brought about without such a means of securing expression from the people.

A PETITION containing 5,127 signatures, asking that the granting of a fire-alarm franchise to the National District Telegraph Company be submitted to the vote of the people of Seattle, Washington, at a special election, has been filed with the city clerk.

The National District Telegraph franchise ordinance was passed by the city council July 27th and was vetoed by Mayor Miller August 10th. It was passed over the mayor's veto September 8th.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### Empty Headlines.

A RECENT interview with Thomas L. Lewis, John Mitchell's successor, was much heralded and headlined, "Opposes Public-Ownership." The interview covers half a page in the various Sunday newspapers in which it appeared. Mr. Lewis's views on government-ownership occupy just twenty-four lines, and six of these contain his favorable attitude toward the government-ownership of telephone and telegraph lines. Mr. Lewis, in other words, objects to government-ownership merely along those lines that interfere with his business interests, because, like many another good man, he is too near his own work to get it into proper perspective. This leads him to the strange position that the carrying of thoughts is a public function, but the carrying of commodities is a private one.

Other things were discussed in this interview, all of them of interest and many of importance. Mr. Lewis's views on labor matters, for instance, are of deep significance, coming as they do from a man of his position. Why, then, take the headline from the few lines on public-ownership, especially as those were far from strong? Granted the public-ownership movement is growing stronger day by day, and that its opponents need all their ammunition to combat it, do they still think they can attack it successfully with a bean-shooter?

### The "Other Kind" of Newspaper.

OUT IN Missouri some fifty country editors of Republican tendencies were invited to a conference at St. Louis, where they discussed and decided upon a uniform policy of conducting the campaign. Doubtless they had a good time—and then they went home and wrote their nice little editorials. There was nothing wrong in this, but it was nevertheless another case of the substantiation of what one man thinks is so for news. Sometimes, however, we find a paper that is willing to stand on its own feet to print what it knows, instead of what somebody else orders. Among these is the Pittsburg *Leader*. The example given below requires no further comment.

"SEEKING TO DECEIVE.

"The press bureau maintained by the public-utility corporations of this country for

the purpose of disseminating false information on public-ownership is still busy, notwithstanding the exposure of it.

"The *Leader* last week was 'favored' with several contributions from it showing the blessings of private ownership of natural monopolies and the loss and disaster that invariably follow public-ownership and operation of any of the public utilities. They went the way of all 'tainted news' concerning other matters in which corporations would take a hand in the 'molding' of public opinion by juggling facts and by plain lying. They went into the waste heap.

"The city of Martins Ferry, West Virginia, was made a target of attack in this campaign against public-ownership in some Pittsburg newspapers last week. A false story was sent out from there telling of the failure of the municipal operation of the water and light plants.

"The facts show that these public utilities are operated by Martins Ferry with profit to the people and with gratifying success. The service is satisfactory and there is no chance for any gouging on rates because the people cannot gouge themselves and they have the power in their hands to prevent its being done for private profit.

"Although that story was promptly denied it will be widely circulated by the bureau engaged in the work. It was successful in having it published as a true story and it will now be sent to newspapers in all parts of the country credited to the journals in which it first appeared. The fact that they retracted it will be concealed.

"The person who succeeded in getting the original story printed has a claim to the usual reward that is paid out of the 'news corruption' fund subscribed to by the leading public-utility corporations of the country. They offer stated compensation for that despicable act.

"Is not the fact that they are trying to deceive the people on this question sufficient proof that public-ownership should receive more careful consideration than has been given it in this country? They are not lying about it for anybody's profit but their own."

### Walker, Minnesota.

WALKER, Minnesota, has given us another example of the possibilities of the utilization of waste. The village owns a water and lighting plant which uses shavings and mill refuse for fuel. Coal was formerly used at a cost of about $3,600 a year. The present fuel bill has been reduced to $1,500. The lighting plant runs eleven street arcs, two commercial arcs, and some eight hundred incandescent lights. Pumping and lighting apparatus are in the same building but the accounts are kept separately. The plant ran at a loss for the first few years, but recent profits have more than restored the balance.

### Santa Clara, California.

SANTA CLARA, California, with a population of about 4,500, owns its water-works, gas- and electric-lighting plants. Quoting the reports of last year the *Municipal Journal and Engineer* gives the following figures: "There are 981 water connections and 506 gas connections. Sixty-five street arcs were operated at an annual cost of $30 each. The receipts from water last year were $14,210.55 from private consumers, $655.86 for street use, and $362.92 for water used by the gas works. The operating expenses were $7,436.29, insurance $236.10, and interest and depreciation, figured at five per cent., $2,802.50. This leaves a profit of $4,764.44, or, if two per cent. additional be added for depreciation, $3,643.44.

"The receipts from gas were $16,565.90 and expenses $7,355.69, insurance $75, and interest $2,043.25. This leaves a net profit of $7,091.96 or, with six per cent. deduction for depreciation, $4,640.06. Net profits from the commercial electric lighting were $4,907.22."

### McKeesport, Pennsylvania.

MCKEESPORT disposes of its garbage in an incinerator that cost about $6,000. The garbage is first dried and then burned, the gases being purified so that absolutely no odor escapes. The garbage is collected by contractors and is brought to the plant in original metal receptacles. The barrels are cleaned at the plant before being returned.

### Yuma.

THE Yuma Electric and Water Company, says a recent clipping, which has just purchased the local gas plant, has happily surprised the community by reducing the rates for gas. The price has been reduced to *two dollars* a thousand for all purposes. The old rate was $2.25 for heating, and $3.00 for light. It does n't take much to make some people happy.

### A Bureau of Information.

CITY government has a Topsy-like tendency to just grow, and becomes yearly more unintelligible to the ordinary citizen. Nearly every city of size has a complex directory of its city-hall departments, handbook, yearbook, register, or whatever. Chicago has found a better method of interpreting itself, as the following clipping from the Boston *Herald* shows:

"Chicago has had a bureau of information for four years. It is municipally supported; it receives and gives information relating to the different departments of the city, of Cook county and of the state. Citizens unfamiliar with the routine or location of department offices, and having business with them, go to the bureau for aid and, through it, they save time, worry and expense. Inquiries and answers now average about four hundred per day. Complaints to the number of three thousand were received and forwarded to officials last year. Not only does the bureau forward complaints, furnish oral information to applicants and answer written communications; it also has on file complete collections of state statutes and the municipal code, the verdicts of municipal courts and directories of all kinds. Seekers for legal aid, among the illiterate and the poor, are directed where they may get honest and, we presume, inexpensive advisers, the Legal Aid Society of the city coöperating with the bureau. It hardly needs to be added, what is so obvious, that a city thus equipped is much farther along the road of intelligent government than one which is not. Accurate knowledge about city affairs is not breathed in like air, nor can it be counted upon to drop down like manna. A center of supply like this, maintained at public expense, illumines many dark corners that otherwise would remain dark."

### The Cleveland Vote.

YES, Mayor Johnson was defeated at the franchise referendum on October 22d. But in the glossary of Public-Ownership "defeat for Johnson" means about as much as "failure," and "failure," thanks to the opposition press, lost its meaning long ago. Just what the next step will be is, at the moment, hard to say, for no news has yet been received of the steps taken since the referendum.

To Johnson's friends the referendum was never a serious issue. To Johnson himself it seemed inconceivable that the people should vote money out of their own pockets simply to satisfy the spite of one faction of the community. For this reason, and because he would not use public funds to carry on the campaign he failed to keep pace with his adversaries.

Let us look at the results. The total vote was 75,893, the majority having the advantage of only 605 votes, or less than four-fifths of one per cent. The whole affair was the work of (1) the "striking" car men—their own vote over a thousand—and (2) the "orthodox" street-railway interests, who from the first had been behind the "strikers." The former, who brought on the referendum because they could not get recognition for their unbased claims, by a vote of 28 to 21 got the aid of the Trades Council. The latter, Johnson's old enemies, controlled the press. Both took advantage of the necessary hitches of an experimental period—and there you have it. The grievances of both factors, as the *Plain Dealer* pointed out, were chiefly artificial, but they had become to be looked upon as real, a simple transition, and so far, therefore, the campaign was sincere. But it was soon apparent that no campaign along those lines could make headway against the mayor, so apparent that early in September the Republican party, for fear of the effect on the national campaign, announced that they would not make a party issue of the referendum election. The opposition then fell back on their old weapon, the six tickets for twenty-five cents guarantee clause. "The present franchise *provides for* five-cent fares and six tickets for a quarter," said the *Leader*. It does. It provides for that in case of failure—but there was no failure. "Provide," according to Webster, "to stipulate in advance," or "when followed by against or for," "to take measures for counteracting or escaping evil." For six weeks that play on words—and the dictionary is the field of many Cleveland battles—was kept up in newspapers and leaflets.* The *Press*, with the largest circulation in the city, had hitherto been with Johnson. Of late it had kept quiet, and then, the night before the election, too late to be answered, it, too, came out with that damnable quibble. It is claimed, and is no doubt true, that thousands of votes were influenced by that editorial.

Johnson's fight has been for a principle, and will continue to be. It is too fundamental a matter to be downed by a misdirected vote at a fake election. That event, in homely lan-

*One of these, widely distributed, told the voters that if they wanted three-cent fares they must vote against the franchise. A *fac-simile* ballot so marked was appended.

guage, was but the bursting of a sore spot, and its only effect is to purify the blood.

### Council Bluffs, Iowa.

Two to one, and by a large vote, the citizens of Council Bluffs, Iowa, decided to expend $600,000 for building municipal water-works. The contest has dragged along for a number of years and has gone through every possible stage. A few months ago a "citizens' committee" reported in favor of the private plant; then council investigated and brought forth and distributed a pamphlet in favor of public works. Plans have already been made, and the work will start at once.

### Notes.

Through the fear of a municipal plant, the Binghamton (New York) Light, Heat and Power Company has entered into a new contract with the city that will save $13,000 for the municipality in three years.

Experiments are being made in the Southwest in irrigating with septic sewage, and show great possibilities in this direction. Two cities are already regretting the fact that they have allowed the city septic farms to pass into the hands of private parties.

New York has been forced to take over the East River ferries. The previous owners made a much greater rake-off by the sale than they could possibly have made by continued operation. It is curious how anxious some people are to have the city operate public utilities—after those utilities cease to give a profit.

Bruno Beckhard.

## NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

By Hazel Hammond Albertson,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### What the Western Farmers Are Doing.

THERE is no movement so full of hope as the coöperative organizing of the farmers in the Western states. Their organizations, bringing them into close relation with each other, as they do, promote a healthy, helpful feeling of friendship and good-will among them, which in its larger aspects is destined inevitably to force the men into the larger field of political activity, where they will have opportunity for the full expression of the common faith in humanity which their coöperative ideals are fostering.

The paper which brings the news of these organizations is the *American Coöperative Journal*, edited most ably by C. G. Messerole of Gowrie, Iowa. The *Journal* has the official endorsement of the federated associations of Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, South Dakota and Nebraska, which means that all of these associations actively support it and work for the success which is undoubtedly due it. It is a magazine every number of which, if one will but have the patience to read through long reports and letters to reach the facts, fills one with an enthusiasm which goes as deep as one's ideals.

Just at this time of the year the annual reports of the various companies are coming in, and they tell of a year of pronounced success in spite of the financial stringency which has affected all of them to a greater or less extent. The secretary of one company in Hartford, South Dakota, reports that the stockholders at their annual meeting voted to subscribe to the *American Coöperative Journal*, and the secretary sent in an order for 113 subscriptions to be sent to the members and also subscribed for five copies a month to be sent to the company's office for distribution and general propaganda work.

The *Journal* for the months of July, August, September and October reports the organization of 138 companies, of which there were 33 in Illinois, 24 in Iowa, 18 in North Dakota and 21 in South Dakota, 15 in Nebraska, 15 in Minnesota, 4 in Washington, 3 in Indiana, 3 in Wisconsin, and 1 in Oklahoma and Montana. During this period over 100 elevator companies built new elevators, actually purchased ones that had been in operation before, or enlarged and reëquipped the old ones with newer and more up-to-date machinery.

This progress, surprising as it may be, is not exceptional, but has been duplicated a number of times in the last year, for these states are

being honeycombed with coöperative companies.

### News Notes.

ONE YEAR ago some of the farmers in Aurelia, Iowa, organized a grain company. They had a paid-up capital stock of $7,000 and a membership of 140, shares of stock being placed at $50 each. In the beginning a great deal of opposition was met with, and, fortunately overcome. The Illinois Central on which they were located, refused them a site; there were four other grain companies in Aurelia, and there was a skeptical sentiment among the people thereabouts as to the possibility of success in such a scheme. But one by one these obstacles were overcome, and they built an elevator which cost $7,000 with a capacity of 40,000 bushels. This used all the money they had on hand, but the local bank gave them credit and the board of directors gave notes for $3,000 to carry on the business. They had splendid crops of corn and oats in that part of Iowa last year, and at the end of the summer they had done a one-hundred-thousand-dollar business, which left them a clear profit of $3,000 after all expenses had been paid. This left a dividend of $18 to each stockholder, but instead of drawing out the money, each man voted to add $32 more to his dividend, thus making a total of $50, one more share each, and put the money back into the treasury to carry on the business.

IN UTICA, Minnesota, more than eighty farmers have organized themselves into the Farmers' Coöperative Elevator Company. Officers have been elected, and definite plans as to future work decided upon. It was voted to build their elevator on the tracks of the Northwestern Railroad, as that company has promised them a favorable site and immediate attention to their requests. Utica, which is a small town, has also a coöperative creamery which is thriving and increasing its business from week to week. The building and equipment were erected about two years ago by a private individual, and while it was in full operation about a year or more it lacked the hearty coöperation of the dairy farmers about the village, and in consequence it gradually failed in getting a uniform quality of cream! This in itself brings failure to any creamery, and the result was that about six months ago the farmers organized, subscribed stock and purchased the entire plant.

A COÖPERATIVE threshing company has been operating quite successfully in Allegan county, Michigan, for the last five years. The company was organized in 1903; the capitalization is $4,000 of which $2,600 is paid in; there are 123 members, and shares of stock are sold for $10. During its period of active work it has met with varied success, one year paying a dividend of eight per cent.—though generally the members have voted to use the profits for new machinery or to turn the money into a sinking fund to replace worn-out machinery—and not once has the company failed to pay all expenses. In the five years it has added to its outfit a second separator and two self-feeders, and has rented another engine. The prices paid for work for outsiders are the prevailing prices for the year, while members are served at cost. A large part of the success is due to the correct management of the company. At the end of each week the manager sends in a report to the secretary, stating the number of hours worked, the number of jobs and the number of bushels threshed. The company always has plenty of work to do and all are well satisfied with the work done.

A TEN per cent. dividend was declared by the Edinburg, Illinois, Farmers' Grain Company at their annual meeting on September 19th. The company, which is three years old, has a capital stock of $10,000 and 125 stockholders, none of whom is permitted to have over $250 worth of stock. The company paid a ten-per-cent. dividend the first year of its existence, seven per cent. the second year, and ten per cent. the third year. At the annual meeting, fifteen additional stockholders were taken in. The total profits for the year were $5,000, expenditures $3,000, leaving a net profit of $2,000.

THE Farmers' Elevator at Adair, Illinois, made a record-breaking day in the handling of grain early in September. One hundred and thirty-three wagon-loads of shelled corn were taken to the elevator, and they averaged at least 52 bushels to the load, which made a total of 6,916 bushels handled during the day. The price paid was 70 cents a bushel.

DURING the month of August, when work on the farm was not so pressing, most of the elevator companies held their annual picnics. The report given below of the one held by the coöperative company at Strawn, Illinois, is typical of the majority. "On August 26th the Farmers' Elevator Company held their annual

picnic in the park. A large crowd was in attendance, many coming from neighboring towns. The forenoon was rather quiet, but by noon the crowd came into town. In the park the people were entertained by speaking, a baby show, wheel of fortune and other amusements. The Strawn band furnished music throughout the day. . . . In the afternoon there was a ball game which was attended by a large crowd; the score was 18 to 6. The horse show which followed the ball game brought out some of the best draft and driving horses in the community. In the evening there was a dance for the young folks."

A DIVIDEND of ten per cent. and the sum of $825 was added to the surplus of the Audubon Farmers' Elevator Company of Minnesota at the annual stockholders' meeting. During the past year they had handled about 100,000 bushels of grain. It is their intention to install a new cleaner, and to improve the property in some needed respects in order to handle the 1908 crop. Their manager, whose efficiency they highly praise, is Mr. Halvorson, who was reëlected at an increased salary. The company has a capital of $6,000 and the surplus is now over $25,000. They are about to apply for membership in the Minnesota Association of Farmers' Elevators.

A MOST successful picnic was held by the Illiopolis and Niantic Farmers' Elevator companies, of Illinois, on the 25th of August in a grove near Niantic. There were 2,500 people there and a forty-acre field was entirely covered with the "rigs," the colloquial term for conveyances, which brought the members and their friends to the gathering. These companies are among the leading in the state. The company at Illiopolis recently built a 25,000-bushel corn-crib, which gives them a total of 100,000 bushels capacity elevator, while the Niantic company shows a net gain of $2,888 for the year ending August 1st.

THE COÖPERATIVE companies of El Paso, Gridley, Secor, Hudson and Spires, all of Illinois, held a coöperative picnic at the El Paso fair-grounds on the first of September. There were between 4,000 and 4,500 people there, and there was a ball game, a fat men's race, egg races for boys and girls, relay races and speeches. Charles Adkins of Bement, Illinois, a member of the state legislature and an ardent worker for the cause of coöperation gave the leading address. Mr. E. G. Dunn of Mason City, Iowa, also spoke. Mr. Dunn is a very popular speaker with the coöperative organizations of the West and has done a great deal of work for the cause.

THE Farmers' Elevator Company at Danvers, Illinois, has purchased the plant and business of a private company, for which they paid $4,500. The coöperative company has taken possession and will deal in coal, grain and lumber.

IN 1905 about half a hundred farmers living near Bolivia, Illinois, formed a coöperative elevator company with a capital stock of $3,000. The company has been running successfully for three years now, has built an elevator of 20,000 bushels capacity, and handles about 150,000 bushels annually. The inspiration of this farmers' elevator is a "grand old warrior," Colonel A. T. Baker, who is 81 years old. He has lived on the farm he now occupies for 69 years, was one of the pioneers in that district, and is the oldest Elk in the United States.

THE Farmers' Coöperative Elevator Company, of Arcola, Illinois, held its annual meeting on the fifth of October. This company has a large and very enthusiastic membership of 200, and, owing to the unusual demand for stock by the farmers of the vicinity, it was voted to raise the capitalization from $6,000 to $11,000. The elevator belonging to this company has a capacity of 30,000 bushels, is modern in every respect, and cost $11,000.

THE FIFTH annual report of the Kempton Farmers' Elevator Company shows a membership of 135. During the year they handled 182,000 bushels of corn, and 63,500 bushels of oats. The profit for the year is $2,481. This elevator has a capacity of 50,000 bushels and handles about 250,000 bushels of grain annually.

THE Leonard, Illinois, Farmers' Elevator Company showed gross profits for the year of $7,553 with expenses of $2,031, leaving a net profit for the year of $5,552.34. Their elevator has a capacity of 45,000 bushels and they handle about 400,000 bushels of grain annually.

THE Grain and Coal Company of Cissna Park, Illinois, reports for the six months ending August 31st, net profits of $2,650, and the Middleton Coöperative Elevator reports a profit of $1,411 for the year ending July 1st.

THE Pomeroy, Iowa, Coöperative Grain Company reports a total profit, since the beginning of the company August 1, 1906, of

$5,200, or 87 per cent. on the capital invested. The first year's profit was $3,000 and the profit of the second year was $2,200.

THE Grover, South Dakota, Elevator Company shows in its annual report an undivided dividend of $7,627. This is a most prosperous company. During the year they handled 154,000 bushels of grain valued at $120,000.

FEW OF the coöperative elevator companies of South Dakota can make as good a showing as the Farmers' Elevator Company which operates an elevator at Garden City. At the annual meeting of the stockholders held in July a cash dividend of 100 per cent. was declared. In addition to the dividend the remainder of the capital stock which had not yet been issued was so divided that the stockholders received two additional shares to every share they held.

THE Farmers' Elevator Company at La-Moure, North Dakota, reports an 80-per-cent. profit for the last year.

At a meeting of the Farmers' Elevator Company held on the 15th of August a dividend of 45 per cent. was declared and the wages of the manager and his assistant were raised five dollars per month.

### Co-operative Creameries.

BREMER county, Iowa, is a county of coöperative creameries. There are twenty-two of them in the state all run coöperatively and all carrying on a most successful business. Their plan of organization, as set forth by Mr. C. E. Bennet in the September number of the *American Coöperative Journal*, is quite striking and quite unlike the general rule of procedure in coöperative undertakings. The farmers organize as companies, adopt a constitution and by-laws, and specify the number of cows they will bring their milk from, but no capital stock is issued, no money is paid in. After their plans are made the directors give notes for the money needed to some one who is glad to furnish it, and after operations are commenced a sinking fund of five cents per 100 pounds of milk is created and this is used to extinguish the debt. As the building and machinery are new when the creamery is opened, no money is needed for repairs for some time, and the debt is almost invariably wholly paid off before any money is needed for such purposes. Thereafter the actual running expenses are deducted from the sales and the total net receipts are divided among the patrons according to the amount of milk or butter-fat delivered by each. It is for this reason that no individual creamery has been able to exist in this community, because individual creameries must make profits, and in order to accomplish this they must first take it from the patrons. The creamery at Tripoli makes from 240,000 to 300,000 pounds of butter a year, which sells at a premium above New York quotations. The creameries are located within a small distance of each other, usually being only four or five miles apart and while this restricts the patronage the increased convenience of having a creamery close to the farm is considered of more importance to the farmers, for each one hauls his own milk or else makes an agreement with three or four of his neighbors whereby each one hauls in turn. The test of each patron is posted conspicuously as a check to poor milk and an encouragement to the production of good milk. The Tripoli creamery was built thirteen years ago and the man previously running the individual creamery was hired as the butter-maker, and still holds that position. All the producers receive their butter needed for home use at cost price. This plan is so simple and seems to be so effective that it seems worthy of more general adoption.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

# PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

By Robert Tyson,
Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

## News Notes.

THE *People's Press* is a new weekly journal on progressive lines, published in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. It has egular departments of Labor, Direct-Legislation and Proportional Representation. The atter two alternate, each appearing fortnightly, and I edit them.

PROFESSOR L. E. AYLESWORTH, of the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, is writing in the *Political Science Review*, advocating Proportional Representation.

THE CHIEF clerk of the Legislative Reference Department, Wisconsin Free Library Commission, writes for literature to the secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, and says that "the question of Proportional Representation and majority nominations and elections will be up before the Wisconsin legislature this winter."

MISS SPENCE, of South Australia, writes that a Proportional Representation bill on the Hare plan has been introduced into the legislature of that state, but only 19 out of 42 votes are expected in its favor.

MR. GEORGE FOX, a member of the Queensland Parliament, had a good letter in the Rockhampton *Daily Record* recently, followed in a few days by an editorial advocating Proportional Representation.

THE Wisconsin Library Commission will shortly issue a bulletin on Proportional Representation, prepared by Mr. Roy Curtis.

## The First Proportional Representation Election in Cuba.

THE FOLLOWING is condensed from a recent letter of my Havana correspondent:

"The elections in Cuba took place in August. I apprehended that the first application of the new electoral law might be attended with some difficulties. On the contrary, the law worked smoothly in its Proportional-Representation features; but we are confronted with this result:

"Something more than 260,000 votes were cast, distributed among the parties as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Conservatives | 107,000 |
| Historic Liberals | 91,000 |
| Liberals | 62,000 |

"The figures are approximate. In consequence, we have provincial and municipal councils in several instances in which no party has an absolute majority; and the opponents of Proportional Representation are giving some attention to this feature. The councils met on October first to organize under the new law, and in three or four instances they are deadlocked in the matter of perfecting an organization. The argument is that in a country like Cuba the election law should tend to secure legislative bodies in accord with the executive branch, and that the old 'limited-vote' system was a better arrangement; because the party casting the larger vote secured two-thirds of the group to be elected, and the minority party next in strength the remaining one-third, to the exclusion of the other minority parties.

"The foregoing considerations have led to a suggestion from one of the political parties that the electoral law be modified so as to give the party with the largest plurality two-thirds of the elected members, arbitrarily, and that Proportional Representation be limited to distributing the remaining one-third amongst the minority parties. I object to this modification, and believe that the new electoral law, with its Proportional Representation provisions, will give better results than the old and thoroughly discredited limited-vote system under which so many frauds were practised. Minority representation in some form is essential, because the constitution requires it."

## Wurtemburg.

*Der Beobachter*, a leading journal of Stuttgart, has this striking testimony to the success of the first Proportional Representation elections in Wurtemburg:

"The new electoral system, which only a short time ago was unknown to the electors, worked without a hitch in the whole country, just as it worked a few weeks ago in Stuttgart. The first feeling is one of surprise. The number of votes was enormous; the candidates were numerous, and the ballot papers from the different districts were in various forms. Yet

the whole machine, from the district officials to the employés of the government offices, who collected the results, worked with promptitude and ease. The next feeling is one of pleasure at the complete success of this first experiment in Proportional Representation on a large scale in the German Empire."

### The Australian Commonwealth.

NOW THAT three parties are permanently in politics in Australia, it is evident that the present electoral machinery is entirely inadequate. Professor Nanson, who fills the chair of mathematics in Melbourne University, wrote to me recently, enclosing a cutting from *The Age*, a leading Australian daily, in which he proposes a plan for Proportional Representation especially adapted for three parties.

He says there are six distinct types of electors to be dealt with; and speaking of the parties as the Right, Middle and Left, he classifies the voters into six types, thus:

"1. In favor of Right, opposed to the Left and Middle.

"2. In favor of Middle, opposed to both Right and Left.

"3. In favor of Left, opposed to Middle and Right.

"4. For Right and Middle, opposed to Left.

"5. For Middle and Left, against Right.

"6. For Right and Left, against Middle."

Those who are in favor of all three, or against all three, are two other types, but they exist only in a theoretical classification, not in actual practice.

The points of Professor Nanson's proposed plan are these:

1. Six-member districts.

2. Candidates to declare on nomination to which type they belong.

3. Each elector one vote only.

4. The preferential vote between candidates of the same type, but not between candidates of different types.

5. On a division in the legislature, each member to cast as many votes as he has received from the electors.

And the effects expected are:

1. Solution of the three-party problem.

2. Representation of every voter.

3. Same weight in Parliament for every voter.

4. No contest except between candidates of the same type.

5. Power of each state proportionate to the number of its effective voters, and independent of the number of its members.

6. Alteration of electoral boundaries seldom needed.

The discussion on this new proposition in Australia will be watched with interest.

ROBERT TYSON.

*Toronto, Canada.*

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

### "The Devil": A Powerful Drama of Mental Suggestion.

IN THIS issue we give our readers a graphic outline sketch of the really great drama, "The Devil," one of the most powerful dramatic studies of mental suggestion ever seen on the stage. The paper is from the pen of the well-known artist and cartoonist, RYAN WALKER. It is the first paper in a series of special outline sketches and critical studies of important plays which we expect to make a feature of THE ARENA for the coming year. We call special attention to Mr. WALKER'S excellent cartoon portrait of Mr. EDWIN STEVENS, who took the title rôle in the play in Mr. SAVAGE'S presentation in New York.

### "Our Railroad Riddle."

MR. CARL S. VROOMAN contributes another masterly paper to this issue of THE ARENA, on the railroad problem. It is most fortunate for the cause of the people that just at the time when Professor PARSONS has passed from the stage of life, Mr. VROOMAN is able to take up the great work to which our lost leader devoted so many arduous years. Mr. VROOMAN, like Professor PARSONS, has traveled extensively in America and has spent much time in Europe, making a careful and extended personal investigation of every phase of the railroad problem. He is to-day the strongest and most authoritative writer on public-ownership among the friends of progressive democracy.

### "The Passing of the Widow in Hindostan."

THIS month we are pleased to be able to present another fine paper from the pen of the gifted East-Indian author, SAINT NIHAL SING. In it we have a most interesting and encouraging story of an important humanitarian movement in India that is bound to make for true civilization. Our readers will be pleased to know that a leading East-Indian publishing house will shortly issue a notable volume from the pen of this writer, entitled *Messages of Uplift for India*, in which Mr. SING gives his countrymen the benefit of his studies of the civilizations of Japan and the Western world.

### "A Revised Version of Venice."

THERE are few cities that hold such charm for the man or woman of poetic and artistic sensibilities as Venice. Her history is more wonderful than romance; her vanished glory still reddens the sky with a dreamlike splendor; and the wealth of her art is part of the world's rich heritage. These things are suggested by a perusal of the fascinating paper by Mrs. JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN which appears in this issue of THE ARENA—a paper marked by a pleasing style, a fine spirit, and a wealth of facts that cannot fail to stimulate the mental appetite.

### "Why Race Suicide With Advancing Civilization?"

OLD READERS of THE ARENA will welcome to its pages Rabbi SOLOMON SCHINDLER, who during the early nineties contributed so many deeply thoughtful essays to this review. In the present paper Rabbi SCHINDLER propounds a question which has more and more exercised thoughtful men and women during the past generation. The phenomenon of a steady decrease in the birth-rate with the upward advance of civilization and the increased care and protection given to the young, awakens many trains of inquiry, and doubtless the answers to the question propounded will be many and varied. Is it a hopeful or a sinister sign? That is the question for the student of human progress.

### Mr. Darrow on the Message of Russia.

MR. CLARENCE DARROW is one of the clearest and strongest writers and speakers of the new humanitarian revolution that seeks the emancipation of humanity from the thralldom of injustice, ignorance, superstition and militarism. At times he appears to be strongly socialistic; at other times Tolstoyan in spirit and principle; but at all times he is working for the humanization of humanity, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, the conquest of the beast by the divine spirit that beckons onward and upward. In his luminous paper on Mr. WALLING'S *Russia's Message*, this author gives a contribution that is of double interest, giving as it does an extremely graphic or vivid picture of prevailing conditions in Russia while directing the reader's attention to the larger fact, the sinister fact, that the evils so rife in Russia are present in all Christian lands and call for the united labor of all high-minded men and women to engage in the glorious task of ushering in a better day for all the children of men.

### "A Twentieth-Century Orphan Home."

SOME months ago one of the multitudinous parrots who instead of personally investigating or thinking for themselves, rely on the words of penny-a-liners of the subsidized press, remarked to an acquaintance that he did not read THE ARENA because "it is destructive rather than constructive; it pulls down and does not build up." The friend, who was an old reader of THE ARENA and therefore knew the character of this review, promptly replied: "Your remark forces me to believe that you are ignorant of the character of the magazine you are criticizing. As a matter of fact, while I do not know of another review that is so absolutely fearless and searching in its warfare against corruption and evil conditions that are destroying the moral sanity, the idealism and true growth of men and nations—evils such as child-labor, political bribery, public graft, commercial dishonesty and gambling—I know of no magazine that contains each month so much fundamentally constructive and helpfully suggestive literature as THE ARENA. This is true both of its contributed articles and its editorials." The friend then insisted that his companion should go with him to his library. Here they checked off the content matter that could be called destructive in character, in one column, and the postiively constructive and helpful in another. In a short time the critic expressed his amazement at the strongly constructive character of this review and admitted that he

had been influenced by hearsay. It has been the aim of the Editor of THE ARENA during the past twenty years in all his editorial work to, on the one hand, tear away the masks that screen corruption and evils that were sapping the foundations of American manhood and impairing the life and integrity of the nation, and, on the other, to show the practical remedies for all the evils and to bring forward at every turn practical illustrations showing the results of following the path of righteousness. In "A Day in a Twentieth-Century Orphan Home," which appears in this issue, we present one of many illustrative papers such as have marked THE ARENA from its inception—a paper giving a particular illustration of what may be done for bettering conditions along one avenue of human upliftment.

**"The Victorious Campaign for Direct-Legislation in Maine."**

IN THIS issue will be found another notable paper in our series dealing with the onward march of Direct-Legislation throughout the world. This contribution has been prepared expressly for THE ARENA by Mr. KINGSBURY B. PIPER, secretary of the Referendum League of Maine, and is an authoritative history of the Direct-Legislation campaign in Maine from its inception to its victorious outcome in September, when the cause of the people triumphed in spite of the political bosses, the lobbies and other corporation handy-men, and the aggressive and strenuous efforts of United States Senators LODGE of Massachusetts, and HALE of Maine. Mr. PIPER has been a master-spirit in the battle for the people for many years, and but for his persistence, energy, foresight and true statesmanship, the measure unquestionably would have suffered defeat through the well-laid plans of the enemies of the people.

**Mr. Salisbury on "American Journalism."**

IN THIS issue we publish an able and searching paper on "American Journalism," by WILLIAM SALISBURY. The author was for nine years engaged continually in reportorial and editorial work on prominent American dailies. Much of the time was spent on the staff of various leading Chicago journals. He is therefore thoroughly competent to speak authoritatively on the subject. His paper is highly illuminating and will explain many things in connection with the editorial utterances of daily journals that heretofore have been a mystery to many thoughtful people.

**"A New Kind of Vigilance Committee."**

WE TRUST all our readers will carefully peruse the extremely suggestive and timely paper by Mr. REX MITCHELL BAXTER, on "A New Kind of Vigilance Committee." It deals with a work that is imperatively demanded of high-minded citizens in almost every American municipality.

**Our Illustrated Literary Section.**

WE ARE confident that all readers of THE ARENA will enjoy the beautifully illustrated Literary Section of this number. Here will be found carefully prepared reviews, characterizations and notices of many of the most interesting and attractive volumes of the present season. These reviews and notices have all been prepared by the Editor of THE ARENA, Miss A. C. RICH and Rev. ROBERT E. BISBEE. They represent the honest opinions of careful reviewers. Many readers of THE ARENA have informed us during recent years that they depend entirely upon the book department of THE ARENA for the books they purchase.

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Professor Minot, of the Harvard Medical School, contributed a series of six articles on the problem of age, growth and death, summarizing the work on which he has been engaged for the last thirty years in a form comprehensible and attractive to the general reader. Professor James, of Harvard University, printed two articles on pragmatisms since put into the book that has proved fascinating to many readers. There also appeared a series of articles on the value of science, by M. Poincaré, perhaps the most eminent man of science now living, who after his great researches in mathematics and physics has turned his thoughts towards a discussion of the principles of science. Other articles of a general and philosophical character were contributed by President Jordan, of Stanford University, and Professor Fullerton, of Columbia University.

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Agassiz occurred this year, and articles about him were contributed by two of his most eminent pupils, Professor Wilder and Professor Morse. In this year there also occurred the bi-centenary of the death of Linnaeus, and his work and place in the history of science were adequately treated. The *Monthly* has contained during the year a very considerable number of articles on the biography of men of science and on scientific institutions, many of them extensively illustrated. The authors include Dr. Weir Mitchell, President Woodward, Professor Osborn, Professor Dean and other distinguished scientific men.

During the year there have been published articles on the navigation of the Mississippi River, on the Salton Sea, on the Reclamation Service, on the then recent Jamaica earthquake, on the Japanese volcanoes, and a number of articles, many of which are elaborately illustrated, on geology and other natural sciences. Among them may be mentioned Professor Chittenden's article on "The Influence of Diet on Endurance and General Efficiency," and Dr. Wheeler's on "The Origin of Slavery among Ants." The timely topics discussed may be illustrated by articles on: "Denatured Alcohol," "The Development of the Telephone Service," "The Economic Importance of Mosquitoes," "Spelling Reform," "The Canals of Mars," and "The Radio-activity of Ordinary Substances."

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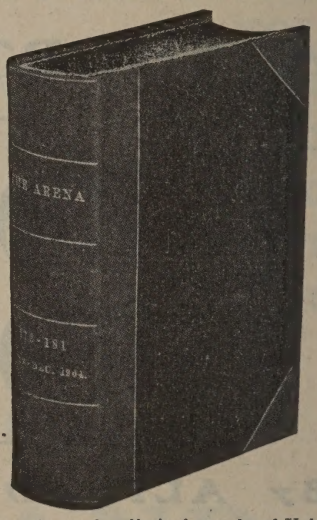


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We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without environing childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recreant nation must decline; and thus where child slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

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We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, THE ARENA stands for *a peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence;* a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under the ægis of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of a nobler, freer manhood, and the outflowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

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Professor Minot, of the Harvard Medical School, contributed a series of six articles on the problem of age, growth and death, summarizing the work on which he has been engaged for the last thirty years in a form comprehensible and attractive to the general reader. Professor James, of Harvard University, printed two articles on pragmatisms since put into the book that has proved fascinating to many readers. There also appeared a series of articles on the value of science, by M. Poincaré, perhaps the most eminent man of science now living, who after his great researches in mathematics and physics has turned his thoughts towards a discussion of the principles of science. Other articles of a general and philosophical character were contributed by President Jordan, of Stanford University, and Professor Fullerton, of Columbia University.

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Agassiz occurred this year, and articles about him were contributed by two of his most eminent pupils, Professor Wilder and Professor Morse. In this year there also occurred the bi-centenary of the death of Linnaeus, and his work and place in the history of science were adequately treated. The *Monthly* has contained during the year a very considerable number of articles on the biography of men of science and on scientific institutions, many of them extensively illustrated. The authors include Dr. Weir Mitchell, President Woodward, Professor Osborn, Professor Dean and other distinguished scientific men.

During the year there have been published articles on the navigation of the Mississippi River, on the Salton Sea, on the Reclamation Service, on the then recent Jamaica earthquake, on the Japanese volcanoes, and a number of articles, many of which are elaborately illustrated, on geology and other natural sciences. Among them may be mentioned Professor Chittenden's article on "The Influence of Diet on Endurance and General Efficiency," and Dr. Wheeler's on "The Origin of Slavery among Ants." The timely topics discussed may be illustrated by articles on: "Denatured Alcohol," "The Development of the Telephone Service," "The Economic Importance of Mosquitoes," "Spelling Reform," "The Canals of Mars," and "The Radio-activity of Ordinary Substances."

In addition to articles on the natural and exact sciences, the *Monthly* has contained a large number of contributions on education and on the medical, psychological and sociological sciences. The *Monthly* always treats fully problems of heredity and racial improvement, the two most important articles on the latter subject published during the year in any journal being those by Dr. Galton and Professor Pearson on "Eugenics."

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It has of course been possible to name in this advertisement only a part of the papers that have appeared in *The Popular Science Monthly* during the year 1907, but we trust that they will indicate the high standards and popular interest which the *Monthly* has maintained and will continue to maintain.

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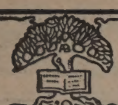

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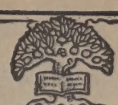

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We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of arbitration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

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The original edition of this work will give pleasure to those who love a book for its intrinsic beauty. The paper is a noble quality of "close-wire" laid "feather-weight" with deckle-edges, and was printed while wet—a process fatal to papers made from substitutes for cotton and linen fibers. The margins are liberally broad. The types—generous size—are the old-style Dutch face, cut originally by Caslon, of London, about 1725, after the Elzevir models. The lines are well opened, and the ink is a deep, full-bodied bluish-black. The size is royal octavo. The work is thoroughly indexed and contains 454 pages, besides four true photogravure plates. The price is $3.50 net; by mail, $3.68.

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# Red-Letter Opening Issue of Volume Forty-One of "THE ARENA"

WITH the January number THE ARENA enters upon its Forty-First Volume, and it is our intention to make this number one marked by unusual strength, brilliancy and timeliness in its content-matter. Among the number of exceptionally attractive features, we mention the following:

I. THE CAREER OF BERNARD SHAW. *By Professor Archibald Henderson, Ph.D.*, of the University of North Carolina. Illustrated.

The opening paper of this issue will be one of the most brilliant, critical and entertaining essays that has appeared from the always able and fascinating pen of Professor Archibald Henderson. It is entitled "The Career of Bernard Shaw" and will be illustrated with numerous interesting photographs, including a magnificent new portrait of Mr. Shaw, also a fine photograph of the distinguished playwright and critic and Professor Henderson, taken last summer at the home of Bernard Shaw by Mrs. Shaw. Professor Henderson is peculiarly fitted for the task he essays in this paper, as he is the authorized biographer of Bernard Shaw and has made an exhaustive study of the man, his life and his art.

II. ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE THE BASIS OF FREEDOM. *By David Graham Phillips.*

A feature of the January ARENA will be a strong and timely paper by the brilliant novelist and essayist, David Graham Phillips, on "Economic Independence the Basis of Freedom." Mr. Phillips is one of the most talented and popular American novelists. His analytical studies of present-day social and economic conditions, as given in his novels and in his notable volume of essays, *The Reign of Gilt*, are as graphic and faithful to the facts as they are artistic and thought-arresting. In the paper which he has prepared for THE ARENA Mr. Phillips takes the ground that the basis of despotism under present-day conditions is economic dependence, and that it is the prime mission of a free government to see that every citizen is economically independent; that along this line lies the immediate and pressing demand on genuine, wise and constructive statesmanship. This paper should be read by every patriotic American.

# Red-Letter Issue of "THE ARENA"

## III. The Rationale of Common Ownership. *By Waldo Pondray Warren.*

A highly thought-stimulating and arresting paper in the January Arena has been prepared by Mr. Waldo Pondray Warren, describing how common ownership may be peacefully, practically and rapidly made to take the place of private ownership. Mr. Warren is not himself a Socialist, but rather seems opposed to political Socialism. But he is a strong believer in common ownership and cites a most remarkably successful instance of common ownership that is now in active operation, as an illustrative example of how in his judgment great and beneficent economic changes can be quickly and practically brought about.

## IV. A Highly Efficient State Railway Administration. *By Carl S. Vrooman.*

A further paper in the brilliant series of contributions by Mr. Vrooman on the railways of Europe will be a strong feature of our next issue. No living American writer in hearty accord with the principles of free government and the placing of public weal above private profit, has made so exhaustive a study of European railroads as has the author of this paper—an investigation which occupied upward of two years of personal travel throughout Europe. This paper, like its predecessor, will be invaluable to friends of progressive democracy and efficient government. As previously announced, Mr. Vrooman has been secured as foreign editor of The Arena, and his valuable services will add materially to the interest and worth of the magazine for the coming year.

## V. "The Servant in the House," as a Drama and as a Religious Allegory. *By B. O. Flower.* Illustrated.

Complementing the lucid and fascinating outline of "The Devil," contributed by Mr. Ryan Walker to this issue, and second in The Arena's series of critical studies of the most notable ethical dramas of the day, will be an extended study of "The Servant in the House," embodying an outline of the play and a critical consideration of it as a religious allegory and a powerful twentieth-century sermon. This paper, which has been prepared for The Arena by its editor, will be magnificently illustrated with a number of fine half-tones from photographs of scenes from the play, its author, and of his wife, who took the leading female *rôle* in the original production.

## VI. The Atlantic Deep Waterway. *By William J. Roe.* Illustrated with explanatory maps prepared expressly for this paper.

One of the most important problems before the American people is the efficient development of its resources by wise and practical internal improvements. A great work has

# Red-Letter Issue of "THE ARENA"

recently been achieved in the reclamation of arid land through the extensive operations carried forward by the Federal government. Another great and important work is now agitating American statesmen. It relates to the building of a chain of canals that shall constitute a deep waterway, protected from the storms and dangers of the sea and extending from the Northern Atlantic coast to Florida. This question, which is bound to become a burning issue, is treated in a broad, comprehensive and luminous manner by William J. Roe in the January ARENA. It constitutes at once a concise and convincing discussion of a deeply important subject.

## VII. MEDICINE, HYPNOTISM AND RELIGION. *By Hon. John D. Works*, formerly Justice on the Supreme Bench of California.

This is an exceptionally lucid paper by the eminent jurist, Hon. John D. Works, in which the author sets forth in probably as clear and convincing a manner as they have yet been presented, the views of Christian Scientists as to the difference between their method of curing disease and that of mental suggestion. Judge Works notices the changing attitude of the religious world in regard to the possible cure of disease by other means than *materia medica*. He notes the violent opposition to the claims of Christian Science advanced a few years ago and the persistent contention that if any cures were made, they were made through hypnotic suggestion or mesmeric control, and therefore were fraught with danger; and he then takes up a new claim of a large section of the church—that it can perform cures similar to those being performed by Christian Science, through the employment of hypnotic suggestion and mental treatment, which a few years ago it denounced as dangerous. He next dwells upon the cures of Jesus, his method of cure, and the redemptive influence or regenerating effect following his cures and thooe which are noticeable in a large number of the cures wrought by Christian Science.

## VIII. THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP. *By Rev. Eliot White*, Secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship for Massachusetts.

The great work of which Canon Charles Kingsley and Frederic D. Maurice were the John the Baptists—that of realizing the ideals and ethics of the Great Nazarene in the government of the world, has during the past year taken a wonderful hold upon the imagination of hundreds of earnest clergymen in the various Protestant churches of America, while it has called to its support tens of thousands of earnest lay Christians. It will not be surprising if this movement advances with phenomenal rapidity during the next four years. In the January ARENA Rev. Eliot White, a scholarly clergyman of the Episcopal church, contributes an interesting and informing paper dealing with the movement, its aims and ideals. This paper will constitute one of THE ARENA's series of constructive and fundamental economic discussions which will be a feature of the magazine during 1909.

# WHAT "THE ARENA" STANDS FOR

THE ARENA is an open forum for the dignified discussion of great political, social, economic, educational, religious and philosophical problems, when presented in a thoughtful manner, free from personalities.

In addition to this, it stands for certain definite and important practical movements that we believe under existing conditions are imperatively demanded in order to preserve and make effective the foundation principles of democratic republican government and that measure of civic righteousness and efficiency that is essential to safeguard the interests and foster the happiness and development of all the people.

We believe that if the Republic is to become and remain the true leader of civilization, moral idealism rather than materialistic aggression, the ideal of peace and righteousness rather than the theory of force and commercial aggrandizement, must be the key-note of national life.

We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without environing childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recreant nation must decline; and thus where child-slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of abritration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, THE ARENA stands for *a peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence;* a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under the ægis of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of a nobler, freer manhood, and the outflowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

And, with DeTocqueville, holding that "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy," THE ARENA demands:

I. Direct-Legislation, through the Initiative and Referendum, supplemented by the Right of Recall.

II. Public-Ownership and operation of all public utilities or natural monopolies.

III. Proportional Representation, as a practical provision for giving all classes a proportional voice in government, relative to their strength.

IV. Voluntary Coöperation.

V. The abolition of child-slavery in factory, shop, mill and mine.

VI. Arbitration at home and abroad.

(*a*) Compulsory arbitration, to the end that the people shall not be made the victims of warring interests, and by which justice may obtain rather than cunning or force.

(*b*) An aggressive campaign for international arbitration and the reduction of armaments.

VII. Coincident with a persistent insistence on a practical progressive program along the lines of fundamental democracy and looking toward securing justice for all the people, a vigorous educational propaganda, with the master purpose of arousing the spiritual energies of the people, to the end that moral idealism shall supplant materialistic greed, and altruism blossom where egoism blights.

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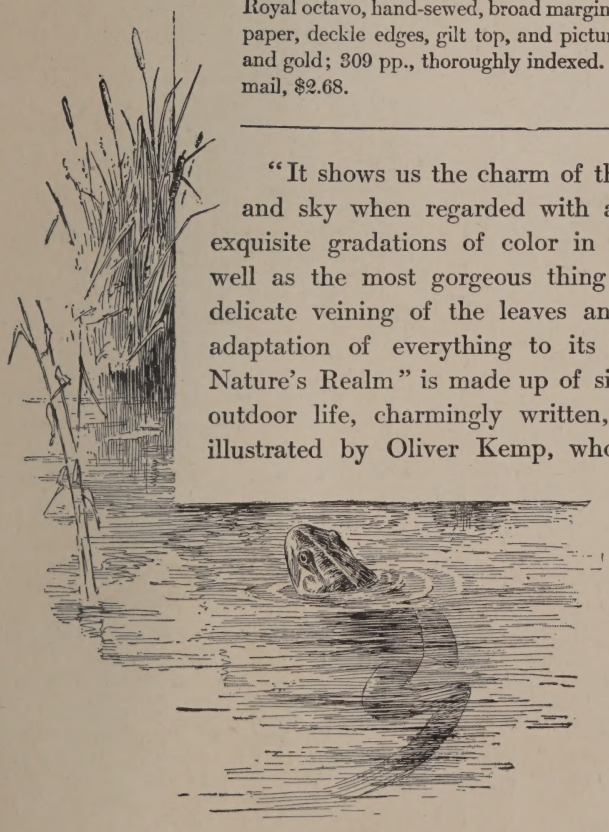

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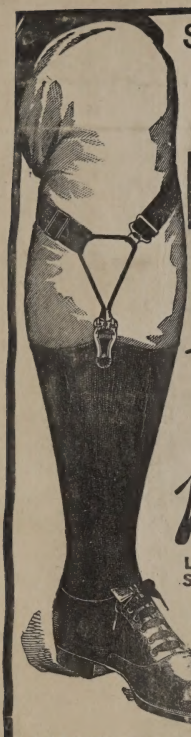

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